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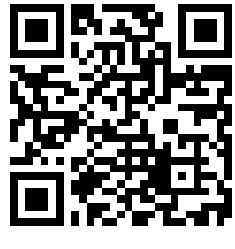

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JOURNAL of the SOCIETY for ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME NINE—1930.

THE BADGE OF THE SOCIETY.

THE BLAZON.

On a roundle azure, in base a wall, embattled and masoned proper, issuant therefrom a rising sun in splendour or, over all two swords in saltire gules, hilts and pommels or, interlaced with a scroll fesswise, thereon the motto of the Society, '*Præterita Explorando Discimus*,' the wall charged with a hand-grenade gold fired proper between two crosses crosslets sable, the whole within a collar bearing the words

"THE SOCIETY FOR ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH."

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ARTHUR MOFFATT LANG,
At the age of 19.
From a painting—1851.

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VOLUME IX. JANUARY, 1930. No. 35.

THE DIARY AND LETTERS
OF
ARTHUR MOFFATT LANG,
1st LIEUTENANT, BENGAL ENGINEERS.
INDIA—1857 TO 1859.

With explanatory notes, maps, portraits, illustrations, etc.

SECTION I. 1857. MARCH—JULY. BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

INTRODUCTION.

Arthur Moffatt Lang, eldest son of Arthur Lang, Bengal Civil Service, was born in India on 15 November, 1832.

At the age of 13¾ years—August, 1846—he went to Rugby School, where he remained until 1849. He then went to Cheltenham College—August—leaving in June 1850, and proceeding thence to the Military College of the Hon. East India Company at Addiscombe. He "passed out" in June 1852 with great distinction, was top of his "batch" and winner of the "Pollock" medal, and was appointed 2nd Lieutenant in the Engineers on the Bengal establishment on 12 June.

He served at the School of Military Engineering, Chatham, for two years, and left England (Southampton) for India on 20 June, 1854, in the S.S. *'Ripon,'* reaching Alexandria on 4 July.

Egypt was crossed and the journey was resumed from Suez, in the S.S. *Oriental,* on 8 July, Calcutta being reached on 31 July.

It is at this point of his career that we first make his acquaintance, through the medium of letters to his Mother, and of a diary, which cover a period from June 1854 to the end of 1859. The part actually dealt with in this *Journal,* commences in March, 1857, and is continued until 1859.

Lang served as a 'fighting' officer throughout the Mutiny, and received the medal with three clasps—"Delhi," "Relief of Lucknow" and "Lucknow."

One page—102—of the Diary, 23 to 26 December, 1856, is reproduced in facsimile, exact size. An appropriate title would be

'Christmas in India—1856.'

The commencement of the entry for 23 December, on page 101 of the diary, reads thus:—

23 December, 1856. Tuesday. Meean Meer.

"Up before gun-fire. Soon after gun-fire, Barnes, E.B. [Elliot Brownlow] and I started off in my cart and drove off to Shalimar, where our horses were awaiting us. We ran & killed very soon. [They were hunting jackal.] Ran again: lost our jackal, and spent half an hour outside a sugar-cane khet [field] out of which at last came a huge

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102 December 1876. Memorabilia

wild cat. Sirdar Sher Ali for the first time and was much pleased with him. Pinwas came up & we had dinner together. At 1 went to the 49th where the new promotions gave a grand champagne tiffin: & regular orgies terminating in the cocoanuts. Football afterwards.

24th Sunday Inclusive. Gymnastics. At 12 to a very nice champagne breakfast at Pierey's, about a dozen there. Afterwards E.B. Walter, & I drove down to Lahore & entered the Bhâti Gate, left the Cart & strolled about the Streets, doing Lahore, watching the passers by, haggling at shop fronts for pipes & sticks & imagining Arabian Nights like sundown, when we drove home & dined at the Artillery Mess.

25th Monday Xmas Xmas day. went to Church in the morning: very difficult it was to feel that it was Xmas day, and the feeling that it was so not cheerful from the contrast of old England at this season. E.B's new Lancaster Rifle arrived which were a huge present, and we went to the Butts to try it. Walter would not come to Anthaney's, so E.B & I drove down without him. We had a pleasant quiet evening, a good dinner, singing and a vain attempt at dancing. E.B. & I wrote Mrs Corbett, Mrs Monro, & Miss Barlow each signing.

26th Tuesday Up late. A quiet hack at gymnastics, boxing, &c, in which we invented more two more gyms. After a late breakfast to Rayners. Met Gerton & Gulliver. After dinner Walter, E.B. & I went most fashionably late to the 3rd Troop Ball, or Messrs Worthington, Delane, Brownlow Henderson at home. Right well had they got up their room

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[Entry in diary of 26 December, concluded—p. 103.]

"English canvass tightly stretched & rubbed with wax candles formed the dancing floor and was very strong and slippery. Every Lady in Meean Meer seemed there, and several made their début, Miss Knolles, Miss Hepburn, Miss Cautley (1), &c. Everybody seemed to enjoy themselves & kept it up till late. I danced very little, only with three or four Ladies. There was a grand supper."

In order to visualize the man when actually writing his letters and diary, details are not given now about his subsequent career, which will be dealt with when these papers come to a conclusion, suffice it to say that Lang attained the rank of Colonel on 1 October, 1881, retired on 1 December, 1888, and died at Guildford on 6 August, 1916, at the age of 83.

The diary is written in a book (both sides of paper)— pages measuring 6½ by 8¼ inches—and covers 504 pages, closely written. It was certainly written up every day. The letters to his Mother are described by Lang as "News-Letters," and were, with equal certainty, composed and expanded from the Diary.

We obtain from them an accurate view of routine life in an Indian Military cantonment, of the people whom Lang met every day, of the manners and customs in vogue at the time, of games and sports, and of such trivial items as to punkahs being pulled for the first time on such a date, of "ice-pits" being opened, etc. A difference in the quality of dust-storms is recorded as "diluted" or as "pea-soupy." Both are easily recognisable by anyone who knows the Punjab in the "hot weather."

In April, 1857, when the narrative commences, Lang—24½ years old—was officiating as Executive Engineer, Public Works Department, Lahore Division (2), and was stationed at Meean Meer, now known as "Lahore Cantonment." At that time the P.W.D. included what is now designated the "Military Engineering Services."

The Chief Commissioner "for the affairs of the Punjab" was Sir John (Laird Mair) Lawrence, K.C.B., afterwards Lord Lawrence, Governor-General of India. At the time when the diary extracts commence (28 March), he was at Rawal Pindi, on his way to the Murree Hills.

Lieut.-Colonel Herbert Benjamin Edwardes was Commissioner of Peshawar.

Mr. Robert Montgomery was Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, afterwards Sir Robert Montgomery, K.C.B., Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, 1859-65.

Their names are commemorated in India by Lawrencepore—a small town on the Grand Trunk road between Rawal Pindi and Attock—by Fort Edwardes at Bunnoo, and by Montgomery (half-way between Lahore and Mooltan). There are also the 'Lawrence' and the 'Montgomery' Halls at Lahore.

1. Possibly a sister, or daughter, of Captain (Bt. Lieut.-Colonel) George Cautley, 8th Bengal Light Cavalry, stationed at Meean Meer.

2. Fort William, Calcutta. Public Works Department. 13 February, 1857 . . . The appointment of Lieutenant Lang to officiate as Executive Engineer of the Meean Meer Division, is to have effect from the 1st August, 1856, the date on which he joined his post . . . (Sd.) W. E. Baker, Lieut.-Colonel, Secy. to Govt. of India.

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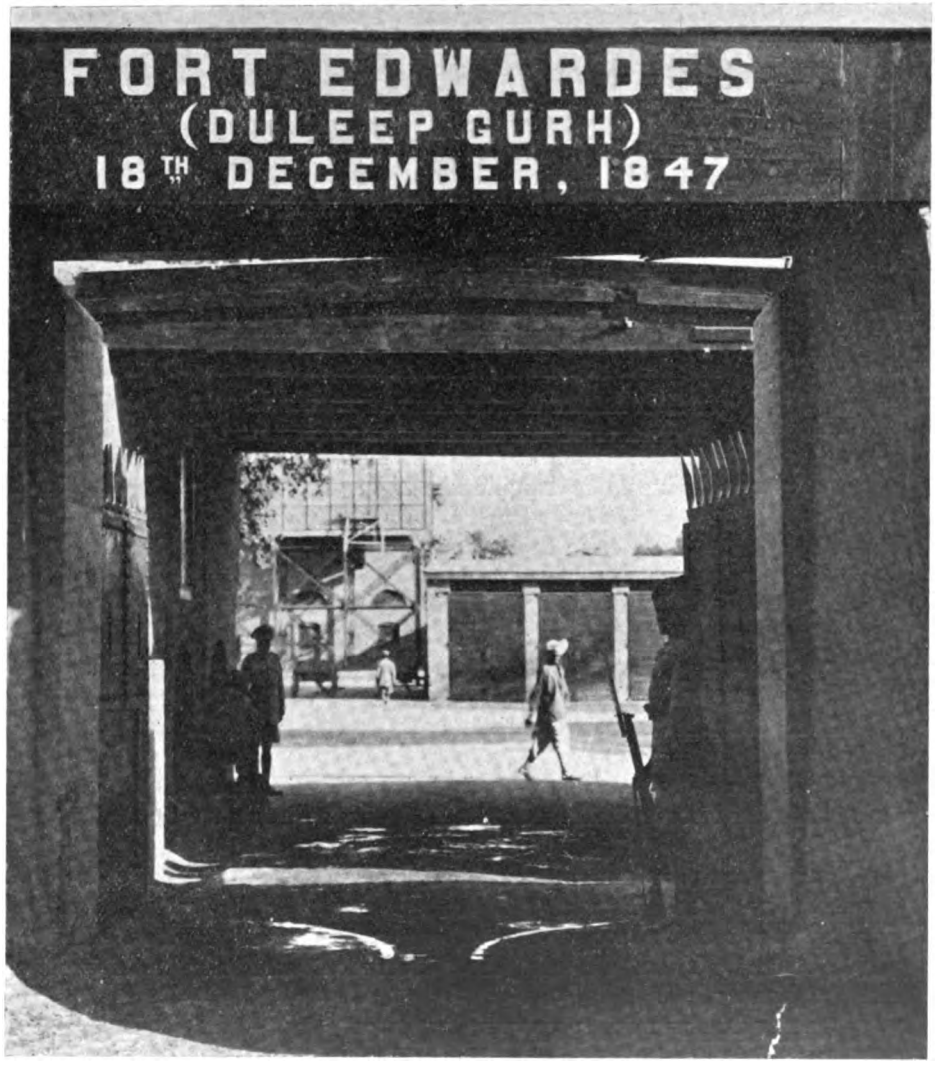
Lord Lawrence lies buried in the nave of Westminster Abbey, and there is a statue of him on the East side of Waterloo Place in London.

In the West aisle of the North Transept of Westminster Abbey is a mural tablet to the memory of Sir Herbert Edwardes.

For many years the Cantonment at Bunnoo was known as 'Edwardesabad,' but it is no longer so called. Fort 'Edwardes' alone perpetuates the name.



ENTRANCE GATE TO FORT EDWARDES.
(*Present day.*)

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In *A Year on the Punjab Frontier,* published—2 vols.—in 1851, Edwardes records that on 18 December, 1847, "foundation of our fort [at Bunnoo] was actually commenced," being "named 'Duleep Gurh,' in honour of the little Maharajah, whose sovreignty it is intended to establish" —vol. i, pp. 134-6.

There was also a Tavern named after him—"The Hero of Mooltan"—in Shrewsbury, at the bottom of Wyle Cop, close to the English Bridge. The tavern has now gone out of business, but, by good fortune, I was able to rescue the sign-board. (See The Journal, *ante.* vol. iv. pp. 209-10.)

It now rests in the Museum of the Rifle Depot at Winchester. Edwardes belonged to an old Shropshire family, and had descendants in the 60th Rifles.

Sir John Lawrence, Bart., G.C.B.
Sir Herbert Edwardes, K.C.B. Sir Robert Montgomery, K.C.B.

From *The Punjab and Delhi,* by the Rev. J. Cave-Browne, published by Messrs. William Blackwood & Sons in 1861, by whose kind permission it is now reproduced.

There is a mural tablet to the memory of Sir Robert Montgomery in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, with inscription, but no more eloquent tribute could be paid to his memory than Lang's words (letter of 14 May,

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1857, the day after the disarming of the Bengal Regiments at Meean Meer) —see *post*, p. 18 :—

"The Montgomerys alone stand firm in their isolated place (1), and quite right they are too, I think," meaning that they had not taken refuge in Fort Lahore.

Montgomery, in the absence of Sir John Lawrence, was in supreme charge at Lahore. His action must have greatly impressed the native population, and now, nearly 73 years after the event, this contemporary record by Lang, comes to light.

It only remains to be said that the letters and diary have been placed at the disposal of the Society through the kindness of Mrs. Lang, widow of Colonel Lang, and that valuable assistance in the matter of family history has been given by Miss Lang, daughter of Colonel Lang, and by Lieut.-Colonel Etienne Boileau, his nephew.

2ND LIEUTENANT A. M. LANG,
Bengal Engineers,
On the Establishment of the Hon. East India Company.
(*From a daguerreotype taken in London—circa* 1853.)

1. Their house was some distance from Anarkullie.

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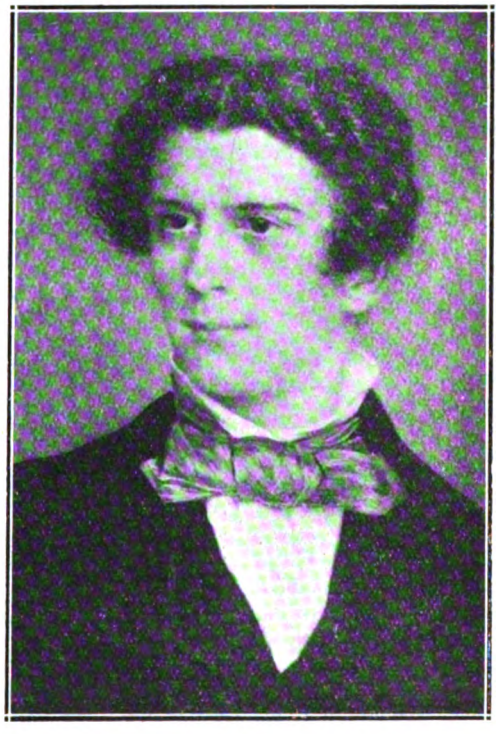
Elliott Pakenham Brownlow,
2nd Lieutenant, Bengal Engineers.
From a daguerreotype—*circa* 1853.



George Gordon Young,
Lieutenant, 16th Bengal Infantry (Grenadiers).
(See page 17.)
(From a miniature, painted at Fairlight, in August, 1856, by Henry Collen.)

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The times of sunrise and sunset at Meean Meer in 1857, as given, have most kindly been supplied by The Astromoner Royal.

Nor can I omit to thank Sir Louis Dane, a former Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab; Mr. R. W. Egerton, son of a former Lieut.-Governor, Sir Robert Egerton; and Colonel J. A. L. Montgomery, son of Sir Robert Montgomery, for much help as regards Punjab details of 1857. They have all served for long periods in the Punjab. Colonel Montgomery was actually at Lahore in 1857, being then 8 years old, and well remembers the events of the day on which the disarming of the four Bengal Regiments at Meean Meer took place—13 May, 1857.

The old-fashioned phonetic spelling of place-names—better known than the "Hunterian" method—is adhered to throughout. Few people, if any, would recognize "Damdamah" as "Dumdum," or "Atak" as "Attock."

The extracts from Letters and Diary are given concurrently.
In April, 1857, the troops stationed at Meean Meer were:—

81st (Loyal Lincoln Volunteers) Foot—Queen's.
2nd Troop, 2nd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery.
3rd do. do. do.
Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 Companies, 4th Brigade, Bengal (Foot) Artillery.
8th Bengal Light Cavalry (Native).
16th Bengal Native Infantry (Grenadiers).
26th do.
49th do.

Major-General George Edward Gowan, Bengal Artillery, commanded the Lahore Division, at this time. He had, probably, been away 'on leave,' as Lang records in his letter of 7 June, that "General Gowan has arrived here and taken command of the Punjab."

The papers will be dealt with in four clearly defined sections:—

1. 1857. Meean Meer. March to July. Outbreak of Mutiny.
2. 1857. Delhi. July to September. Siege and capture of Delhi.
3. 1857. Relief of Lucknow. September to November.
4. 1857-8. Final capture of Lucknow. November, 1857, to March, 1858.

Section II will be edited by Colonel F. C. Molesworth, Royal Engineers, who, with many years service in India, has intimate knowledge of the places referred to in the narrative.

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THE LETTERS AND DIARY.

[N.I. = NATIVE INFANTRY. P.W.D. = PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.]

1857.

Diary. 28 March. Saturday. Meean Meer. [Sunrise, 5-52. Sunset, 6-16.]

. . . . . .

Up late. Heard from Elliot Brownlow (1) that he would be in on Saturday. In office till past five & then was riding off to the Band (2), when I heard someone calling me and I turned & saw a wild sunburnt pahari [a hill-man] running towards me. I jumped off and had old Elliot's hand in mine again. He looked very well, very sunburnt, no end of beard: he had just taken an express cart in from Gogayra and walked up from Anarkullie (3). Of course I stayed in and we discoursed and dined together & sat up talking.

Letter. 5 April. Palm Sunday.

. . . . . .

Wroughton (4) has just sent me over a letter which he has received from Walter (5). He tells us of how the 34th (6) have been misbehaving at Barrackpore: the adjutant, Baugh, had his horse shot under him and was cut down: do. the Serjeant Major who came to his rescue. The Guard refused to march & take up the offenders, etc.

The 19th N.I. from Berhampore were to have been disbanded at Barrackpore and perhaps also the 34th. Europeans are being collected there and 12 guns have been sent: they anticipated that the men would be probably shot down, refusing to be disbanded. There really must be a severe example for the disaffection seems spreading and the 'hoi polloi' (7) imagine that Gov^{t}. are afraid.

The weather gets warmer and punkahs are being hung up in some messes. I hope by next Sunday to have them up in the Church. Poor Mr. Farrer (8) is ill again with his bad ague and fever which so floored

---

1. 2nd Lieutenant Elliot Pakenham Brownlow, Bengal Engineers, a contemporary of Lang's at Addiscombe.

2. "BAND" was one of the social institutions of an Indian military station, whereat the community foregathered after the 'evening drive', or other 'airing', to 'talk scandal, hear all the passing events of the day, and do anything but listen to the music'—see *Curry and Rice*, by Captain G. F. Atkinson, 1858.

3. The seat of the Civil Government of the Punjab—the so-called 'Civil Lines'—about 4 miles due west from Meean Meer cantonment.

4. Captain Robert Chardin Wroughton, 12th Bengal N.I.; Asst. Commissary, Commissariat Department, Lahore.

5. Lieutenant Walter Turner Freeling, 46th Bengal N.I., 3rd son of Sir George Henry Freeling, 2nd Bart., who had married Miss Jane Lang, A. M. Lang's aunt. Walter Freeling, therefore, was his 1st cousin. He was at this time in the Commissariat Department, stationed at Calcutta.

6. See Kaye's *History of the Sepoy war in India*, 1857-8, ed. 1865. pp. 538-47, 584-6. The 19th N.I. was disarmed and disbanded at Barrackpore on 31 March, 1857, and the 34th on 6 May.

7. Greek—'The Masses.' 8. Rev. Frederic Farrer, Bengal Ecclesiastical Estbt.

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FRANCIS BURTON BOILEAU,
Lieut.-Colonel, Bengal Artillery.
From a pencil sketch, made by his daughter, Grace, at Meean Meer, in 1857.

FRANCIS WILLIAM BOILEAU,
Lieutenant, 16th Bengal N.I. (Grenadiers).
From a pencil sketch, made by his sister, Grace, at Meean Meer, in 1857.

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[5 April, 1857.]

. . . . . .

him last November. . . . He insisted on service this morning and the consequence was that when I went into the vestry afterwards I found him huddled up and shivering and drove him off home very ill.

Letter. 6 April. Monday. [Sunrise 5-43. Sunset 6-22.]

. . . . . .

We have no news yet about the disbanding at Barrackpore. The papers have got hold of the 34th mutiny.

. . . . . .

I wrote officially to-day to be made pucka [i.e. permanent] Executive of the Lahore Division. I hope that they will appreciate my claims. I have officiated here for upwards of eight months. That is a long spell at one station for such a wandering party. In that time I have never been ten miles out of Cantonments.

Letter. 8 April. Wednesday.

. . . . . .

[Yesterday] We did our gymnastics & boxing (at both of which our proficiency is becoming wonderful) as usual, and our Band do., riding with ye Misses Boileau (9) and bringing home their brother (10) to dinner.

. . . . . .

The 19th Native Infantry have been disbanded, and laid down their arms in presence of the 84th & 53rd Queen's (11), the Artillery (12) from Dum Dum, etc. Now I hope they will do the same to the 34th, first drawing up the Guard who refused to help Baugh & the Serjeant Major, and giving them the contents of a battery loaded with grape. The 5th Irregulars at Sooree have murdered their 2nd in command. A terrible example is really required.

Letter. 10 April. Good Friday.

. . . . . .

The 19th were disbanded at Barrackpore, and being awed by the 84th Queen's from Burmah, the 53rd from Calcutta, a Madras and a Bengal Battery and the Body Guard, they were not so foolish as to attempt any sort of row, especially as General Hearsey (13) is no timid trifler and would not have hesitated a moment in giving them a few showers of bullets & grape. Now the 34th have to be punished & the 5th Irregulars, if it is true that they have murdered their 2nd in command.

---

9. Daughters of Lieut.-Colonel Francis Burton Boileau, Bengal Artillery, commanding the artillery at Meean Meer.

10. Lieutenant Francis William Boileau, 16th N.I. (Grenadiers), stationed at Meean Meer, son of Lieut.-Colonel F. B. Boileau.

11. i.e. of the British Army. They are generally referred to as " Queen's " regiments in contradistinction to the regiments of the Hon. East India Company.

12. Bengal (E.I. Company's) Artillery.

13. Major-General John Bennet Hearsey, C.B., commanding the Presidency (Calcutta) Division. He was Colonel of the 6th Regiment of Bengal Light Cavalry.

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Diary. 13 April. Easter Monday. [Sunrise, 5-35. Sunset, 6-27.]

. . . . . .

Up early & walked with E.B[rownlow] to call on Sir John [Lawrence]: He and Dick Lawrence (14) drove up just as we reached the door. Sir J. talked away freely and drew Elliot out on Cashmere, pretending to know nothing. El. seemed nothing loth & rattled away as if he did not feel the drawing & I expect must have fully convinced the diplomatic and shrewd John of his energy and observation.

Diary. 14 April. Tuesday.

. . . . . .

After dinner we drove over to the 81st Mess & at about 9½ the ball began and was kept up with great spirit until about 4. The floor was excellent & the playing very good—2 bands. It was not nearly so warm as I had expected, as a cool breeze blew in and the weather was stormy: we were in white trowsers.

The Misses Smith (15) were a great acquisition & danced very well. Altho' so many Ladies were absent the ball went off capitally.

. . . . . .

Letter. 15 April. Wednesday.

. . . . . .

It was a warm enough night for a ball tho' remarkably cool for this time of year. We had no punkahs and the dancing was kept up with as much energy as in the cold weather. Sir John Lawrence came for about half an hour and looked very miserable. He suffers a good deal from pains in his face and head & altogether is overworked.

. . . . . .

Yesterday we heard a report that the 63rd had mutinied! When is this going to stop? I fancy it is true, as Wroughton told me of it at the Ball as just told to him by Sir John. I wish they would cease to enlist Brahmins, and indeed Poorbyas at all more than they can help: strike out the 19th, 34th & 63rd & raise Ghoorkhas, Sikhs, Punjabees, Dogras, any men but regular Hindoos with their idiotic caste rules.

Diary. 16 April. Thursday.

. . . . . .

At about 11 a.m. appeared Bryce (16) to my surprise. I did not at first recognise him with his large whiskers and moustache. He is on his way to join an Oudh Battery. He has just come from Dehra Ismail Khan & was out against the Bozdars. He has put up with me.

---

14. Richard Charles Lawrence, younger brother of Sir John, Captain of Police, Lahore Division. See Punjab Government Record Office Publications. Monograph No. 3. A Brief History of the old Police Battalions in the Punjab, by H. L. O. Garrett, 1927.

15. Daughters of Lieut.-Colonel Matthew Smith, 81st Regiment (Loyal Lincoln Volunteers), then stationed at Meean Meer.

16. 1st Lieutenant John Henry Bryce, Bengal Artillery.

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[16 April, 1857.]

. . . . . .

Soon after appeared Dacres (17): him I at once recognized. He has a grand pair of whiskers & moustaches and has grown, but still his voice, laugh and look carried me back to old Tunbridge Wells and Harrow days at once, and right glad was I to see him. He puts up a few days with me, of course, before going on.

Letter. 17 April. Friday. [Sunrise 5-30. Sunset 6-30.]

. . . . . .

Our new Chief Engineer has arrived, Colonel Ommaney (18).

. . . . . .

I have my house full. First came in Kerwan (19) & we worked away in office. Then appeared Crofton (20) and Fulton (21) of the Baree Doab Canal and I expect Dyas (22) to come in presently, and all these and Dacres and Bryce all in the house, and all to eat breakfast together presently, I don't find that quiet time and leisure to finish this properly.

. . . . . .

I dined and spent the evening (I say both, because he dines at the absurd hour of 4½ p.m., so that we go out on the Mall after dinner and return in the evening) at Colonel Boileau's.

Diary. 26 April. Sunday.

Church at 6 a.m. Herbert Edwardes was there with Sir John. I must have seen him before I fancy, as when he entered I was sure it was Edwardes. He looks like a Jew, I think, with his aquiline nose and beard: he does not look the great man he is, at least he did not as I saw him in Church with his features at rest. Of course his countenance would not show out character.

Letter. 12 May. Tuesday. [Sunrise, 5-6. Sunset, 6-47.]

I have this morning had the pleasure of receiving your most welcome letter of 3rd April from Westhill.

. . . . . .

You ask about Mr. Kerwan. Of course he is not in the Regiment: he is an uncovenanted (23) man who has lived all his life in the Country & was born in it. He used to be an Assistant in the Trigonometrical

17. Lieut. Dacres William Wise, 4th Bengal Light Cavalry, Lang's 1st cousin. His mother, *née* Emma Lang, was A. M. Lang's aunt.

18. Edward Lacon Ommaney, Bengal Engineers, Superintending Engineer, P.W.D.

19. "Mr. D. Kerwan, Probationary Asst. Engineer, Inundation Canals, Punjab, is placed in charge of the Civil Buildings at Anarkullie and Citadel of Lahore, as a temporary arrangement." *Fort William. Public Works Department.* 13 February, 1857.

20. 1st Lieutenant James Crofton, Bengal Engineers, Irrigation Department, Punjab.

21. 1st Lieutenant John Fulton, Bengal Artillery. Asst. Engineer, Irrigation Department, Punjab.

22. 1st Lieutenant Joseph Henry Dyas, Bengal Engineers. Irrigation Dept., Punjab.

23. As distinguished from 'Covenanted', i.e. "the regular members of the (Indian Civil) Service, who used to enter into a formal covenant with the E.I. Company, and do so now with the Secretary of State for India." *The Oxford English Dictionary.*

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[12 May, 1857.]

Survey & was then under Medley (1) of ours on the Derajât Inundation Canals and now after about 18 years knocking about in Honble. John's (2) service been rewarded by being posted under almost the most junior departmental Officer in the Punjab as his 'probationary' assistant, on the munificent salary of Rs. 200 *per mensem*!

. . . . . .

5 p.m. Since I wrote the above on receipt of your letter, I have heard some very less pleasant intelligence, really very bad. You know, tho' I don't think that I have touched much upon it, that a mutinous spirit has been pervading the Bengal Regiments: that the 19th have been disbanded; that some of the 34th have been hung; that at Dinapore, Lucknow, Meerut, Phillour and Umballa, regiments have been either mutinying or burning. Well to-day I have just heard from Perkins (3) at Umballa that two Native Infantry regiments mutinied to save some of their comrades imprisoned for [not] using the greased cartridges (4). The Artillery and Cavalry were called out & the regiments gave up their arms and returned to barracks; but now comes up a flying telegraphic message—Meerut barracks burned, men risen & have murdered their Officers, regiments ordered to rescue have refused; the Phillour regiment has made a move to seize the Sutlej bridge of boats and an Artillery Company march to Phillour from here tomorrow: but here comes *our* danger. The Brigadier (5) is going to disarm the Native troops tomorrow here! This is a fearfully reponsible act: tomorrow morning is to be a full parade, the Europeans & Artillery will be loaded as they were yesterday and who knows but that the three Native Infantry & the Cavalry Regiment (6) won't fight? They have done nothing as yet, have shown no signs of disaffection. Were I Brigadier I should draw them up, commend their fine state of discipline, point out the folly and wickedness of their brother sepoys, and confide entirely in their honour and loyalty to stand by their Officers & Govt. As it is, with this disarming, I expect they will rise. Where is this to end? I can't believe that the Anglo-Saxon is going to be turned out of India, but a feather's weight more on the scale and down it will go. To-night, too, we all go to a Ball hardly one knowing the volcano we are here standing over, none perhaps but the Brigadier, Brigade Major, Wroughton, the two Colonels, and I, and poor Mrs. Brigadier who is nearly wild with fright. Wroughton says that Mr. Montgomery has

1. 1st Lieutenant Julius George Medley, Bengal Engineers, P.W.D.
2. i.e. "John Company. A humorous appellation of the Hon. East India Company, taken over from the name *Jan Kompanie* by which the Dutch East India Company, and now the Dutch Government, are known to the natives in the East." *The Oxford English Dictionary*.
3. 1st Lieutenant Aeneas Perkins, Bengal Engineers. Executive Engineer, P.W.D. (Canals).
4. See Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War in India*, 1857-58. 2nd edition, 1865, pp. 489-98, 510-25.
5. Colonel Stuart Corbett, commanding the troops at Lahore and Meean Meer. He was Colonel of the 16th N.I. (Grenadiers).
6. The 16th (Grenadiers), 26th, and 49th Regiments, Bengal N.I., and the 8th Bengal Light Cavalry.

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[12 May, 1857.]

come up to point out the danger of a spark causing the population about here to rise. God grant they don't & that we are all alive this time tomorrow—a case of both guns loaded with ball and my swords at the head of my bed to-night. And even if the men, from pressure of Artillery and Europeans, yield their arms, what is to secure us from plotting & conspiracy, & murder of us all tomorrow night or the next! I am helping Wroughton to collect all the carriage he can get to carry off the arms into Citadel (7) after parade tomorrow morning: the Europeans are to escort these to the Fort and to take possession of the Fort. I wish the 81st were stronger: they were much weakened by the cholera last year. God help us! There is really no telling where all this will end. Goodbye dearest Mother for the present. [He breaks off his letter and goes to the Ball].

Just back from the Ball & will finish and close this in case of accidents. The evening has passed very pleasantly—a perfect sham of smiles over tears. Half the Ladies were not present and those who were there could barely disguise their anxiety, while we gentlemen had to try to give the brightest picture of the case possible, tho' they must often have heard pieces of subdued conversations anything but hopeful. In fact we know exactly what it is. Here are two regiments and a wing of a third of Native Infantry, and a regiment of Cavalry, before 6 Companies of the 81st & two Troops of Horse Artillery. Will they, innocent men & soldiers, consent to give up their arms? I doubt it. I think a volley will be their reply and how will that matter end? All the Officers (8) are indignant and fully trust their regiments, but of course once disarmed they will become disaffected. Three hours hence it will be over, one way or another, and God grant that there be no bloodshed. Delhi and Meerut are fearful examples of what may happen tomorrow.

The Anarkullie people are dreadfully panic struck, and want all to get into the Fort: four Companies of the 81st take possession of that tomorrow.

I hope all these dreadful matters will end before the mail goes out, or you will all at home be in such anxiety about us. Well, goodnight dearest Mother. I think that I had better have an hour's sleep.

Letter. 13 May, 1857. Wednesday. Meean Meer. [Sunrise, 5-5. Sunset, 6-48.]

[NOTE.—This letter, covering 32 pages of note-paper, was commenced on 13 May, *after* the 'disarming' parade, and finished on 9 June—a period of 28 days. Extracts are given day by day, concurrently with those from the Diary.—ED.]

We are all safe at present you see, and this morning's work went off without any rising, but still of course we don't know yet what may happen. Mr. Alpin has just paid me a visit on return from Anarkullie, & is in anxiety to know what provisions are made for the safety of cantonments and whether there is any likelihood of the Delhi tragedies being repeated, here. I wonder whether we or you by the time this mail goes out will manage to hear what has happened there: it seems doubtful whether we shall be able to receive or send letters.

7. Fort Lahore. 8. Of the Native Regiments.

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[13 May, 1857.]

Brigadier Graves (9) sent up the telegraphic message which tells us that Mr. Simon Fraser, the Commissioner, Mr. Beresford of the Bank, Colonel Douglas, City Palace Guards, Colonel Ripley, and all military officers have been killed: the impression is that all the Xtian population have been murdered, and the people here, but more particularly in Anarkullie, dread the same game being played here. Never I fancy was there so dangerous a disaffection in the Indian Army before. I have been asleep nearly all day, as I got none last night but was in the saddle at daybreak this morning and with the Brig^r. & his staff; after the order about the disbanding of the 34th had been read, away galloped the Horse Artillery & drew up their formidable lines of black muzzles pointing on to the grand parade, cantonment at their back. Away marched the 81st, only six Companies, and drew up behind the guns; then the 16th, 26th, 49th & 8th Cavalry, in contiguous columns facing this line (about 350 or 400 yds off), heard the Brigadier's order: the Brigadier soft-sawdered them, saying what splendid regiments they were, how he loved them, how he longed to win their further honor and to keep their name unsullied & so he was going to order them to show their loyalty in obeying his orders & in laying down their arms: of course we were riding within a few yards of the line & could see every face & hear every murmur, but not a sound: then came the critical moment. I looked at the unfortunate N.I. Officers amongst their men. We could have escaped with but one volley, for we were on horse back and would have joined the Horse Artillery: but what would they have done: out rode Prior to Gardiner, commanding the Grenadiers (10)—"Order. the 16th to pile arms." Gardiner turns round—'Grenadiers, shoulder arms.' Done. 'Ground arms'—done. 'Pile arms'—a moment's hesitation, a few men began to pile; a look at the black Artillery muzzles must have been decisive: all piled arms. 'Stand from your arms,' 'right about face,' 'quick march,' and away they went unarmed, the clusters of bayonets glittering under the morning sun, marking where they had stood & showing their obedience (under pressure, perhaps). Of course after this 26th & 49th followed suit in turn, and the Cavalry dropped swords & backed out of them: then up came the carts & the arms were carried off: I galloped off to where in the distance the 'Fut' Artillery were, useless tailors without their guns; where old Boileau, revolver in belt, was beginning to look cheerful: & where poor Mrs. Boileau & the Misses were waiting anxiously to hear of 'dear Frank' in the Grenadiers, & Mrs. Rumley with them, whose husband (11), however, was on the winning side in the Horse Artillery.

So far, thank God, it is all well, but are we really safe? If these men get maddened (for this is a disgrace, however much soft-sawder the Brigadier may give) & choose to run amuck among us, they will have done

9. Colonel Harry Meggs Graves, commanding the troops at Delhi at this time. He was Lieut.-Colonel of the 13th B.N.I.

10. Captain Thomas James Gardiner.

11. Surgeon Henry William Rumley, Bengal Artillery.

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[13 May, 1857. Wednesday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 5-5. Sunset, 6-48.]

awful mischief before they can be stopped. I really expect we shall have to spend the hot months in Fort. or send for the 61st Queen's (12) from Ferozepore. I am going to dine at the 16th Mess to-night. I hope, dearest Mother, that Delhi will be held by Europeans & the Post & Telegraph in play again before next mail goes out, or you will be very anxious, that is if you hear the Delhi & Meerut news.

[The account of the day's happenings, as given in the diary, is almost the same, word for word. It commences thus :—

"Gulliver (13) came in and up I jumped and we rode off to the Grand Parade and joined the Brigadier's staff. Mr. Montgomery, Roberts (14), Egerton (15), Elliot (16), Moravia (17), &c., were there."

* * * * * *

"The men are very much cut up about it & declare that they would at once, on their own parades, have obeyed orders & given up their arms: but they are very much hurt at the loaded guns & the Europeans being drawn up against them. We must be thankful that no *émeute* took place this morning and trust that all may end well."

It mentions the presence of Mrs. Boileau, her daughters, and Mrs. Rumley "in a carriage, very anxious to see the result," and concludes the day's entry thus :—

"I slept nearly all day. At the Band in the evening."

. . . . . .

"I dined at the 16th Mess with Young (18). Artillery and European Infantry pickets & patrols are all over the station and no natives are to move after sunset."

Colonel J. A. L. Montgomery, C.S.I., C.B.E., son of Mr. Robert Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner at Lahore, is still living and records his recollection of 13 May, 1857, in the following words :—

"In 1857, when the Mutiny began, I was a boy of not quite 8 at Lahore. My recollection of the day of disarmament is that very early in the morning some of the chief Civil officers came riding to our house."

"My Father put on a revolver under his coat & mounted his horse and went off with the other men to Meean Meer. I remember too that extra Sikh police sentries were on the house, and my Mother looked very anxious until the Civilians returned. My Father and his companions came back looking very happy, and ate a good breakfast."]

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12. 61st (South Gloucestershire) Regt. Ferozepore is 50 miles due S. from Lahore.
13. 1st Lieutenant Henry William Gulliver, Bengal Engineers. Executive Engineer, Umritsur, P.W.D.
14. Arthur Austin Roberts, Bengal Civil Service. Commissioner, Lahore. The "Roberts" Institute at Lahore was founded by him, and he was the first commandant of the Lahore Volunteer Corps.
15. Robert Eyles Egerton, Deputy Commissioner, Lahore Division. Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, 1878-82.
16. Charles Pearson Elliott, Asst. Commissioner, Lahore Division.
17. C. Moravia, Asst. Civil Engineer, in charge of the Engineer School at Lahore.
18. Lieutenant George Gordon Young, 16th N.I. Afterwards Commissioner, Punjab.

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Diary. 14 May, 1857. Thursday. Meean Meer. [Sunrise, 5-5. Sunset, 6-48.]

Went over to 49th Coffee Shop (19) and then to Wroughton's: met Morris (20) there, who, with his wife and children, is stopping with W. stayed to breakfast.

At about 2, as we were discussing the probability of an *émeute,* in ran the servants to say that the regiments were in arms & were collecting on the maidan (21) to march on to the Fort; up we jumped: the Buggy was ordered, and Wroughton, Rind (22), and Mrs. Morris went off with a buggy full of swords, &c., to the 81st Barracks. I walked out without horse or arms, & sending for both, joined a party of the 81st, under Gildea, Skerry, and Deans (23), who were marching towards the Artillery lines to defend them against some hundreds of the 49th [N.I.] who were reported to be attacking those lines.

When we got about [as far as] the cricket ground, the Brigadier rode up to say that it was a false alarm; the men were only bolting to the villages; so back they marched. The Horse Artillery had all turned out and manned the guns and were anxious to have a brush. The Artillery Ladies took refuge in the Artillery Hospital. I went to the 81st Mess, spent the afternoon there, cards, etc.

The men returned, most of them. They have been told that tomorrow is to be a grand parade on which the cartridges are to be served out and they are to bite them; if they refuse, they are to be fired into and blown to pieces! Poor misguided fools.

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19. *The Oxford English Dictionary* gives the following definition of "Coffee Shop"—

> In India. A place at which the residents of a station, especially in Upper India, meet for a talk over a light breakfast of coffee, toast, etc., at an earlier hour than the regular breakfast of the day: the name is also applied to the gathering.

One quotation given, from a letter—1890—is:—

> "The coffee-shop is essentially a social gathering."

The earliest quotation given is in 1880.

"Coffee Shop" was a great Anglo-Indian institution, though long since fallen into dis-use. My first acquaintance with India (Punjab) was in January, 1881, and "Coffee Shop" certainly did not exist then, as far as I know. I never even heard the expression in its present sense.

Captain G. F. Atkinson, Bengal Engineers, devotes a chapter to it in *Curry and Rice*, first published in 1858. He writes:—

"We gathered together every morning after the early ride or parade, to refresh the exhausted frame with copious libations of Mocha or Bohea. There, under the shade of the Mess-house, until

> "The blazing sun that darts a downward ray,
> And fiercely sheds intolerable day,"

scatters us to our respective domiciles, we read the newspapers, expatiate on affairs in general, discuss the state of parties (dinner and musical), traffic in ideas, while away an hour or two from the day's dull monotony, by mutual interchange of generous sentiment." It was a "man's" affair only.

A variant of "Coffee Shop" was "Tea Shop." In Lang's diary of 1856 (Meean Meer) we find:—

17 September. "Went to Tea Shop and billiards . . . . at Artillery Mess."
6 October. "Went in to Colonel Boileau's to teashop and sat some time."
7 October. "Out levelling in Artillery Lines. Went to Artillery Tea Shop."

20. John Henry Morris, Settlement Officer, Lahore Division.

'Settlement' means an assessment of the land revenue—one of the principal sources of the income of the Indian Government.

21. An open plain. 22. Surgeon Malcolm McNeill Rind, 49th N.I.

23. Major John Arthur Gildea, Captain Charles James Skerry, Lieutenant James Alexander Deans.

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Letter. 14 May. Thursday. Meean Meer. [Sunrise, 5-5. Sunset, 6-48.]

. . . . . .

In the morning I went across to the 49th Mess to hear the news and then to Wroughton's. . . . I stayed breakfast there. As Wroughton & I were discussing the *only* topic, in ran the scared servants—" Sahibs, the regiments are up & collecting on the Maidan to march on Lahore."

'Order the buggy.' That, of course, could only carry Wroughton, the lame doctor, Rind, & Mrs. Morris. I went off for my own self: they were to arm & drive her to the 81st barracks. I saw & joined a detachment of Europeans, marching along, their bayonets gleaming under something like a sun. They were marching against the 49th who were reported to be attacking the Artillery lines. Wasn't it hot? I had sent for horse and sword but was until their arrival rather a useless party with an umbrella! As we approached the Artillery lines up galloped the Brigadier saying the alarm was false: the men were bolting to the villages about. So back we marched & I spent the afternoon at the 81st Mess very pleasantly.

Wroughton's party put up in one of the 81st Barracks; the 81st Ladies collected at Colonel Smith's, next the Mess: the Artillery Ladies all fled in tears & fright to the Artillery Hospital and the Horse Artillery turned out in less than no time, any how, & were wild to have a brush with the Cavalry who, they supposed, were coming at them. The Fort fired their warning guns: out filed sahibs & clerks from all offices. Egerton & Elliot, double barrels in hands, & sowars (24) around them rode for the Fort: clerks all bolted to the Central Jail. The Anarkullie Ladies, the half-wayers (24A), (Ommaneys, Hathaway (25). & the young honey-mooning bride at Sir John's) are in the Fort! Mrs. Corbett, who should have had a dinner party & fed me last night, won't come out of the Artillery hospital at any price! The Montgomerys alone stand firm in their isolated place & quite right they are, too, I think. I wonder whether their guests will go to-morrow night: I will (D.V.).

Well, what did the men after all? the evil-disposed scoundrels had been working on the feelings of the mass that certainly tomorrow (this) morning should be issued the cartridges: they are unarmed & therefore helpless: they would be ordered to bite them. Should they hesitate they would have the alternative 'Eat or be blown to pieces!' So they began bolting: but I fancy by the evening they were all back again, their Officers, the Brigadier, etc., having been always & perpetually with them, arguing and bringing them to reason.

I dined at Wroughton's and slept there, preferring that locale to mine in the very midst of the 49th & 16th men's lines.

. . . . . .

The inhabitants of Lahore City are in such a jolly panic; my baboos (26) have been imploring to be let off early, as they didn't eat anything this

24. A mounted soldier or policeman.

24A. Possibly those folk who lived in, or near Anarkullie (Civil Lines), about half-way between Meean Meer and Fort Lahore.

25. Charles Hathaway, M.D., Surgeon in charge of Prisons in the Punjab.

26. Native Clerks

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[14 May, 1857. Thursday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 5-5. Sunset,6-48.] morning, in such terror of the Sepoys rising. I wish we could get some news from Meerut & Umballa. I don't know how it is, that I can't feel the danger as it ought to be felt; I don't think I think that there is danger; I'm either apathetic or stupid about it; tho' not apathetic, for I feel occasionally the *pleasure* of the excitement. I pity the poor ladies, their fears for their kith & kin, but I stand *alone* to risk it.

Diary. 15 May. Friday.

Gustavinski (27) appeared in the morning. He had ridden in from Umritsur: all quiet there. Chichester (28) and his Company went there last night. I went over home for the day.

. . . . . .

Nearly all the Anarkullie Ladies are in Fort [i.e. Fort Lahore]. All the Xians in Anarkullie, Commissioners and Clerks, have formed a Brook Green Militia (28A) who drill every day. MacPherson (29) commands. Gulliver is Adjutant. Sowars patrol all the roads and Elliott, &c., visit them at night. . . . . .

Letter [commenced on 13 May—see page 9.] 16 May. Saturday.

Another day well on, and we are all going on comfortably. I dined last night at the Montgomerys & all his party (I fancy) came, all Anarkullieites, Mrs. R. Lawrence & the Ommaney ladies. These latter have left the Fort and are in an Anarkullie bungalow near it. All other Anarkullie ladies & Keraniesses (30) in the Fort. The Civilians, Egerton, Elliott & Perkins, and our Engineer Gulliver, sleep in a tent by Mr. Montgomery's and visit the sowar patrols who guard all the roads. We had a pleasant enough evening, music, etc.

Twenty rupees a head have been offered for all deserters brought in.

. . . . . .

We are to have no regular service tomorrow but Farrer is going to one of the Artillery Barracks tomorrow morning & to 81st Hospital in the evening.

. . . . . .

Letter. 18 May. Monday.

Here are Ski (32) & I alive & jolly in my house, not yet cut up, our guns, swords & revolvers ready to pick up at any moment. This is truly an exciting time, but I find it suits me beautifully. I feel always in very good spirits, sleep like a top, have grand appetite, and forget it is the hot weather, in fact the state of things, I am very happy to find, braces me up instead of depressing me or unstringing my nerves. I am very glad to have this

27. Louis Thomas Kough Gustavinski, Probationary Assistant Engineer, Baree Doab Canal, Punjab. He was appointed Asst. Field Engineer on 9 July, 1857, and was present at the siege of Delhi, capture of Lucknow, etc., and for these services received a commission as Ensign in the 95th Foot, dated 3 Feb., 1860. He was transferred to the Bengal Staff Corps as Lieutenant on 18 February, 1861, and died at Luckimpore on 6 March, 1867, then serving in the 2nd Punjab Infantry. He was born at Waterford, Ireland, on 26th May, 1834.

28. Captain Robert Bruce Chichester, 81st Regiment.

28A. A creation of 'Punch'. See *Punch*, vol. x. 93; xiv. 6; and xxv. 39.

29. Major (Bt. Lieut.-Colonel) James Duncan MacPherson, Military Secretary to Sir John Lawrence.

30. Female Eurasians.

32. Gustavinski—always mentioned by Lang as 'Ski.'

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[18 May, 1857. Monday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 5-2. Sunset, 6-51.] experiment [? experience.] The result shows me that a campaign would suit me, a fact I was not sure of, for I am very excitable on many subjects & fighting is one: but I find that actual danger, or expectation of it, calms and 'irons' me at once. We had two alarms yesterday and I expect of course every hour to hear more.

On Saturday [16 May] Ski & I dined at 26th Mess. Afterwards we paid the Centre Picket a visit: the Brigadier and most of the Staff had their charpoys (33) there & sleep there, in fact, on Saturday, we were ordered to do so, but I did not join the Picket until last night.

Yesterday was Sunday, but no holiday for me. I had represented to the Brigadier that I had upwards of Rs. 30,000 Government treasure, and my guard of Havildar (34) & eight are of course sepoys, only armed with bayonets. Se he ordered me to get my treasure away as best I could. Of course no European guard could be spared, so I got two elephants, took a *rezai* (35) off my bed, put 15,000 rupees just anyhow into it, and flung the bundle carelessly on one elephant: a durree (36) on the other held another 15,000 and off I sent them at 9 a.m. Mr. Alpin & I followed in a buggy. I called on Mr. Montgomery to know where to lodge the monies, & he referred mé to Mr. Roberts. Mr. Montgomery told me that orders for levying 7,000 Sikhs, horse and foot, had come. Also that Anson (37) had written to say that he was afraid to move from Umballa because of the mutinous spirit of the two N.I. regiments (38). Just fancy! 9th Lancers, 75th Queen's, 1st & 2nd Fusiliers (39), European Horse Artillery (40), & he funks. Mr. Montgomery had written to urge him very strongly to order both regiments on parade & order them to march into the Jail & if they refuse, instanter to blow them to pieces. Similar advice had been given to Brigadier Innes (41) at Ferozepore, anent the 45th and 57th, at least the 700 of them who are there, the rest having deserted. I hope these men will at once, like firm men, act promptly. I found Mr. Roberts with a great bundle of Native letters found on the persons of the deserters whom his sowars had brought in from the district (our deserters, 16th, etc.).

I took off my elephants to the Fort & lodged my money there. Captain Baker (42) has relieved me of the Fort during these times when a man 'can't be in two places at once,' and is 'Special Garrison Engineer.' The Fort of course is being prepared for siege: it is being armed & victualled. Of the three gates, two are being built up and the Hathi Paun

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33. A bed: lit. four-footed.
34. A Native N.C.O., corresponding in rank to the English serjeant.
35. A quilted counterpane. 36. A carpet.
37. General the Hon. George Anson, Commander-in-Chief in India.
38. 5th and 60th Bengal N.I.
39. Bengal (European) Fusiliers, which in 1861 became the 101st and 104th Foot, and in 1881 the 1st and 2nd battalions of The Royal Munster Fusiliers. They were disbanded on 31 July, 1922.
40. The 2nd and 3rd Troops, 3rd Brigade, Bengal (European) Horse Artillery.
41. Colonel Peter Innes; Major, 14th Bengal N.I. Ferozepore is 50 miles due S. from Lahore.
42. Frederick Moffat Baker, 65th Bengal N.I., P.W.D., Punjab.

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[18 May, 1857. Monday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 5-2. Sunset, 6-51.]
(43) Gate alone is open & now of course guarded by Europeans: no N.I. troops in the Fort. All the ladies & Keraniesses have quarters in the Fort. I visited the Dr., Brake, and found six ladies with their children there: some apparently going daft with fright, even in that safe place, guarded by high walls and Europeans. I heard such stories of the flight into the Fort, how Ladies came 8 or 9 in a carriage and ran into the gateways, their children in their arms, at 2 o'clock on a May day!

I drove back, well roasted, in the afternoon & slept. Of course there was no Service in Church, but at daybreak I went over to the Artillery barracks where Farrer read service to the Artillery men under arms in the open air. In the evening I dined with Farrer. Several dropped in after dinner, and as we chatted 'Hullo, there's the Assembly! the Alarm! by Jove, the Double!' The troops must be up, and out we sallied to the Centre Picket, which of course was under arms, portfires burning, men at the guns. Off rode the Brigadier & some more, and presently rode back to say that our foe men were some 30 Indian sabres, allies, sowars sent up by the Civilians; as they had come tearing in at full gallop on a pitch dark night they had startled the Picket at the 81st end. They were posted as sentries round our Picket. Ski & I slept at the Picket. It was very jolly, regularly martial, calling of sentries, neighing of horses, clanking of arms, and the knowledge that we were all in earnest, every weapon loaded. Sleeping out on the plain, under the starlit sky, in the midst of all this pomp of war, was very pleasant. I slept, as I always do, like a top, and at about two was shaken out of my senses nearly by my bearer 'Stand to your arms.' I felt very inclined to go on sleeping, and was disgusted to hear, as I came grumbling up buckling on my sword, that it was all false again. The sepoys are in an awful fright of us & we apparently of them: it does seem skittles: the sepoys will presently be goaded by sheer anxiety & fright to end the suspense by running a muck. Half the Ladies are quartered in the centre Artillery Barrack & half in the centre 81st; poor creatures! some of them are so frightened: last night one Artillery woman screamed; a lot, of course, out of sympathy joined and they and the Ladies got wild, hid under their beds, etc. Ski & I are going presently to see Mrs. Rumley and Mrs. Boileau if we can. The N.I. Officers are in the most critical position, for their duty is to go to their men's lines if any row occurs, and they know what risk that is. Next door to me, the 49th, about 12 or 14, have put Captain Larkins's (44) house in a state of defence. They have some 70 guns in the house and two are always on guard. I suppose I should make over there if I see a party of sepoys dashing up to my door; precious little chance of escape however, I expect.

The last-joined griff (45) of the 49th, Forsyth (46), had such a merciful escape from the Delhi massacre. He got into Delhi about 7 a.m.

43. The Elephant's Foot Gate, so-called because "the elephants taking the court ladies out for an airing went through it, and turning to the left, passed up a staircase of broad steps, now destroyed, to the harem." *Gazetteer of the Lahore District*, 1883-4, p. 177.

44. Robertson Larkins, 49th Bengal N.I.

45. i.e. griffin. A European, newly arrived in India.

46. Ensign James Forsyth.

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[18 May, 1857. Monday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 5-2. Sunset, 6-51.]

on the 11th [May], and meant to stay there but found the Dak Bungalow (47) quite full & pushed on for Kurnaul. An hour afterwards the massacre began, and the Dak Bungalow is (or rather *was*) in the City.

. . . . . .

Letter. 19 May. Tuesday.

A very pleasant day! I was told off for special duty: first to go up & examine the Belfry (48) & report its capabilities as a Watch-tower, & then I was ordered to spend the day there & take Gustavinski, Frank Boileau & one of my overseers. Who should appear in the Station & at my house but Edward Salwey (49) my old chum, whom I had not seen for nearly five years; an unlucky time for him to make his appearance, but I was delighted to see him & he joined our Belfry party.

The Belfry is a square room, of course entered through the floor by a wooden trap door & into which such luxuries as chairs and tables could not be got. The 8 long Gothic windows, a pair on each side, were furnished only with slate Venetians; from each window I had a slate taken out, and with our 5 telescopes, our cards & books, rezais & naunds (50) of water, stocked with bottles of beer, soda water & lemonade, we spent a most jolly day, at least we seemed to be laughing the whole day, tho' if we had not all possessed Mark Tapley-like spirits (51) we should have been grumbling instead. The heat was intense, the sun roasting all day this little square chamber, whose windows were unclosed, made it like an oven. The thermometer must have been nearly 120°, and we were like so many Strasburg geese preparing ourselves for *pâté de foie gras*. We saw nothing all day, either in the Station which lay below us, as deserted & silent as a city of the dead, or in the country round, which also lay asleep under the winking haze of heat.

On that day all the Ladies were quartered off in Barracks. Every one was confined to his own lines and our state of siege was made stricter. Sunset relieved us from our burning prison and we dined at the 16th Mess & slept at the Picket. We have tops of tents pitched at the Picket and under one of these I slept. So cold is it at night—rezais and blankets.

Letter. 21 May. Thursday.

16th Coffee Shop. Kirwan in the Khakee coat, trowsers & pugree of the Brook Green Volunteers made his appearance. Gulliver drills them morning & evening. I dined at 26th Mess. No great event happened except that the Ice pits were opened, and that is matter of no small importance.

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47. A house for the accommodation of travellers.

48. St. Mary Magdalene's Church at Meean Meer had only recently been completed. It was consecrated on 23 January, 1857. The pictures of the Church are reproduced from photographs which the Rev. T. Devlin, now Chaplain at Lahore Cantonment (Meean Meer), has most kindly sent.

49. 2nd Lieutenant Edward Salwey, Bengal Artillery.

50. An earthenware water vessel.

51. *Martin Chuzzlewit*. Dickens. Mark Tapley was the personification of optimism. His great ambition was "to come out jolly."

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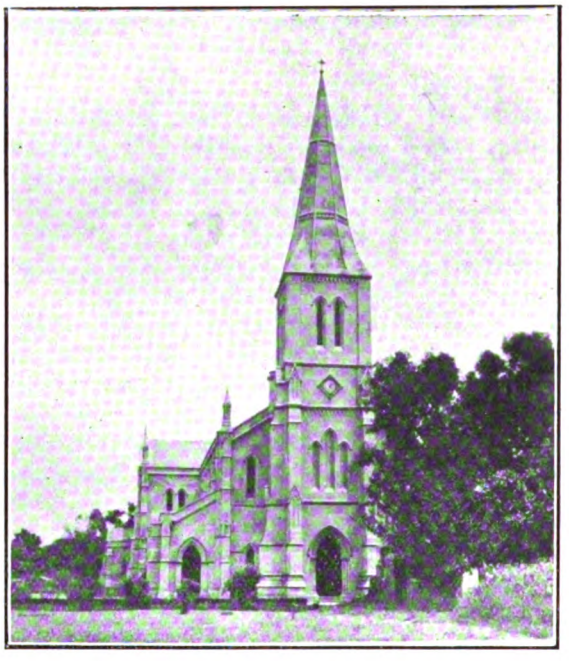
ST. MARY MAGDALENE'S CHURCH, MEEAN MEER.
(LAHORE CANTONMENT).



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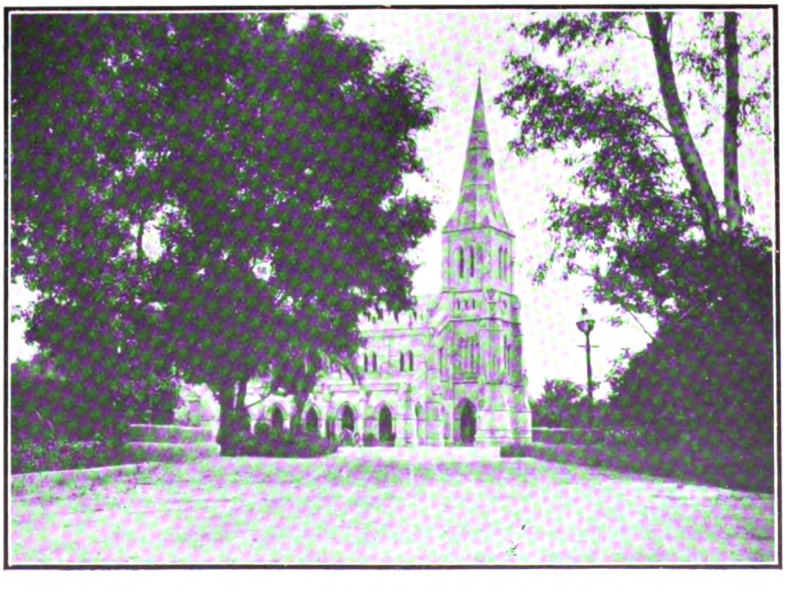

NORTH SIDE.

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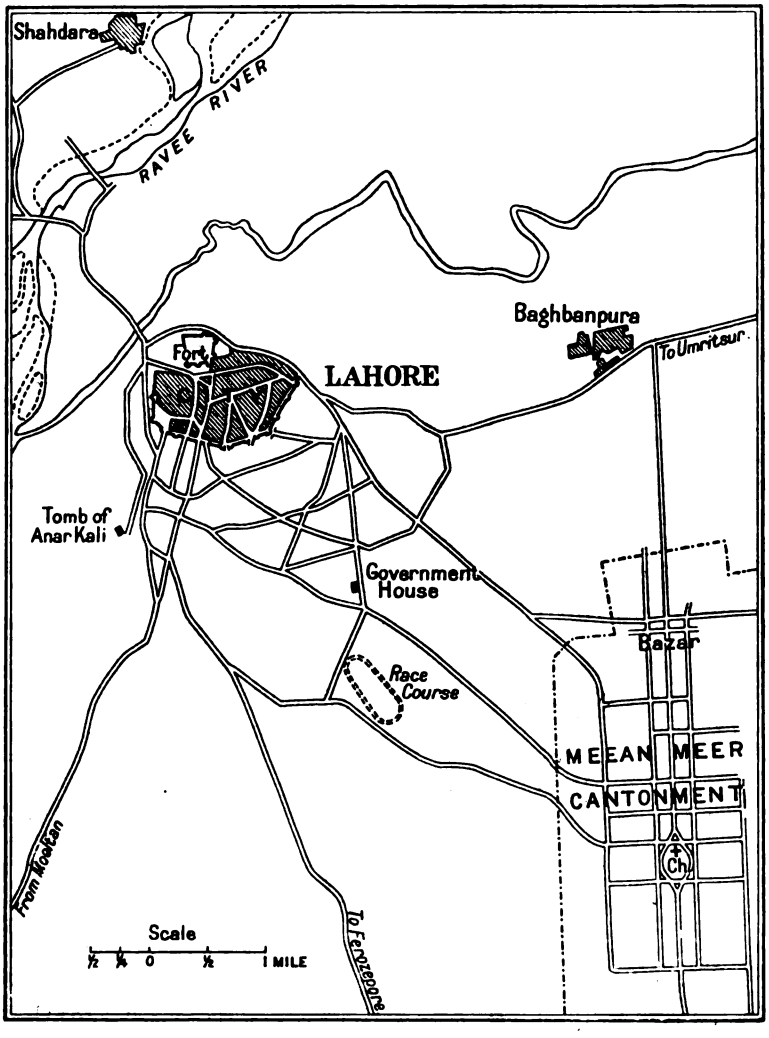

Map showing the relative positions of Meean Meer and Lahore, etc.

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Diary. 21 May, 1857. Thursday. Meean Meer. [Sunrise, 5-1. Sunset, 6-53.]

Walked to 16th Coffee Shop. Kirwan came up. He had just left Anarkullie & the rest of the 'Militia' who had been out drilling and shooting in style at the butts. They all now wear short Khakee coats, Khakee trowsers & pugrees. . . . . .

Rode down the desolate Mall in the evening. Dined with Lane (52) at 26th Mess. First day of Ice. Both Meean Meer & Anarkullie pits opened last night (53).

. . . . . .

Letter. 22 May. Friday.

Several days without a line: the state of excitement is itself becoming monotonous. We want some more earnest work to keep up the fire. We remain as quiet as possible, each side mutually afraid of the other, but as we are armed & the four Native regiments have only their own tulwars (54) and lathis (55), I think we at least should not feel the fear which some of our nervous parties indulge themselves in. The Ladies are safely secured in Barracks (and don't the dear creatures quarrel!). Officers are ordered to keep to their own lines: the European force is pretty equally divided in the North & South of Cantonments, and at night a big picket lies out by the Church in the centre of the Station. I believe we are to have the Ladies & women & sick from Sialkote in here, while the Sialkote Brigade joins the moveable column (56). A European Regiment is ordered up from Kurrachee to Ferozepore, another from the Mauritius, and steamers are sent out to intercept the China-bound troops.

(*To be continued.*)

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52. Lieutenant Charles Stuart Lane, 26th Bengal N.I.

53. Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, 1908-13, writes:

When the Punjab was taken over in 1849, the cantonments were still in Anarkali. The present Sadr Bazar was the old Cantonment Sadr, or principal Bazar.

Some of the old European Barracks are still in use, after conversion, as the University Law Schools, etc. Most of the houses were also built there, so, naturally, the Ice Pits were put down in Anarkali.

These were placed on a plain, of 4 or 5 acres, between the present District Courts and the City, where the District Schools now are. Two or three deep pits, with well-rammed sides, were dug and covered with thatched roofs. When the winter frosts set in, about 15 December, small shallow earthenware saucers were ranged closely in rows in this field, on a little rice straw.

Every evening in cold weather the saucers were filled with water, which, of course, froze during the night, and in the morning, soon after dawn, men went round and collected the ice from the saucers in baskets. These were emptied into the pits and the ice was then rammed hard. At times a sprinkle of water was thrown over it. The mass was covered until the next morning.

When the frosts stopped, in February, the pits were closed and covered in, and were not opened again until after pankhas were started, at the end of April. The ice, in good years, lasted up to September and it was thought that it cooled water, etc., better than machine-made ice.

The labour employed was convict labour, and the pits were in regular use until about 1880. Then an objection was raised to convicts being employed on outdoor labour so far from the jails, and as there was then a greater demand for paper making and work of that sort in the jail, the prisoners were put on to that. It did not pay to employ free labour, and an Ice Factory was started and that was the end of the industry. In some ways it was a pity, as it was an excellent form of punishment. The prisoners hated it; working in the pits was worse than the paper tilt-hammer.

As Assistant Commissioner and Secretary to the Lahore Municipal Committee in 1877-79, I had to supervise the Ice Pits generally.

54. An Indian sabre. 55. A thick stick.

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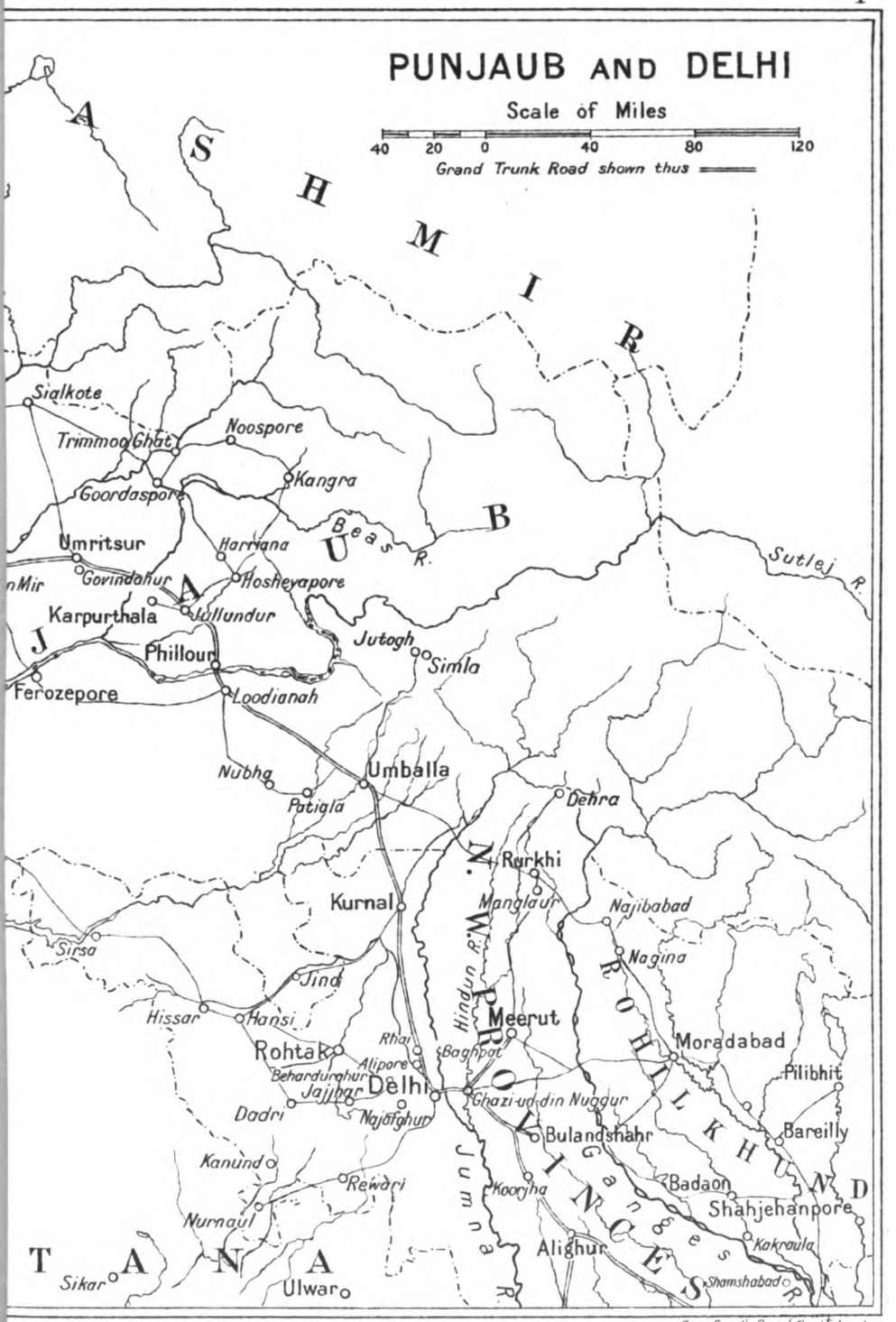

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GENERAL SIR WILLIAM HOWE'S OPERATIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1777.

THE BATTLE OF THE BRANDYWINE CREEK—11 SEPTEMBER—AND THE ACTION AT GERMANTOWN—4 OCTOBER.

BY MAJOR EVAN W. H. FYERS.

Continued from page 241 of vol. viii (No. 34).

[P.R.O.—C.O. 5/94. p. 639. No. 68.]

General Sir William Howe to The Rt. Hon. Lord George Germain.

Head Quarters. German Town. 10 October, 1777.

(*For maps, see page 238 of vol. viii.*)

[22 September, 1777.]

On the 22nd the Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the Guards crossed over in the afternoon at Flat Land Ford to take post; and the Chasseurs crossing soon after at Gordons Ford, opposite to the left of the line, took post there also. The Army was put in motion at midnight, the van guard being led by Lord Cornwallis, and the whole crossed the river at Flat Land Ford without opposition. Major General Grant, who commanded the rear guard with the baggage, passed the river before two o'clock in the afternoon; and the Army encamped on the 23rd with its left to the Schuylkill, and the right upon the Monatomy Road, having Stony Run in front. The 2nd Battalion of Light Infantry was detached to Swede's Ford, which a small party of the Enemy immediately quitted, leaving six pieces of iron cannon behind them.

On the 25th the Army marched in two columns to German Town, and Lord Cornwallis with the British Grenadiers, and two Battalions of Hessian Grenadiers, took possession of Philadelphia the next morning.

In the evening of the 26th three Batteries for six medium twelve-pounders, and four howitzers, were begun at Philadelphia, to act against the Enemy's shipping and craft that might approach the town. These Batteries were unfinished on the 27th when two Frigates, a number of Gallies, Gondolas, and other armed vessels came up from Mud Island, and attacked the lower Battery of two guns and two howitzers. The largest Frigate, called the *Delaware*, mounting thirty guns, anchored within five hundred yards of the Battery, and the other Frigate somewhat more distant, the Gallies, Gondolas, and other vessels taking their respective stations as they could bring their guns to bear. About ten o'clock in the morning they began a heavy cannonade upon the town as well as the Battery, but the tide falling, the *Delaware* grounded, upon which the four Battalion guns of the Grenadiers being brought to bear upon her to the greatest advantage, they did such execution in a short time,

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[27 September, 1777.]
that she struck her Colours, and was taken possession of by the Marine Company of Grenadiers commanded by Captain Averne.

Brigadier-General Cleaveland, who attended the Batteries in person, seeing the effect of the Battalion guns upon the *Delaware*, turned the direction of his fire to the smaller Frigate and armed vessels, which forced all of them, excepting a Schooner that was disabled and driven on shore, to return to their former situation under the protection of the fort, where there were two floating Batteries in the manner of hulks of considerable strength, with three ranges of sunken machines, which they term *Chevaux de Frize* (1), to obstruct the passage of the river, the lowest row being three miles below the fort.

The Enemy had a redoubt upon the Jersey shore at a place called Billing's Point, with heavy guns in it to prevent these machines from being weighed up.

[REPORT FROM CAPTAIN LIEUTENANT FRANCIS DOWNMAN, ROYAL ARTILLERY, ON THE ACTION WITH THE *Delaware*, FRIGATE. FROM THE *Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution*, vol. 25, p. 161. 1898.

This report is addressed to Colonel James Pattison, Commanding R.A. at New York. Although it is not dated, it obviously refers to the action on 27 September, 1777.

I have the honour to report that early in the morning of September 27th, two rebel ships, five galleys and an armed sloop, were seen beating up from Gloucester Point to Philadelphia. I commanded at the lower end of the town four medium 12 pounders and two 5½ inch howitzers, and gave directions for everything to be in readiness for action. Captain Standish (2) commanded the same number of guns at the upper parts of the town. In the preceding night a platform had been laid for only two of the 12 pounders; the other two, and one of the howitzers, were therefore placed upon the bank by the water-side as conveniently as the ground would admit. The ships and galleys by this time were approaching fast. I had received orders not to fire till I was fired at; the situation was disagreeable for the largest ship was within 400 yards, and in another tack or two would have been alongside our guns. She had hoisted before this time rebel colours. A gun was now fired at her, the shot went on board, and we could plainly discover threw the people in confusion. She returned the fire, joined by the other ship and all the galleys. The fire was become general and continued so for some time. The largest ship still seemed inclined to push past our guns, but by receiving some shot, and a shell which set her on fire, the people were thrown into great disorder, neglected

1. The *chevaux-de-frise* consisted of three rows of immense beams of timber, bolted and fastened together and stuck with spikes. It was sunk across the river a little below the place where the Schuylkill empties itself into the Delaware. The upper line was flanked by a fort on Mud Island and the works at Red Bank; the lower by works on the Jersey shore at Billing's Port. When the fort was taken, Captain Hamond, in the *Roebuck*, made an opening in the lower line. [Stedman, Vol. 1, p. 296.]
2. Captain David Standish, Royal Artillery.

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[27 September, 1777.]
the management of the sails, and she ran aground within 250 yards of our guns. In this situation she remained several minutes and fired many rounds. She then struck her colours. Whilst she was aground Lieutenant Vaughan (3) with two 6 pounders was ordered to a rising ground, retired from the water. He fired three shots before she surrendered. A non-commissioned officer was sent to hail her, and order their boat on shore, which command was instantly complied with, and as no artillerymen could possibly be spared from the guns, which were now all turned on the other ship and galleys, ten of the grenadiers were sent on board, and with them went Captain Moncrieff (4) of the Engineers, by whose activity and cleverness the fire was extinguished. So far from any other soldiers than the artillery taking the ship, there was not one man to assist at the guns; many of the townspeople did, and were very serviceable. The ship taken was the *Delaware,* a rebel frigate of twenty-two 12 pounders and 152 men. The other ship carried 20 guns, some of them 18 pounders. The galleys had each an 18 or a 24 pounder.]

[*Howe's letter continued.*]

Upon the representation of Captain Hammond (5), commanding His Majesty's Ship *Roebuck,* 44, who was lying off Chester with some other ships of war, that the possession of Billing's Point would give him the lower *Chevaux de Frize*, the 10th and 42nd Regiments were detached on the 29th under the command of Lieut. Colonel Stirling(6). This detachment, crossing the river next day from Chester, took possession on the 1st of October of the Enemy's works at the Point, which three hundred men posted there evacuated, after spiking the guns and burning the barracks. Lieutenant Colonel Stirling pursued them about two miles, but to little purpose, as they retired with the utmost precipitation. Captain Hammond immediately opened the navigation at that place by removing a part of the *Chevaux de Frize.*

On the 3rd [October] the Regiment of Royal Welch Fuzileers was detached to Philadelphia with orders to proceed next day to Chester, where they were to be joined by the 10th and 42d Regiments on their return from Jersey, and to form an escort for a convoy of provisions to the Army.

The Enemy having received a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men from Pecks Kill, one thousand from Virginia, and presuming upon the Army being much weakened by the detachments to Philadelphia and Jersey, thought it a favourable time for them to risk an action. They accordingly marched at six o'clock in the evening of the 3d from their camp near Skippach Creek, about 16 miles from German Town.

This village forms one continued street for two miles, which the line of encampment, in the position the Army then occupied, crossed at right angles near a mile form [from] the head of it, where the 2nd Battalion of Light Infantry and the 40th Regiment were posted.

3. 1st Lieutenant Thomas Leonard Vaughan, Royal Artillery. He was killed in action (Freehold Court House) in the following year—28 June, 1778.
4. Captain James M., Royal Engineers.
5. Captain Andrew Snape Hamond. See 'D.N.B.' 6. Thomas S., 42nd Regiment.

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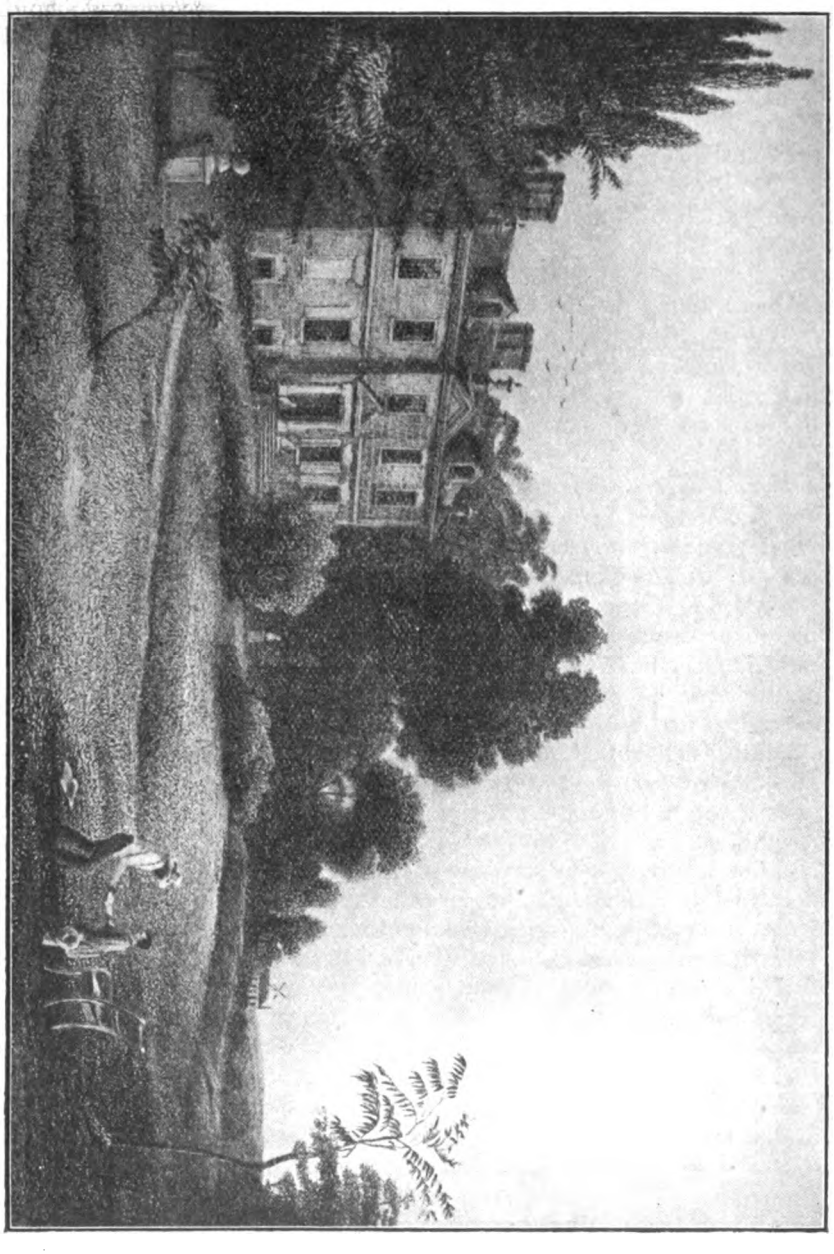

CHEW'S HOUSE AT GERMAN TOWN.

From vol. ii. of *The First American Civil War*, by the Rev. Dr. Henry Belcher. 2 vols. 1911.

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[4 October, 1777.]

In this line of encampment Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, Major-Generals Stirn and Grey, Brigad^r-General Agnew, with seven British and three Hessian Battalions, the mounted and dismounted Chasseurs, were upon the left of the village, extending to the Schuylkill, the Chasseurs being in front.

Major-General Grant and Brigadier-General Mathew, with the Corps of Guards, six Battalions of British, and two squadrons of Dragoons, were upon the right; the 1^st Battalion of the Light Infantry, and the Queen's American Rangers, were advanced in the front of this wing.

At three o'clock in the morning af the 4^th the patrols discovered the Enemy's approach, and upon the communication of this intelligence, the Army was immediately ordered under arms.

Soon after the break of day the Enemy began their attack upon the 2^nd Light Infantry, which they sustained for a considerable time, supported by the 40^th Regiment, but at length, being overpowered by increasing numbers, the Light Infantry and a part of the 40^th returned to the village, when Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave(7), with six companies of the latter Corps, threw himself into a large stone house (8) in face of the Enemy, which tho' surrounded by a Brigade, and attacked by four pieces of cannon, he most gallantly defended, until Major-General Grey at the head of three Battalions of the 3^rd Brigade, turning his front to the village, and Brigadier-General Agnew, who covered Major-General Grey's left with the 4^th Brigade, by a vigorous attack, repulsed the Enemy that had penetrated into the upper part of the village, which was done with great slaughter. The 5^th and 55^th Regiments, from the right, engaging them at the same time on the other side of the village, completed the defeat of the Enemy in this quarter.

The Regiments of Du Corps and Donop being formed to support the left of the 4^th Brigade, and one Battalion of Hessian Grenadiers in the rear of the Chasseurs, were not engaged; the precipitate flight of the Enemy preventing the two first Corps from entering into action, and the success of the Chasseurs, in repelling all efforts against them on that side, did not call for the support of the latter.

The 1^st Light Infantry and pickets of the line in front of the right wing were engaged soon after the attack began upon the head of the village; the pickets were obliged to fall back; but the Light Infantry, being well supported by the 4^th Regiment, sustained the Enemy's attack with such determined bravery, that they could not make the least impression on them.

Two columns of the Enemy were opposite to the Guards, 27^th and 28^th Regiments, who formed the right of the line.

Major-General Grant, who was upon the right, moved up the 49^th Regiment with four pieces of cannon to the left of the 4^th Regiment, about the time Major-General Grey had forced the Enemy in the village, and then advancing with the right wing, the Enemy's left gave way, and was pursued thro' a strong country between four and five miles.

7. See *The Journal*, vol. iv. 204, 215, and v. 48. 8. Chew's house.

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[4 October, 1777.]

Lord Cornwallis, being early apprized at Philadelphia of the Enemy's approach, put in motion the two Battalions of British and one of Hessian Grenadiers, with a squadron of Dragoons, and his Lordship getting to German Town just as the Enemy had been forced out of the village, he joined Major-General Grey, when placing himself at the head of the troops, he followed the Enemy eight miles on the Skippach Road, but such was the expedition with which they fled, he was not able to overtake them.

The Grenadiers from Philadelphia, who, full of ardor, had run most of the way to German Town, could not arrive in time to join in the action.

The country in general was so strongly enclosed and covered with wood, that the Dragoons had not any opening to charge, excepting a small party on the right, which behaved most gallantly.

The Enemy retired near twenty miles by several roads to Perkiomy Creek, and are now encamped upon Skippach Creek about eighteen miles distant from hence.

They saved all their cannon by withdrawing them early in the day.

By the best accounts their loss was between two and three hundred killed, about six hundred wounded, and upwards of four hundred taken. Among the killed was General Nash, with many other Officers of all ranks, and fifty-four Officers among the prisoners.

Since the battle of the Brandywine seventy-two of their Officers have been taken, exclusive of ten belonging to the *Delaware* Frigate.

Your Lordship will see the loss on the part of the King's Army in Return No. 3, and among the killed will be found the names of Brigadier-General Agnew and Lieut^{t}-Colonel Bird, of the 15th Regiment, both of whom are much to be lamented as Officers of experience and approved merit.

Lieutenant-Colonel Walcot (8), of the 5th Regiment, is among the wounded, but I have the satisfaction to report that he is now in a fair way of recovery, tho' at first his wound was thought mortal. His behaviour on this occasion reflects upon him infinite honour.

In these several engagements, the successes attending them are far better vouchers, than any words can convey, of the good conduct of the General Officers, and of the bravery of the other Officers and soldiers: The fatigues of a march exceeding one hundred miles, supported with the utmost cheerfulness by all ranks, without tents, and with very little baggage, will, I hope, be esteemed as convincing proofs of the noble spirit and emulation prevailing in the Army to promote His Majesty's service.

Major Cuyler (9), my first Aid-de-Camp, will have the honour to deliver my Dispatches, and I flatter myself is well-informed to answer your Lordship's further enquiries.

With most perfect respect I have the honor to be,

Your Lordship's most faithful and obedient Servant,

(Endorsed R^{d}. 1st Dec^{r}., 1777.) *(Signed)* W. HOWE.

8. Lieut.-Colonel William Walcott, 5th Foot. 9. Major Cornelius Cuyler, 55th Foot.

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Though separated by a very short distance from the Commander-in-Chief, the Hessian Commander of the frontal attack thought he was entitled to send home his own account of the share he had taken in this action. Thus it comes about that in the following despatch to the Earl of Suffolk (to be found in the State Papers, Foreign) we have a far more detailed account of the action round Chad's ford than is given by Howe.

[According to the *Allgemeine Deutche Biographie*, Wilhelm Knyphausen, Baron Innkaussen and Knyphausen, Lt.-General of Hesse-Cassel, was born 4 November, 1716, at Lützburg in East Friesland, and was educated at the Berlin Gymnasium. Having entered the Hessian army he served in the Seven Years' War, and while Major of Grenadiers was wounded at Bergen in 1759, and promoted to Lt.-Colonel in 1760. In 1775 he became Lt.-General, and in 1776 was given command of the 2nd Division, Hessian Auxiliary Corps formed for service in America under Lt.-General Von Heister, arriving in New York on the 18th October. He obtained great credit for the service of the Hessian troops at the taking of Fort Washington on the Hudson River on 16 November. On the recall of Von Heister, in 1777, Knyphausen succeeded him. Returning to New York the following year he organised destructive raids on the surrounding country, but the admitted brutality connected with them is here excused on the score of his acting under higher orders. He returned home in 1782 and was awarded a pension of 178 thalers a month. Later he was Governor of Cassel, where, having retired in 1788 he died on the 7th December, 1800, following an operation on his eyes.]

Camp near Philadelphia. 21 October, 1777.

My Lord,

The Commander-in-Chief, Sir W. Howe, having honored me with the Command of the right Column of the Army in the Attack upon the Enemy on Brandywine Hills on the 11th of September, I look upon it as my Duty to relate to your Lordship the Particulars thereof which are as follows:

At 5 o'clock in the Morning I moved the Column from Kennet's Square in the following Order:—

An Officer & 15 men of the Queen's Light Dragoons, Captn. Ferguson's Riflemen, & the Queen's Rangers.

The 1st & 2nd Brigade, British Infantry, under Major-General Grant.

Major-General Stirn's Hessian Brigade.

The Remainder of the Queen's Light Dragoons.

The 1st & 2nd Brigade of Artillery, which was followed by the Baggage.

Provision Train & Cattle of the whole Army, cover'd by the 71st Regt. Advancing on the Road to Chads's Ford, I had hardly come up to Welche's Tavern, when the advanced Corps, viz: Captn. Ferguson's Riflemen & the Queen's Rangers fell in with about 300 Riflemen of the Enemy, who were posted in the Wood to the Eastward of the Tavern. These were driven back by my advanced Party from one advantageous Post to the other behind the *Defilée* to the westward Side of Brandywine Creek, before which was a strong morass.

The Column, which continued to march on, having reached this *Defilée*, I ordered the Queen's Rangers into the wood on the left of the morass, in order to dislodge the Enemy there—The 2nd Brigade, with the 4th Regiment, were sent to occupy the Height on the left; the Remainder of the 1st Brigade to take Possession of a Height to the right, & Major-General Stirn's Brigade to proceed in the *Defilée* towards the morass,

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[11 September, 1777.]
which Capt.n Ferguson's Riflemen were ordered to pass, supported by a Detachment of a Captain & 100 men from the above Brigade.

The Enemy drew more Troops from their Right over to this Side of the Brandywine Creek, & encreased their Force on the Hills on the opposite Side commanding the Heights on our Side of the Creek.

Their advanced Troops posted in the Woods at the Foot of the Hills likewise were augmented to render more difficult our Passage over the morass.

To prevent which the Queen's Rangers were ordered to pass the morass immediately & attack them without Loss of Time, which they did with a Spirit & Steadiness I can not too highly commend. Notwithstanding the strong Fire to oppose them, they rush'd upon the Enemy with charged Bajonets, Capt.n Ferguson attacking at the same Time their left Flank. Whereupon they ran off into the wood near the Creek on the Road to Chad's Ford.

During this I had ordered the Brigades to follow over the morass; The 4th & 5th Regt. to draw up to the left across the Road to Brandywine Creek's Bridge, & to dislodge the Enemy in their Front.

Brigadier-General Cleaveland posted two heavy & two light 12 pounders on the Height on this Road & 2 Six pounders further downwards where the 27th Regt. was placed, in order to play upon the Enemy's Battery on the other side, & to keep them from the Creek.

The 28th Regiment occupied the Height to the right & the Rest of the Troops between this & the 3 Regts. to the left marched on thro' the wood under a heavy Canonade from the Enemy, to approach the Creek near Chad's Ford. The Baggage that was left behind on the other Side of the morass, covered by the 71st Regiment marched on the Height, where the Remainder of the 1st Brigade had been posted.

At 11 o'clock the Enemy were driven back over the Creek evacuating their very advantageous Posts of this Side. The most obstinate resistance they made, was on the road to Brandywine Creek's Bridge, but the gallant & spirited Behaviour of the 4th & 5th Regiment forced them soon to leave their Ground.

On this I ordered the Troops to halt & keep their Position, waiting for the Commander-in-Chief's Attack on the Right of the Enemy.

At 2 o'Clock great Mouvements were observed in the Enemy's Position on the opposite Side of the Creek. Four Battalions with Artillery from their Right filed off, to where the Attack to the Left of our Army was to be made, & the Road to Chester was covered with Waggons going this way & that way.

At 4 o'Clock by an uninterrupted firing of Musketry first we discovered the Commander-in-Chief's Approach & Attack upon the Right of the Enemy. Whereupon I immediately formed my Attack as follows:

Brigadier-General Cleaveland placed two 12 pounders & 2 Six pounders near the Creek to cover the going over of the Troops, which was effected in the following Order.

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[11 September, 1777.]

The 4th & 5th Regiment in Front; The 2nd Battn. of the 71st, which during the Halt I had ordered to leave the Baggage under Guard of the other Two Battaillons & join the Troops. Then Captn. Ferguson's Riflemen, the Queen's Rangers, the 23rd Regiment, the Remainder of the 1st & 2nd Brigade, Light Dragoons, & Major-General Stirn's Brigade, which closed the whole.

On a Hill to the left of the Road, which crosses Chads Ford, the Enemy had a Battery, which commanded & from which they kept up a constant Fire upon the Road & the Ford, while the Troops went over.

A little to the Right of this Battery on the Point of the Wood was a second Battery mounted with 4 Six-pounders, which they had quitted already in the Morning after an Ammunition Waggon of theirs had blown up.

A third was nearer to the Place, where the Guards & Grenadiers came over.

The 4th & 5th Regts., the 2nd Battn. of the 71st, the British Riflemen & Queen's Rangers, having pass'd the Ford, which was about thirty paces broad, continued their march on the road, & when they came near the Battery, drew up to the left, & attack'd the Enemy in such a manner as forced them to quit it notwithstanding the uninterrupted fire of round & grape shot, which continued ever since the Troops pass'd the Creek, & was supported by the musketry of the Battaillons, that were formed behind the Battery, which upon the Troops coming up retired from one inclosure to the other, & were driven by the gallant behaviour of the Troops back to the Heights to the left of the road to Chester.

The 23rd Regt. with the remainder of the 1st & 2nd Brigade followed the former more to the left, & got upon the Height a short time after them, where they everywhere met with dispersed parties of the Enemy, that had fled from the Guards & Grenadiers who occupied about the same time a Height something more to the left.

The Enemy were in full flight, & as soon as they had quitted the 1st Battery, they had placed 4 Twelve pounders on a Height to the right of the road crossing Chad's Ford, to cover their retreat, which they took towards Chester.

The coming on of the night, by which time Major-General Stirn's Brigade only could come up, after having detach'd the Regiment of Donop to support the two Battaillons of the 71st covering the baggage, prevented me from a further pursuit of the Enemy.

The following Cannons were taken by this Column:

In the 1st Battery they had left all the Artillery it had been mounted with, viz.:

1 Six pounder, which was found to be a Hessian Three pounder, which they had newbored in the Caliber of a Six pounder.

2 Very long Four pounders, which were French pieces.

1 Haubitze made in Philadelphia.

In the 2nd Battery, which they had quitted in the morning, 1 Six pounder was found.

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[11 September, 1777.]

How far the loss of the Enemy exceeds that of His Majesty's Troops in this attack, I dare say, is sufficiently known to your Lordship by the Report of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir W. Howe.

The brave & most excellent behaviour of all the Troops, Generals, Officers & Soldiers. that have been engaged, as well as the readiness & ardour of those that were not, can not be too highly commended.

But at the same time I look upon it as my Duty particularly to mention the merit of Major Wemys (1) & Captn. Ferguson (2) and the Troops under their command, as well as the high spirit & ardour shewn by the 4th & 5th Regiments on the road to Brandywine Creek's Bridge, as well as in the attack upon the 1st Battery which they forced.

The frequent & repeated encomiums that the Officers of my Corps have given me of Lieutenant Thomas Barker of His Majesty's Navy, in the execution of his office as Agent to the Transports during the embarkation at Bremerlehe as well as since, joined to the knowledge I have myself of his unremitted attention to his duty encourage me to request your Lordship will please to reward his merit by the first advancement in your power to recommend, as an encouragement for his future attention, especially as most Officers in that employment has already been provided for.

I have the Honor to congratulate your Lordship on the Success of His Majesty's arms during this Campaign, & sincerely wish a continuation thereof.

I request your Lordship to recommend me & the Troops under my command to the King's future good graces, with assurance of our constant readiness & attention to our duty, by which to deserve His Majesty's most gracious approbation shall be our greater study.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect,

My Lord, Your most obedient humble Servant (*signed*) KNYPHAUSEN.

[P.R.O.—High Court of Admiralty. Prize Papers, Bundle 468. No. 18.]

In Re the Ship the *Union*, Richard James, Master (330 Tons), bound from the port of Boston, Mass., to Nantes, France, taken as prize on the 22nd Feb., 1778, by the Letter of Marque Ship *Lapwing*, Commander—Robert Scott and brought into Falmouth, Cornwall. Taken in Lat. 47°, 18 N. She sailed from Falmouth, Mass.

Samuel Phillips Savage, President of the Board of War of Massachusetts, to Messrs. Morris, Pliarne, Penet, Gruel & Co., Merchants, Nantes.

No. 18. War Office, Boston. Octr. 25th, 1777.

Triplicate.

Gentlemen. You will doubtless be surprized to find a vessel in Ballast address'd to you from this Board untill we inform you she is taken up by Government to go express upon the most important occasion that this Country ever experienced. But before we enter upon a detail of this happy event, it will not we presume be unacceptable to give you a general view of our public affairs, since the fortunate actions of Trenton and Princetown, in New Jersies.

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[25 October, 1777.]

At the close of the last campaign Gen^l. Howe seeing his Cantonments broken up, found it necessary to collect his Army at and about Brunswick, a considerable Town in the Jersies, on the River Rariton, where intrench'd and cover'd on all sides he was for a time innaccessible to Gen^l. Washington who contented himself whilst his Army was recruiting, to beat back Mr. Howe's forragers, harrass his out-posts, &c. Mr. Howe, 'tis generally supposed here, originally designed to penetrate to Philadelphia thro' the Jersies, and actually made an effort but whether he knew it to be impracticable from the beginning or found so upon tryal, we cannot determine; the fact is he retreated to Staten Island, a few miles from New York, and about Midsummer embark'd his troops, stores, &c., and after a tedious passage arrived in Chesapeake Bay where he landed at the head of the River Elk, and marching thro' a dreary country, thinly inhabited, arriv'd at a River about thirty miles from Philadelphia, by the name of Brandy Wine. General Washington, tho' Gen^l. Howe used much effort to mislead his antagonist, early travers'd his designs, and with a penetration peculiar to himself predicted the banks of the Delaware to be the scene of future contest in that vicinity. General Washington met the Enemy and fought them, but, tho' neither courage was wanting in our troops or conduct in our Officers, a certain steadiness in charging, and quickness in forming, which nothing but real action can give any troops, was wanting, and lost us the ground, tho' the purchase was made with much British blood, and the fairest computation make their kill'd and wounded two thousand, whilst ours by the most exact returns dont exceed one. However matters were now brought to this crisis that Mr. Howe should have the open country, and Gen^l. Washington the City, or *visa versa.* General Washington chose the country and the command of a strong fort on the Delaware where the pass is so well defended by *Chevaux de Frize* as already to have sunk the *Roebuck,* a British forty gun ship, and repulsed two others attempting to get up to the city and which has hitherto kept the whole Fleet from their approaches.

The second important action was at, or near, Germantown where the Enemy were attacked, broken, and repulsed, their Train of Artillery actually in our possession, and the wreath of Victory just ready to crown the American Hero, when an unfortunate circumstance snatched it from his brow, a Division who acted as the Corps de Reserve of the American Army were order'd to advance nearer to their victorious brethren were mistaken (in a thick Fogg, the smoke of the Artillery, added to that of some feilds of stubble fired by Gen^l. Howe's order) for the Enemy, which put our troops in disorder, and occasioned a retreat on our side. Upon which the Enemy rallied and by long shot (having recovered their Artillery) retook their own lines; some General & Field Officers were killed and wounded on both sides. We lost, however, in the whole action, which lasted upwards of two hours, of kill'd and wounded and missing, Officers and privates, only seven hundred. But 'tis the opinion of the judicious [that] two more such, tho' on our side unsuccessfull actions, would ruin Gen^l. Howe's projects, for by Kill'd, wounded, disabled, and Desertion, an

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[25 October, 1777.]

Army which has no recruits flowing to it exhausts beyond computation, whilst our people at home, in health and high spirits, are conscious that for every man killed two rise to avenge his blood, by thousands increasing in the field. Some advantages, indeed, the Enemy derive from their Fleet, and Gen^l. Vaughan & Tryon have lately, with some Irish & German troops, run up Hudson's River and with four thousand attacked five hundred, before we could reinforce, tho' at the expence of much blood on their side, carried Fort Montgomery, a strong pass in that River, by which we were obliged to destroy two Continental [i.e. 'rebel'] hulks, and it is also said they have proceeded further up, stolen or attempted stealing some cattle, and burnt some houses; however, General Putnam, with full their number, is in their rear and General Gates, having disincumbred himself of his prisoners and sent four thousand men to repossess Ticonderoga, is advanced to Albany, and we hope will not suffer them to escape unchastized.

General Parsons, in the meantime, has orders if possible to invest New York, and eight thousand men under Gen^l. Spencer are at their rendevous with design to repossess Newport on Rhode Island. But, in general, the Southern States, viz. South & North Carolina and Virginia, are in perfect tranquility, almost unmolested, yearly growing more populous, and able to recruit the army in that quarter, and the Northern hive swarms in every corner, whence go recruits to defend our own frontiers, to man our publick and private Ships of War, and, by the by, was the attention of adventurers wholly turn'd to privateering, we should infinitely distress the Trade of Britain and enrich ourselves; as it is, numbers of valuable prizes weekly arrive in our ports. 'Tis true the middle States, York, New Jersey, Maryland and Philadelphia, bend under the pressure of two or three contending armies, but they are young, vigorous and fertile, and when (as we hope and trust in God we shall) we have expell'd the invader, will soon recover their elasticity.

Thus have we rambled from end to end of the Continent & having veiw'd General Washington's and Howe's Armies in the South, permit us to point your attention to the North where a blaze of glory reflects new lustre upon American arms.

An army, collecting for several years from Britain, assisted by her Allies, marched, well appointed, from Canada early this spring, and before we suspected their being so numerous in that part of America, invested our Fortress of Ticonderoga, the grand avenue to the New England States. Time and a strict scrutiny will discover upon what grounds (but true it is, this important Fortress, garrisoned by near five thousand troops, well arm'd & appointed, under command of Gen^l. St. Clair, was scarcely attacked before it was evacuated, and to our astonishment in an instant was our country laid open to the triumphant entry of Gen^l. Burgoyne and his cruel abettors, whilst our brave soldiery retreated before them in sullen resentment, alternately, against their own and the enemy's General.

But the Militia, composed of the main body of the people, were by no means dismayed, and finding all the blessings of life at hazard, rush'd to the field with order and emulation. Congress immediately superceded St. Clair and appointed General Gates to lead a band of hardy warriors who

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[25 October, 1777.]
never wanted any thing but good officers to lead them to victory. He rallied our broken army, and such was the deserved confidence in this great man, that when he gave the word to stand, each animated band, both of army and militia, were immoveable. Burgoyne, the mean time, in all the wantonness of victory, suffer'd, if not encouraged, his Savages & Canadians to murther the distress'd inhabitants, advancing into the country, as he vainly tho't, in the character of a conqueror. The first presage of his fate was a severe check given him at Fort Schuyler, an important post upon the Mohawk River. A Col^{l} St. Leger, with a motley mixture of Britons, Waldeckers & Savages, were sallied upon and dispersed by this brave little garrison, under the command of Col^{l} Gansevort, supported by Gen^{l} Harkeman, on our side retreated to give Gen^{l} Burgoyne the hint, had he been wise enough to take it, that he trod on dangerous ground. Soon after this a Detachment of about twenty five hundred Britons, &c., were sent to take post at Bennington, with orders, in a stile truly laughable, as opportunity offer'd, to penetrate the country. These well arm'd and disciplined troops stopped several miles short of their destination, intrench'd, and by a party of Militia under the command of the brave General Starks, assisted by three hundred Continental troops of Col^{l} Warner's Battalion, were twice attacked, their lines carried, and one half of them were kill'd and made prisoners (the enemy allow one thousand). This was succeeded by an action, more important, at Behmus Heights, about forty miles from Albany and night only prevented Americans another victory.

The last effort of this baffled army was an attack upon the left and center divisions of Gen^{l} Gates army, under the command of Generals Lincoln & Arnold, an action which, tho' marked with the unfortunate wounds of these brave Generals, terminated to the honor of American arms, for Gen^{l} Frazer with great numbers of Britons fell. The Division, consisting of the flower of the British Army, retreated in disorder and with great loss were pursued into their lines; their Hospital, consisting of three hundred sick and wounded, fell into our hands, and the Baggage of a German Battalion taken; their encampment broke up, and the Regiment dispersed.

We omit mentioning that during these transactions our light troops hung upon the rear and flanks of the enemy, intercepting their convoys, destroying their magazines and dayly beating back and making prisoners their guards; when harrassed and exhausted by incessant duty, sword famine or captivity became the wretched alternatives of this vaunting invader of America, and he, who a few weeks before in a pompous manifesto proscribed the best blood of the country as traiterous, was now at their mercy. His threats that by the blessing of God he would extend the influence of his arms, far and near, denouncing fire & sword against an injured people, recoiled upon his own head, and of ten thousand men who came out of Canada with him, full four thousand men were kill'd, taken, and run off, before the capitulation, and by this he obliged the remainder to deliver their arms, as he did his own sword, into the hands of his conqueror. (*not signed*).

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[Public Record Office. C.O. 5/94. P. 659. Enclosure No. 1.]

Return of the Killed, Wounded and Missing, of the Army, under the Command of His Excellency General Sir William Howe in the general Engagement with the Rebel Army on the Heights of the Brandywine. 11 September, 1777. [see vol. viii, p. 220.]

BRIGADES OR CORPS.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.								MISSING.	TOTAL.
	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Serjeants.	Rank and File.	Lieut. Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Rank and File.	
Royal Artillery... ...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	9	...	17
1st Battn. Lt. Infantry	...	1	...	9	...	...	3	3	...	8	1	36	...	61
2nd Battn. do.	...	...	...	6	...	...	3	4	...	2	2	41	...	58
1st Battn. Grenadiers ...	...	3	1	8	1	...	2	4	...	3	...	46	2	70
2nd Battn. ,, ...	1	1	1	9	...	...	1	1	...	7	...	61	1	83
Brigade of Foot Guards	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	1	7
1st Brigade — 4th Regt. ...	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	20	...	23
1st Brigade — 23rd ,, ...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	6
1st Brigade — 28th ,, ...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	8	...	11
1st Brigade — 49th ,, ...	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	9	...	14
2nd Brigade — 5th ,, ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	12	...	14
2nd Brigade — 10th ,, ...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	8
2nd Brigade — 27th ,, ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	3
2nd Brigade — 40th ,, ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
2nd Brigade — 55th ,, ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
4th Brigade — 33rd ,, ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	11	1	14
4th Brigade — 37th ,, ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	6	...	7
4th Brigade — 46th ,, ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	12	...	15
4th Brigade — 64th ,, ...	1	...	...	4	...	1	...	3	2	5	...	31	...	47
2 Battalions 71st Regt....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	3
Queen's American Rangers	1	...	1	12	...	...	4	5	1	4	...	43	1	72
Ferguson's Corps of Riflemen	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	5	...	8
TOTAL BRITISH ...	3	5	5	68	1	1	16	22	5	35	4	372	6	543
Hessian Yägers ...	...	...	1	3	...	...	1	...	...	3	...	12	...	20
Battn. Linsing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	2	...	5
Do. Lengerke ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Regt. Du Corps ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	3
Do. Mirbach	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2
Anspach Yägers ...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	5	...	9
TOTAL FOREIGN ...	...	...	2	6	...	...	1	3	...	5	...	23	...	40
TOTAL BRITISH AND FOREIGN ...	3	5	7	74	1	1	17	25	5	40	4	395	6	583

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[Public Record Office. C.O. 5/94. P. 667.]

Return of the Killed, Wounded and Missing, of the Army under the Command of His Excellency General Sir William Howe in the Engagement with the Rebel Army at German Town in Pennsylvania, on the 4th day of October, 1777.

REGIMENTS OR CORPS.	KILLED.					WOUNDED.							MISSING.		TOTAL.
	Lt. Colonels.	Ensigns.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Lt. Colonels.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Captains.	Rank and File.	
Royal Artillery ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	13	...	...	15
1st Battn. Lt. Infantry	...	...	1	...	5	...	...	2	...	1	...	36	...	2	47
2nd Battn. do.	...	...	2	...	7	...	1	3	...	3	1	51	1	4	73
Brigade of Foot Guards	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	3
4th Regt. ...	...	...	1	...	8	...	1	3	4	2	...	46	...	3	68
5th ,, ...	...	...	...	1	9	1	1	...	2	5	...	37	...	...	56
15th ,, ...	1	1	...	...	5	...	2	1	1	2	...	42	...	...	55
17th ,, ...	...	1	1	...	4	...	...	...	...	3	...	21	...	...	30
33rd ,, ...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	...	...	17
37th ,, ...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	20	...	...	24
40th ,, ...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	2	1	3	...	23	...	3	36
44th ,, ...	1	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1	1	...	31	...	1	40
46th ,, ...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	5	...	...	8
49th ,, ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	11	...	...	12
55th ,, ...	...	...	...	...	3	...	1	...	1	...	...	13	...	...	18
64th ,, ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	7
Queen's American Rangers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
TOTAL BRITISH ...	2	2	7	1	58	1	6	13	10	23	1	372	1	13	510
Hessians { Chasseurs ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	10
Hessians { Regt. du Corps ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	13	...	...	14
TOTAL HESSIANS...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	23	...	...	24
TOTAL BRITISH AND HESSIANS ...	2	2	7	1	58	1	6	13	10	24	1	395	1	13	534

N.B.—16th Light Dragoons, One Man killed.
3 horses killed, and 4 wounded.

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[Public Record Office. C.O. 5/94. P. 668. Enclosure No. 3 in Sir Wm. Howe's No. 68 of 10 October, 1777.]

Names and Rank of the Officers, Killed and Wounded, in the Engagement at German Town on the 4th October, 1777.

Regiments and Corps.	Companies.*	Rank and Names.	
Royal Artillery	...	Lt. James Frost,	Wounded.
1st Light Infantry.	17th	Lts. [Marcus Antonius] Morgan,	dead of his Wounds.
	4th	[Forbes] Champagné,	Wounded.
2nd Light Infantry.	71st	Capt. Sir Jas. Baird, *Bart.*	
	43rd, 52nd, 71st	Lts. [James] Weir, St. George, Campbell, Senr.	Wounded.
	37th	Capt. [Edward] Speke,	Prisoner.
4th Regiment.		Captain [Francis Percy] Thorne	Wounded.
		Lieuts. [John] Arbuthnot, [Peter] Kemble	Wounded.
		Ensns. [William] Dicksen, [Henry Gascoyne] Schoen, [Robert] Hadden, [Joseph] Blenman	Wounded.
		Adjutant Hurst.	Wounded.
5th Regiment.		Lieut.-Col. [William] Walcott	Wounded.
		Capt. [William] Charlton	Wounded.
		Ensns. [William] Thomas, [James] Stuart	Wounded.
15th Regiment.		Lt.-Col. [John] Bird	Killed.
		Ensign Anthony Frederick	Killed.
15th Regiment.		Capts. [John George] Goldfrapp, Harry Ditmas	Wounded.
		Lieut. George Thomas	Wounded.
		Ensign Henry Ball	Wounded.
17th Regiment.		Ensign Nathaniel Phillips	Killed.
37th Regiment.		Lieut. [Charles Allen] Buckeridge,	Wounded.
40th Regiment.		Lieuts. [John] Doyle, [Alexander Philip] Forbes	Wounded.
		Ensign [John] Campbell	Wounded.
44th Regiment.		Lieut.-Col. [James] Agnew,	Killed.
		Ensign David Stack,	Wounded.
55th Regiment.		Capt. [Garrett] Fisher	Wounded.
		Ensign [Thomas] Shuldham	Wounded.
Serving with		**VOLUNTEERS.**	
1st Light Infantry.		James Forrest	Wounded.
		William McIntosh	Wounded.
2nd Light Infantry.		Smithn. Waller	Wounded.
		½-pay En. Gordon	Wounded.

* The figures in this column indicate the Infantry Regiments to which the Light and Grenadier Companies belonged.

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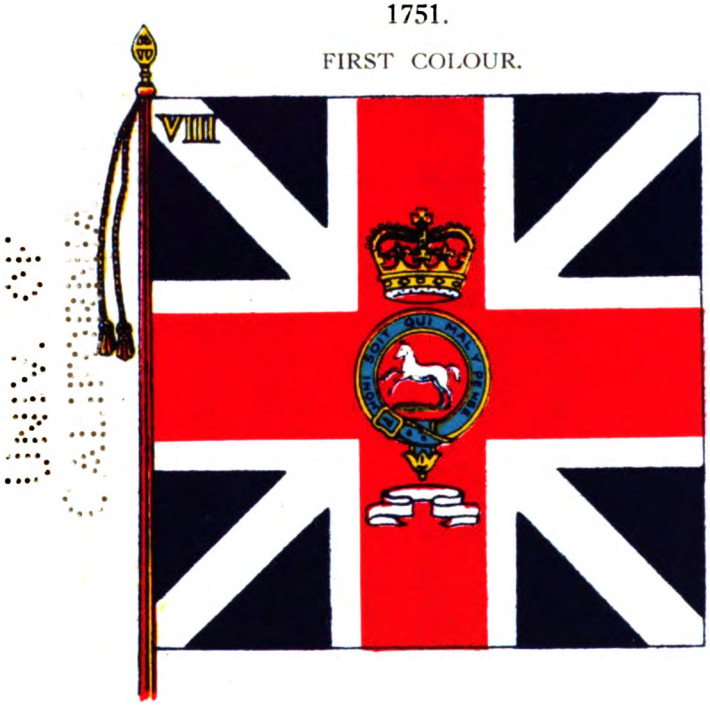
EIGHTH REGIMENT, Or, THE KING'S REGIMENT.

1751.

FIRST COLOUR.



SECOND COLOUR

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THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

The Colours of the following Regiments have already appeared :—

The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment).	Vol. vii.	p. 1
The Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey).	do.	p. 119
The Buffs (East Kent Regiment).	do.	p. 204
The Royal Scots Fusiliers.	do.	p. 184
The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster).	Vol. viii.	p. 32
The Northumberland Fusiliers.	do.	p. 127
The Royal Warwickshire Regiment.	do.	p. 191
The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment).	do.	p. 242

8TH REGIMENT, OR THE KING'S REGIMENT.

[The title of the Regiment in 1930 is

THE KING'S REGIMENT (LIVERPOOL.)]

" In the Center of their Colours, the White Horse on a Red Ground, within the Garter, and Crown over it. In the three Corners of the Second Colour, the King's Cypher and Crown."

The facings of the Regiment are described in the Royal Warrant as " Blue."

(*To be continued.*)

(*In the next Number* (*April*, 1930) *the Colours of The Royal Irish Regiment, disbanded on* 31 *July*, 1922, *will be given.*)

CANADIAN SKETCHES IN 1805-6.

Reference was made in the last number of the Journal (vol. viii, pp. 257-8) to a series of sketches executed in Canada in 1818, one of which, a coloured picture of Quebec, was reproduced. In this note, an account was given of the author of these sketches (Col. Severus W. L. Stretton), and also of his brother, Colonel Sempronius Stretton, C.B.

The latter, likewise an artist, drew a series of pen and sepia-wash sketches of Quebec and its vicinity in 1805-6, each view being described and dated. These are contained in a note-book, at present in the possession of his nephew, Major W. de Courcy Stretton, late R.A., of Salcombe, S. Devon, who has kindly allowed some of them to be reproduced.

In addition to the above views, the note-book contains several water-colour illustrations of contemporary Canadian costume (including one of

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an officer, head and shoulders, in grey great-coat with hood, or *capote,* fur-covered chaco, and fur necklet and muff), as well as a series of carefully painted Canadian birds, some of these latter, we believe, now but rarely met with. Each drawing is accompanied by a short note, descriptive of its subject. The coloured bust of a Mohawk Indian from the Grand River completes a most interesting set of drawings. I. H. Mc.KS.

SEMPRONIUS STRETTON,
Lieutenant, 49th Foot.
From a miniature—*circa* 1805.

SEVERUS WILLIAM LYNAM STRETTON,
Ensign, 68th Light Infantry.
From a miniature—*circa* 1812.

NOTES.

Quebec is built on the northern extremity of an elevated table-land which forms the left bank of the St. Lawrence for a distance of 8 miles. The highest part of the headland is Cape Diamond, 333 feet above the level of the water, and crowned by the citadel; towards the St. Lawrence it presents a bold and precipitous front, while on the landward side and towards the St. Charles the declivity is more gradual.

The map, facing page 56, shows the positions of the places mentioned in the titles of some of the sketches.

Plate 1—page 45. Distance from Cape Diamond to Falls of Montmorency is 7 miles.

Plate 5—page 49. Sillery is a small village on the left bank of the St. Lawrence, above Quebec. It cannot be distinguished in the picture, but is shown on the map facing page 56.

The *History of Emily Montague,* by Frances Brooke—see 'D. N. B.'—wife of the Rev. John Brooke, Chaplain of the garrison of Quebec, was published in 1777.

Sir Tobias Milnes has not been identified.

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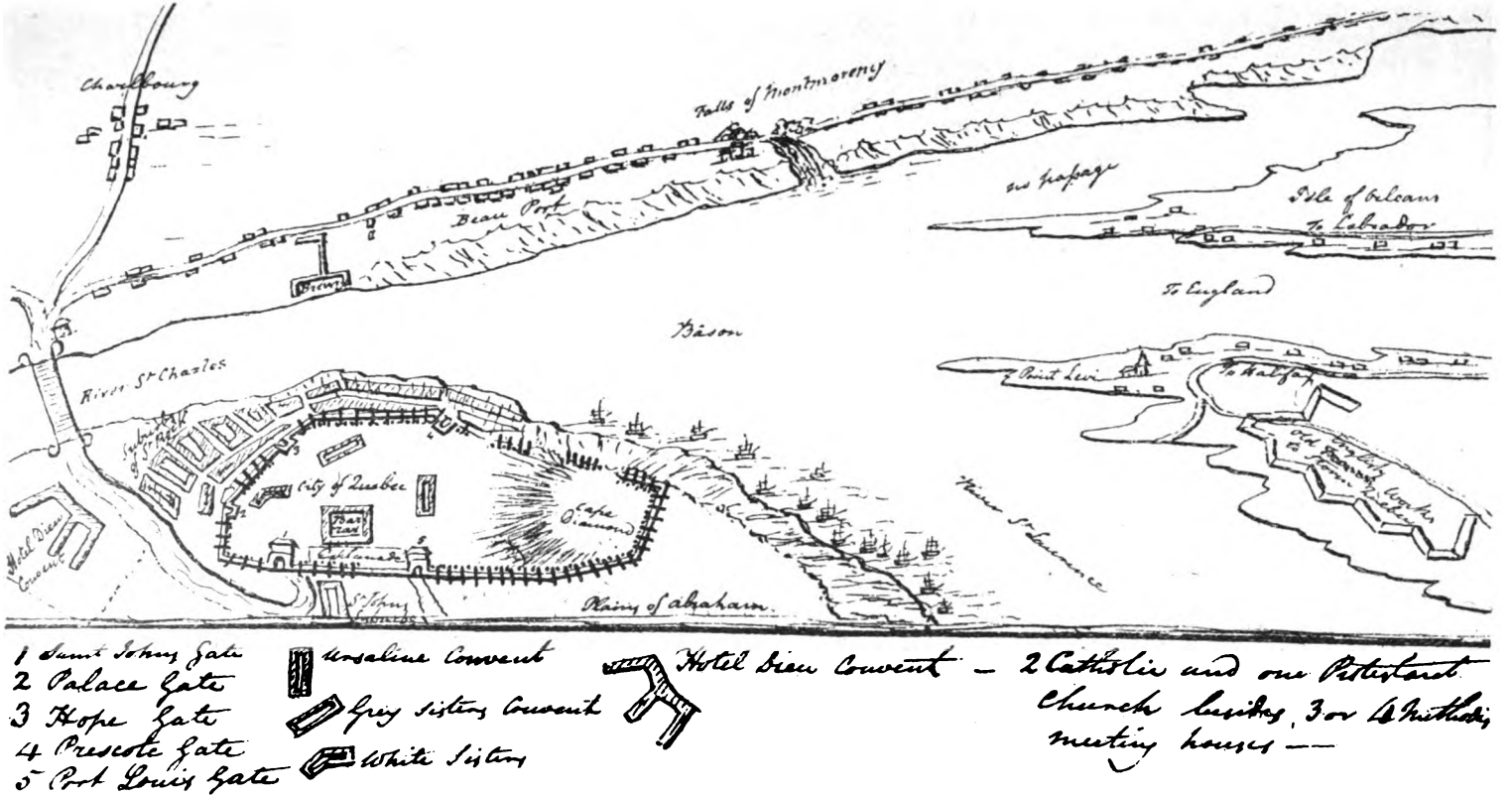

20 July, 1805.

1. Plan of QUEBEC and the country round.

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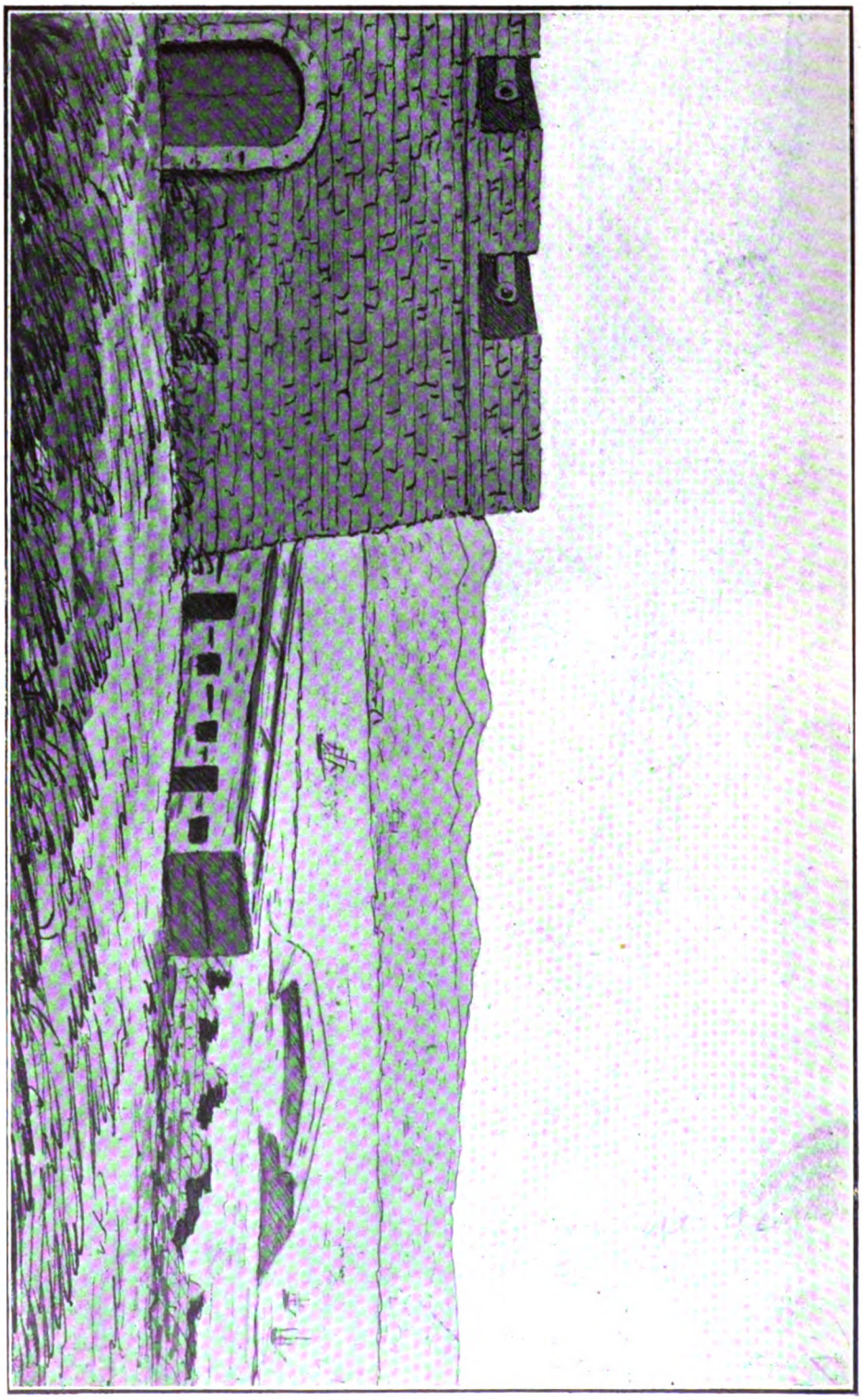

2. View looking up the river St. Lawrence from Cape Diamond Guard-House, Quebec.
20 July, 1805.

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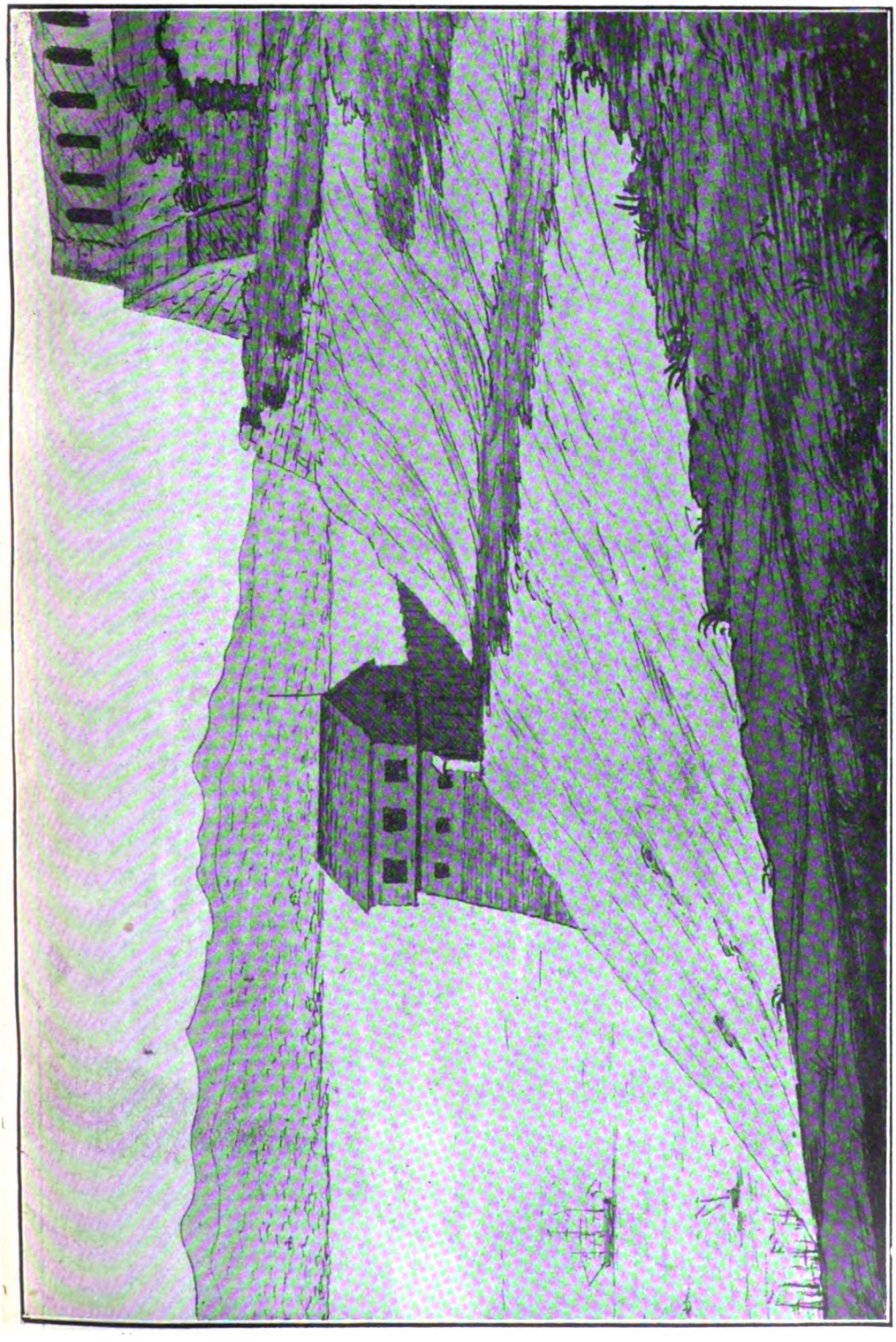

20 July, 1805.

3. View of the Hanging Magazine & part of the old French works on the Cape, with the river St. Lawrence below, and the opposite shore. Taken from the Signal-House, Cape Diamond, Quebec. Looking up the river.

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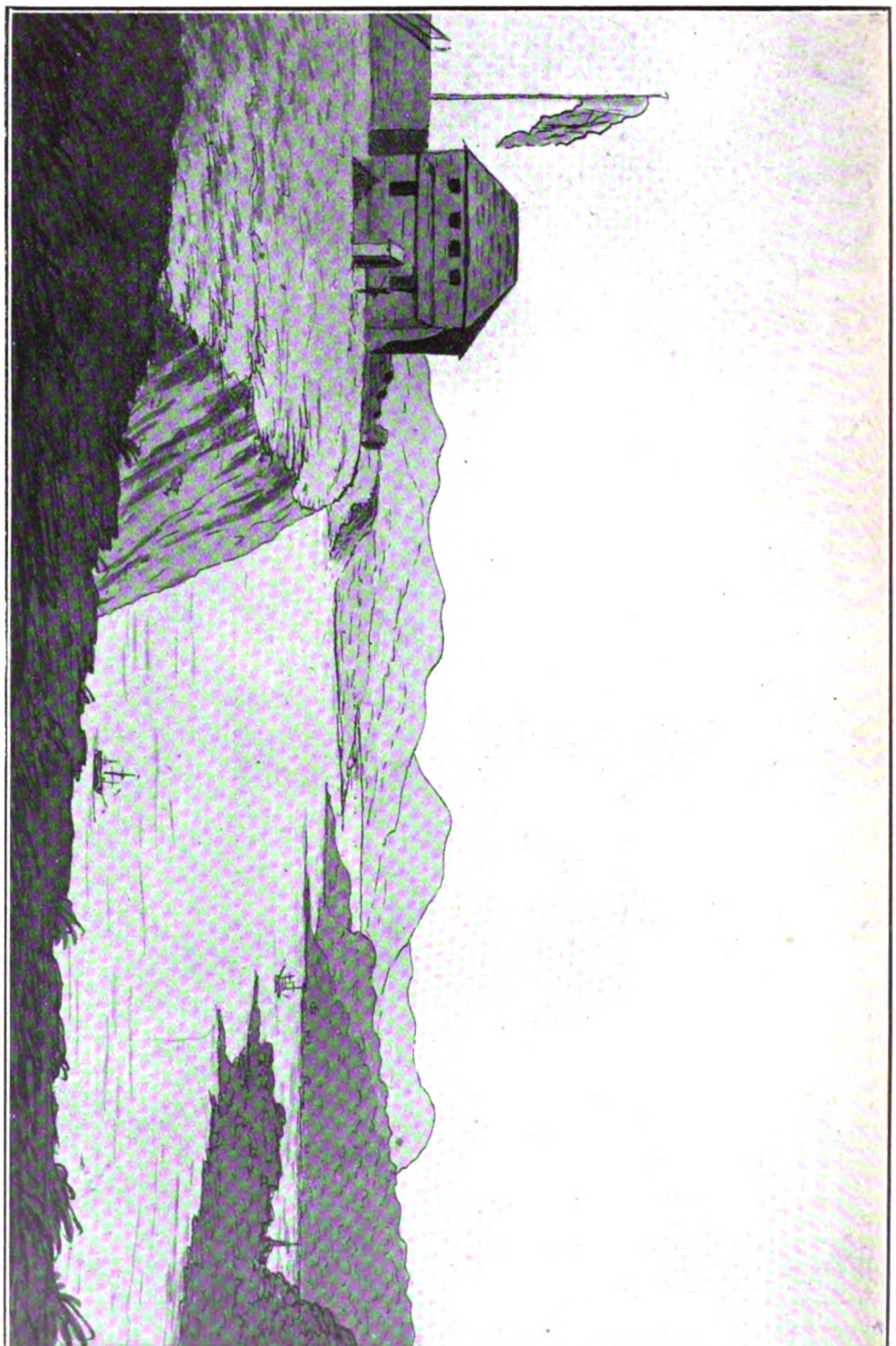

20 July, 1805.

4. The Signal House on Cape Diamond, with the Bay of Quebec, the Isle of Orleans, the Falls of Montmorency, etc. From Cape Diamond, Quebec.

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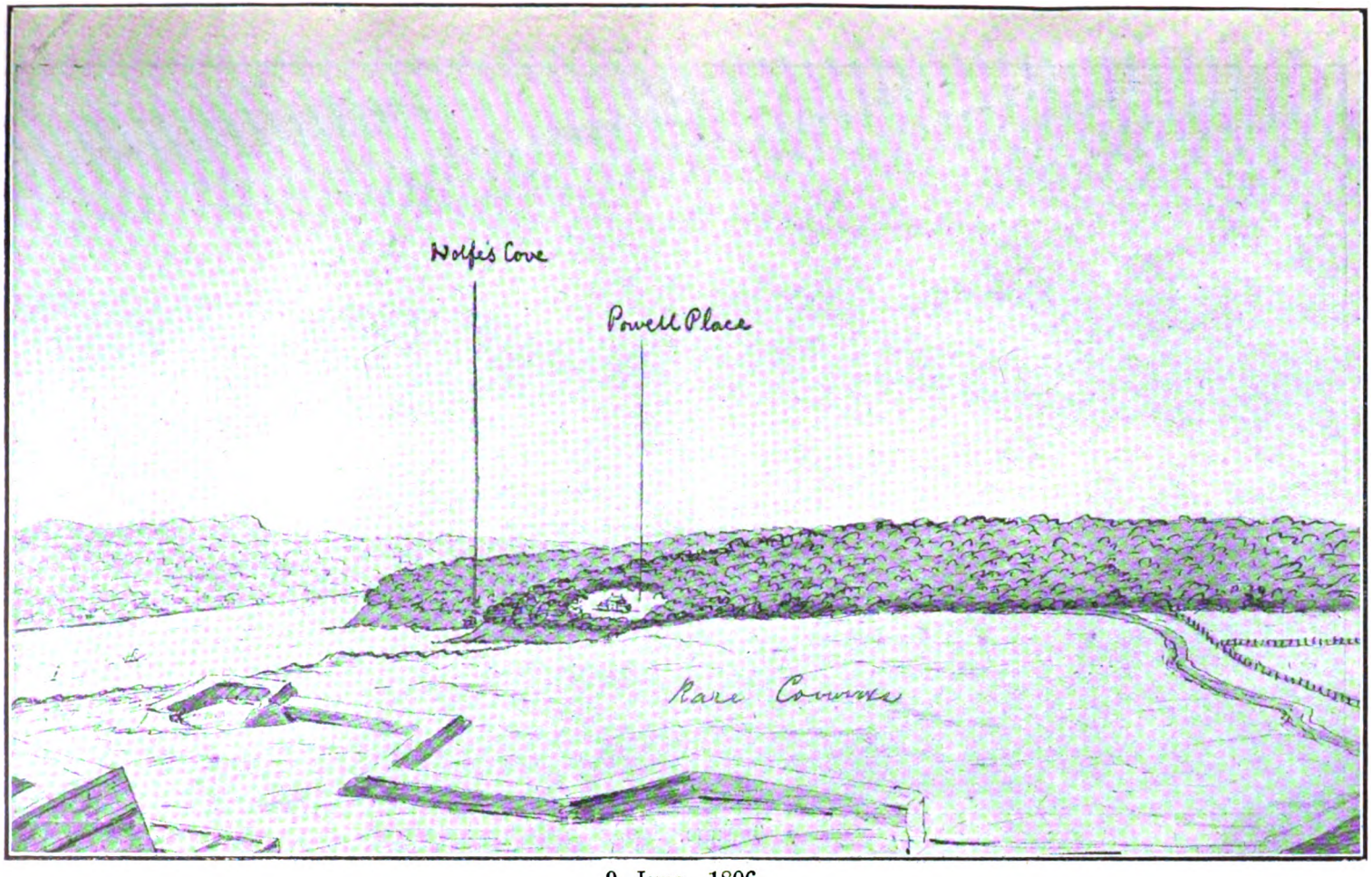

9 June, 1806.

5. View of the Plains of Abraham with the old English Works; of Powell Place, the seat of the Governor, Sir Tobias Milnes, and of 'Sillery' where "Emily Montague" was written. From the back window of my Guard-Room on Cape Diamond, looking up the river.

Likewise of Wolfe's Cove, where General Wolfe landed previous to his attacking Quebec.

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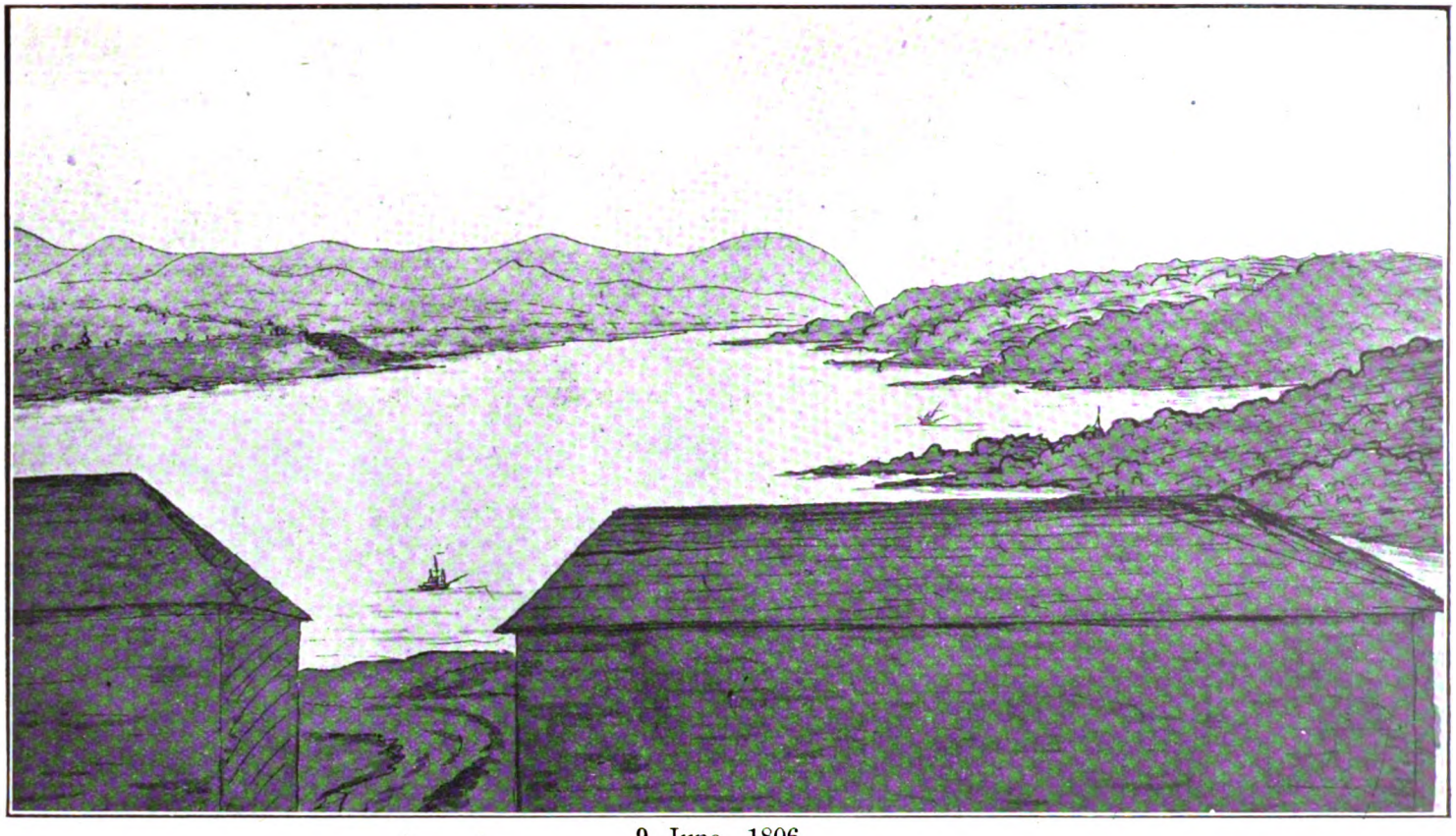

9 June, 1806.

6. On the left is the village of Beauport, and the Falls of Montmorency. On the right the Island of Orleans & Point Levi, between which is the River St. Lawrence, & the route for Old England. Front view from my Guard-House window on Cape Diamond.

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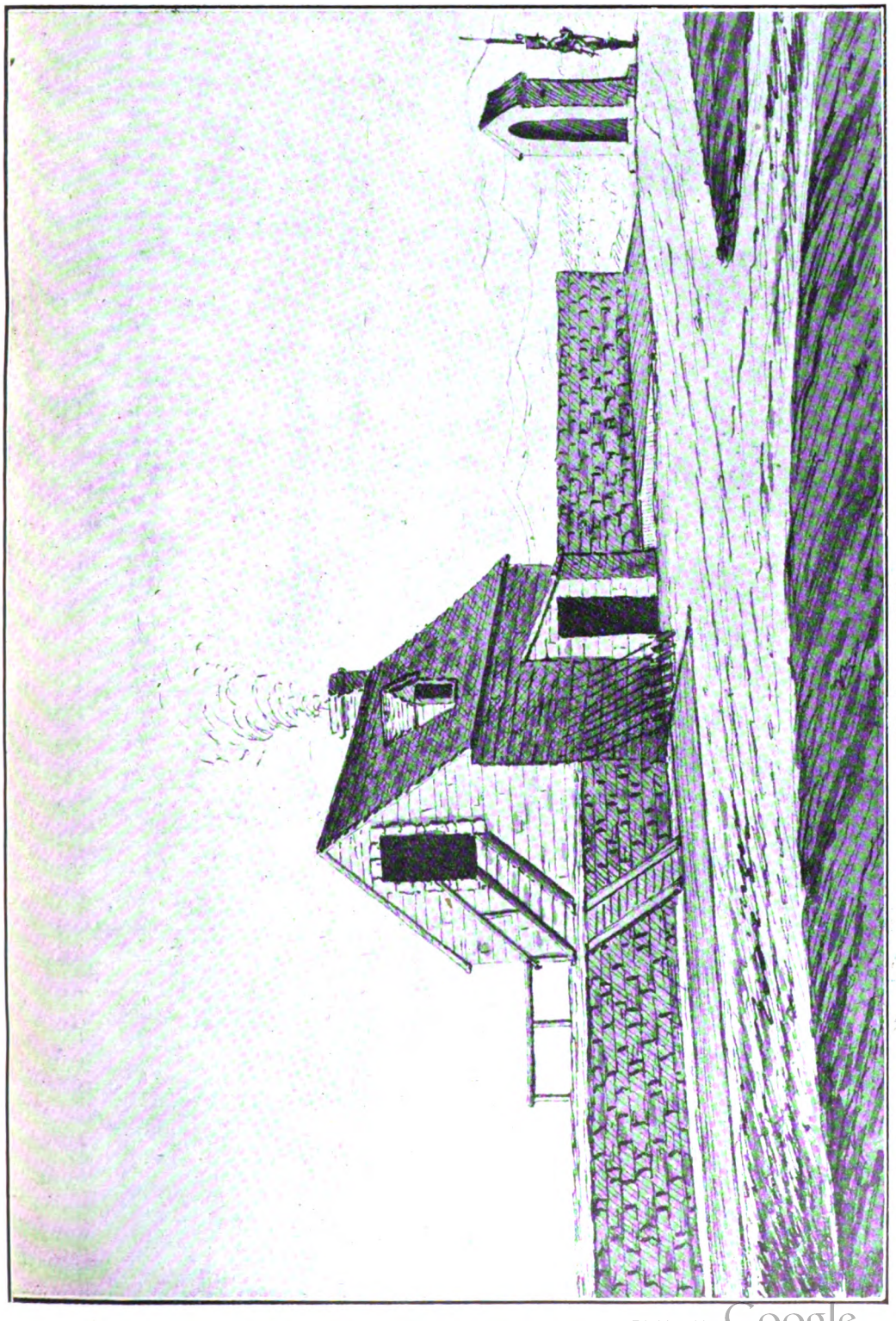

12 June, 1806.

7. Cape Diamond Guard-House, Quebec.

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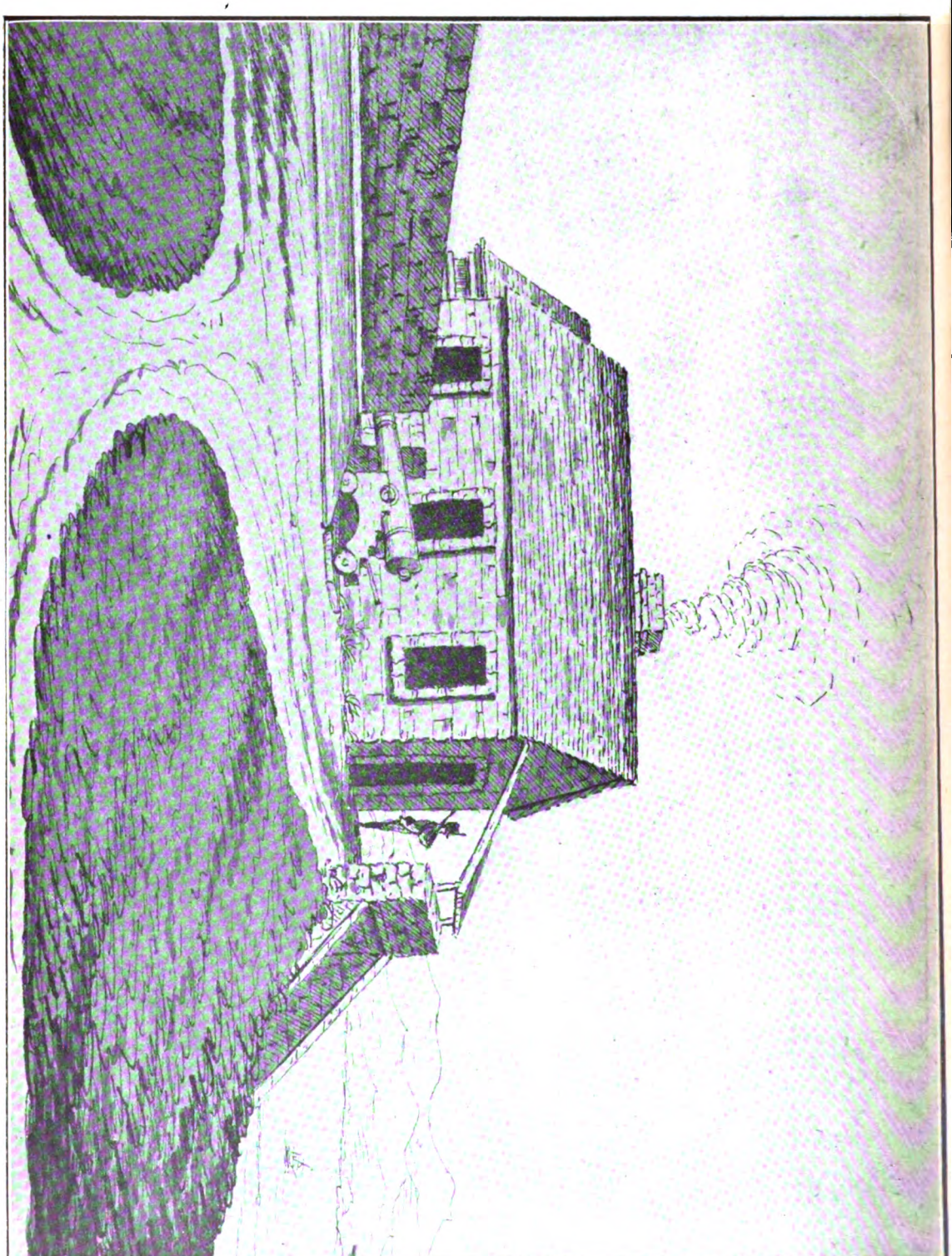

8. St. John's Gate Guard-House, Quebec.
12 June, 1806.

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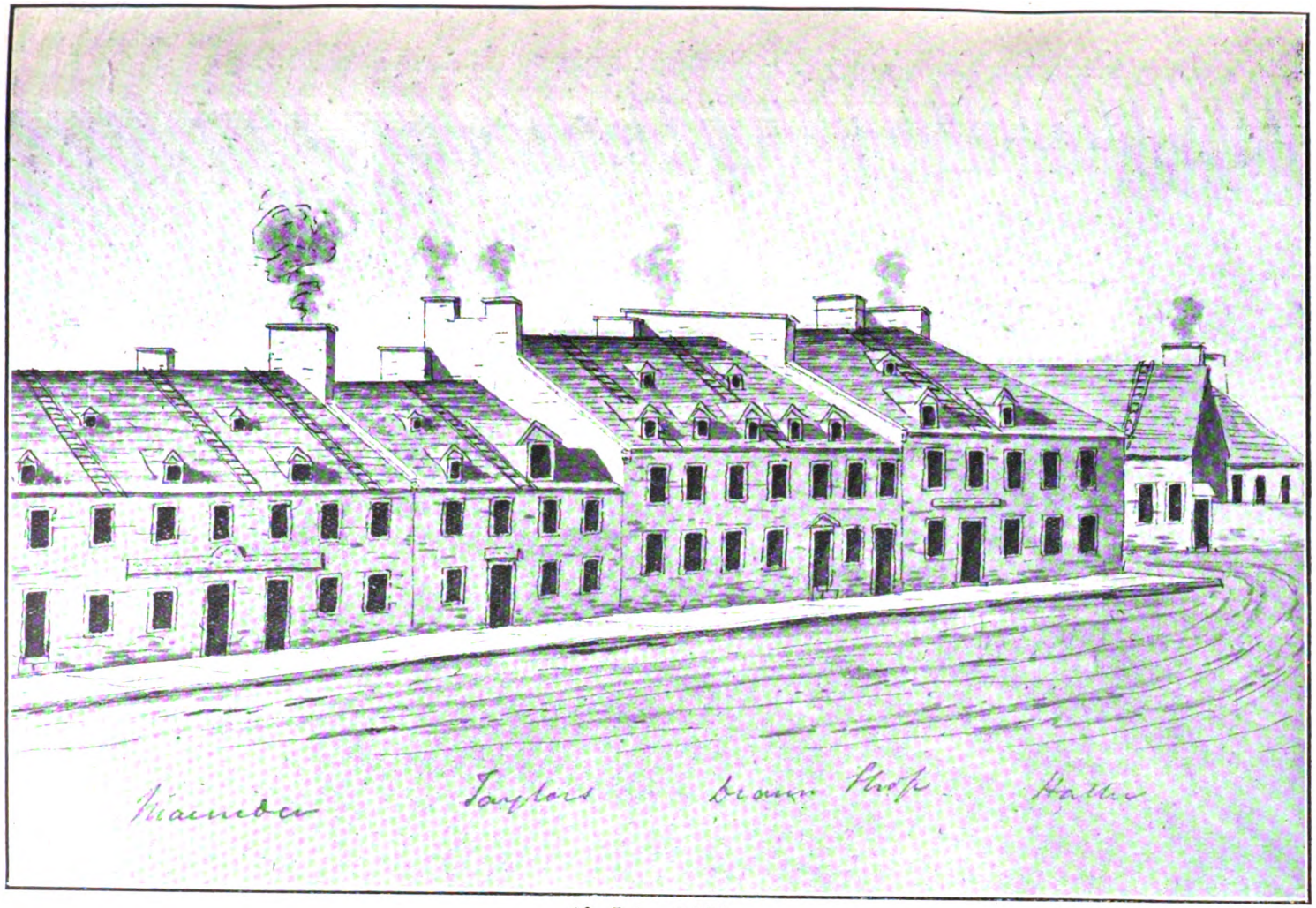

10 July, 1806.

9. View of part of Market Street near the Barracks, at Quebec, showing the mode of building shops in Canada. The lowest house is a linen draper and wholesale merchant; the next a store; the next an Inn; and the upper one a Hatter's. This is the way in which all Canadian shops are built.

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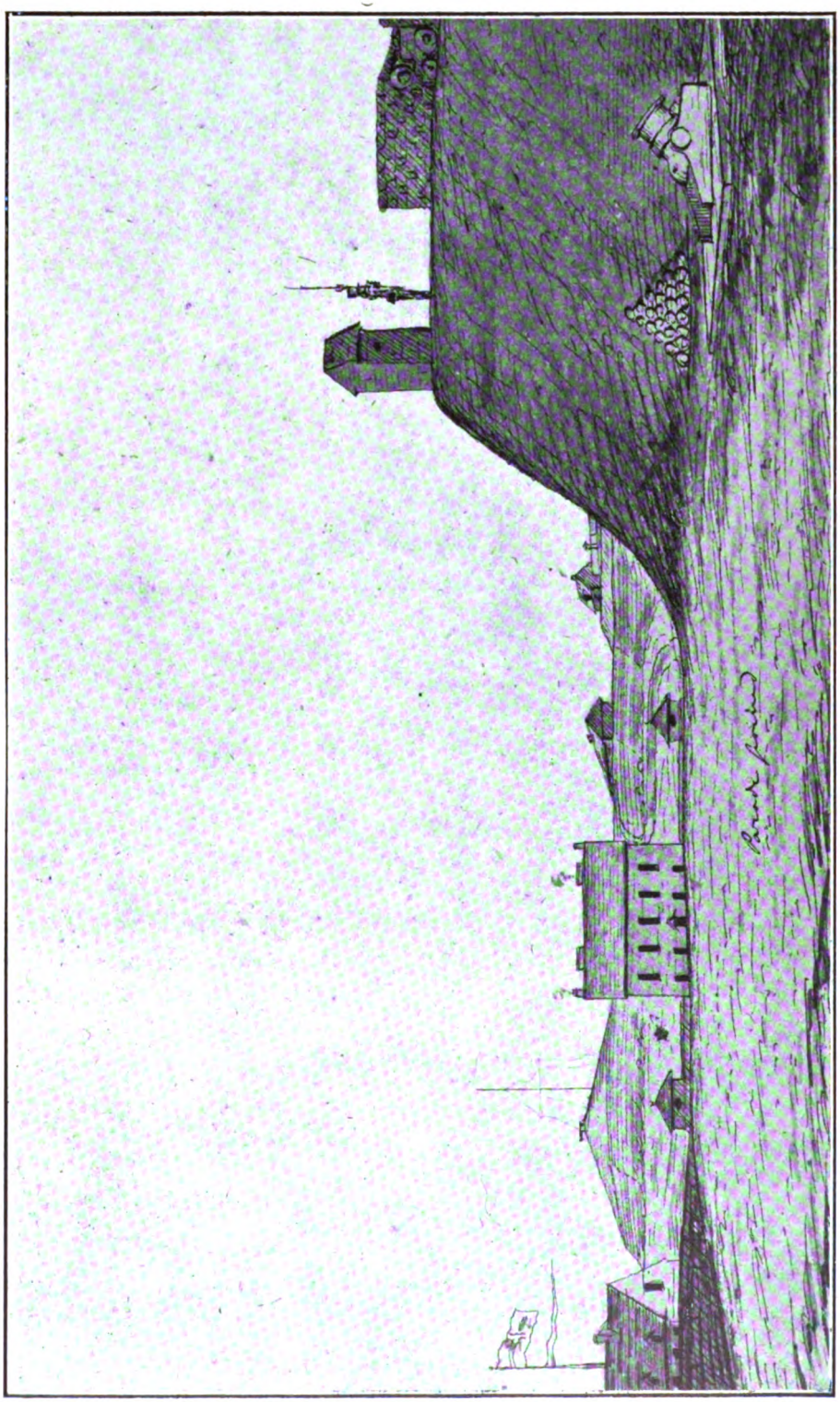

14 July, 1806.

10. View from my marquee (on the esplanade at Quebec) of Cape Diamond, the Attorney-General's House, etc.

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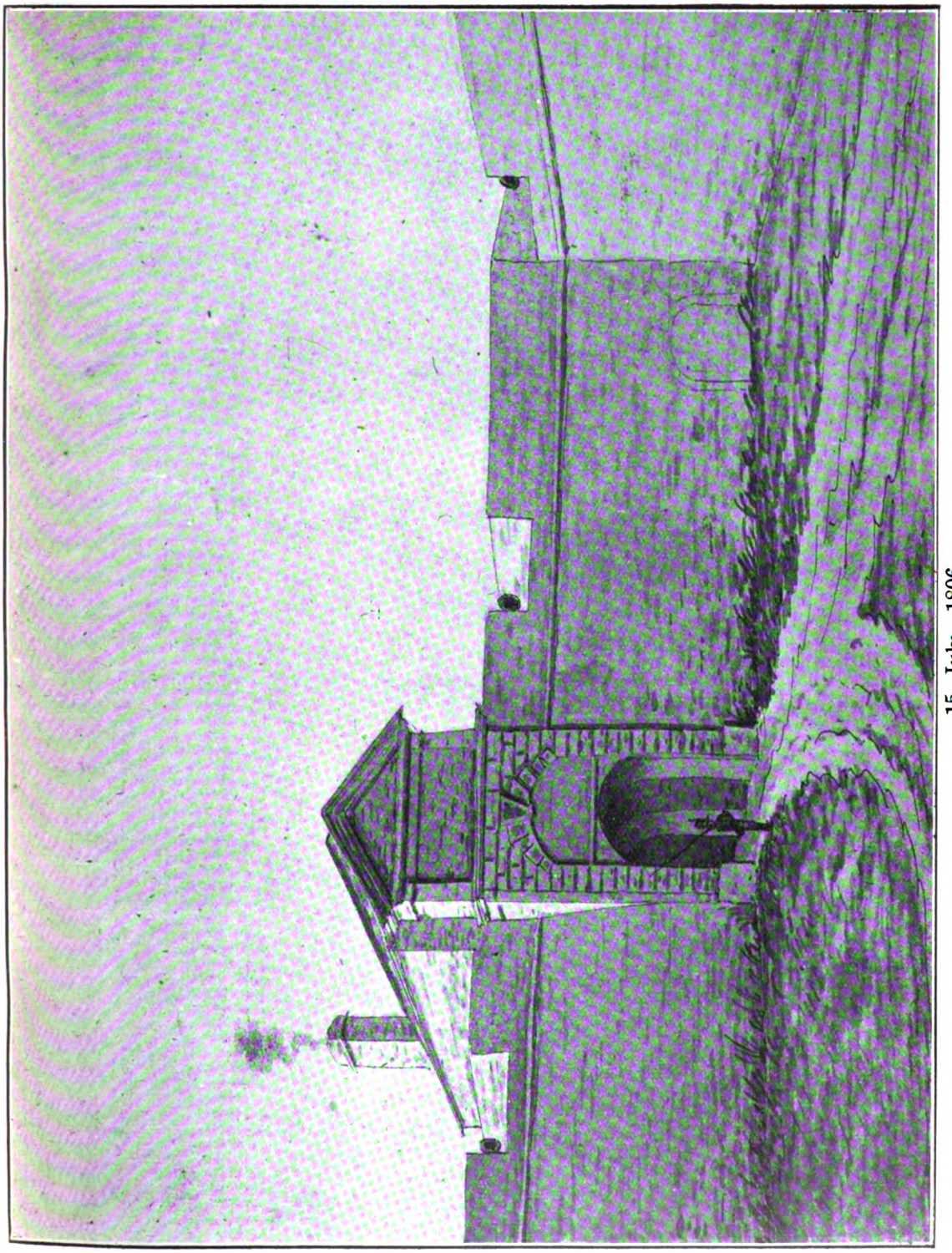

15 July, 1806.

11. Entrance into Quebec through St. Louis's Gate, from the Montreal road.

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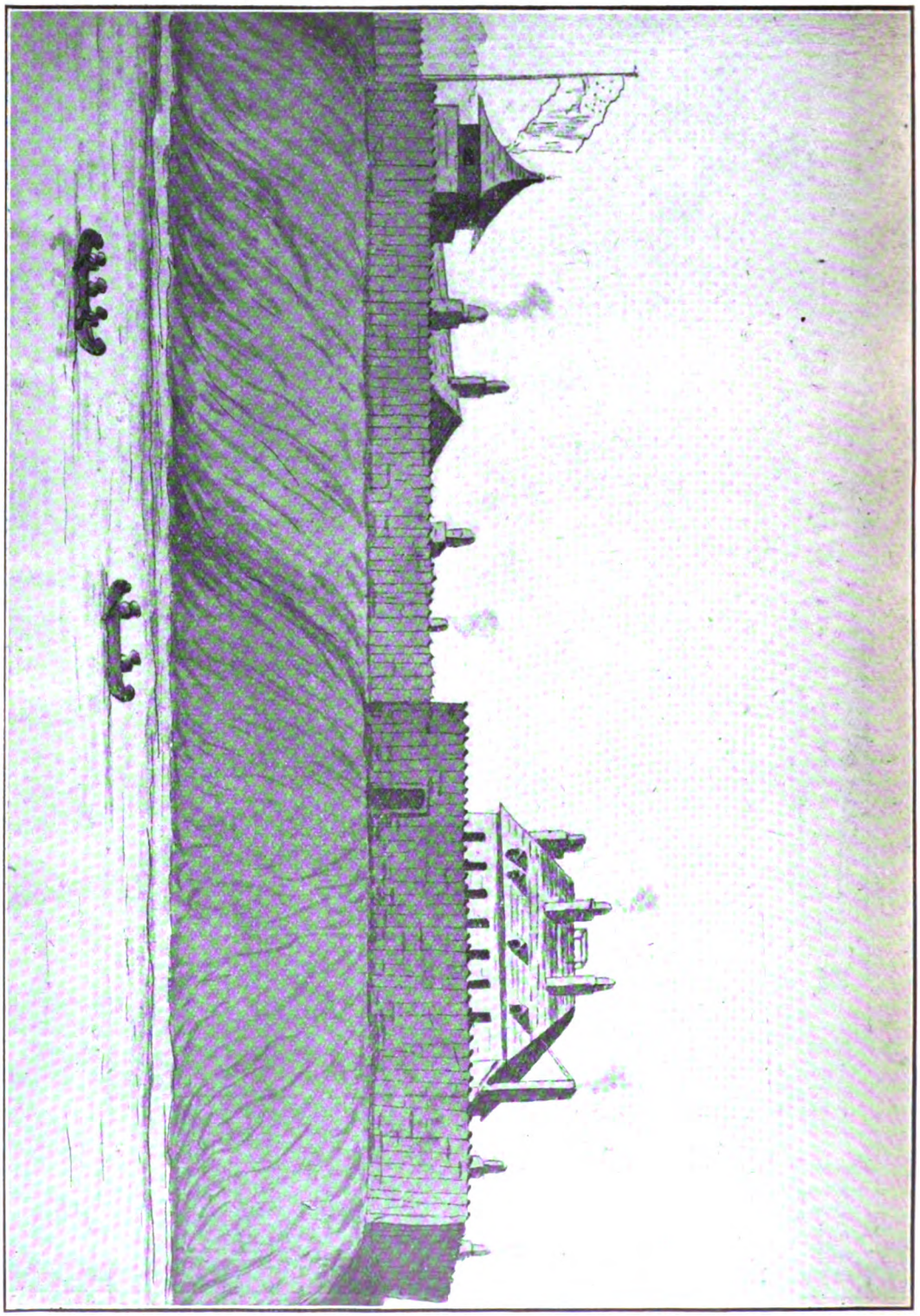

21 July, 1806.

12. View of the American Garrison at old Niagara from Lake Ontario, Upper Canada. Taken by storm during the war with America in 1812, by a detachment of the 100th regiment, under Colonel Murray.

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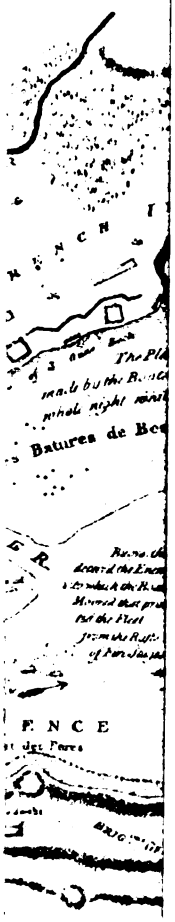

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12. View of the American Garrison at old Niagara from Lake Ontario, Upper Canada. Taken by storm during the war with America in 1812, by a detachment of the 100th regiment, under Colonel Murray.

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'THE WHITE MUTINY.'

THE WHITE MUTINY, A Forgotten Episode in the History of the Indian Army By Sir Alexander Cardew, K.C.S.I. Constable and Co., Ltd. London. 1929. Demy 8vo. pp. xii. 264. *Portraits.*

While there exist several accounts of the Mutiny of the Madras Army in 1809, and, during the period immediately subsequent to it, there were published many pamphlets and articles, often of a very bitter kind, dealing with the subject, it is quite safe to say that not one in a hundred, even of those now in the military and naval professions, has ever even heard of this very remarkable happening; and we owe Sir Alexander Cardew a debt of gratitude for his admirable account of it, and, what is most important for a full understanding of the matter, a description of the conditions obtaining in the Madras Administration at the time. The reader of this work has before him probably all the relevant facts; and, in giving in the appendices the full text of the letters written by contemporary actors in this drama rather than resumés, Sir Alexander has given him, to an unusual extent, the ability to form his own conclusions unhampered by any suspicion that the whole story has not been told.

The nearly complete ignorance of this mutiny at the present day may be attributed to two causes; the first that, as the mutiny was quelled with firmness and only on one occasion led to actual bloodshed, historians, other than those of India or of military matters, have in the main dismissed it as rather a storm in a tea cup, and the second that no historical celebrity was mixed up with it. Most people know that there was once upon a time a "White Mutiny" in Bengal—in 1765 to be precise—because Lord Clive suppressed it; but the Bengal Mutiny was a comparatively small affair compared with that in Madras, though doubtless it too would have assumed very serious proportions had it not been checked with the resolution with which Clive was amply endowed.

A perusal of the story which Sir Alexander tells us, whether of the civil or military strife which was rife in Madras at the close of the 18th and the commencement of the 19th century is apt to make one doubtful whether one is not reading the chronicles of Bedlham, for the behaviour of many of the leading figures is scarcely that of sanity; and to wonder how any sort of government could be carried on in such conditions; and it speaks volumes for the sane individuals, who existed in the modest background, that they somehow carried on in spite of the turmoil. Be that as it may it must be accepted that the Madras soldier or civilian was ready to boil over with wrath and show it by the spoken and written word in the strongest terms, and if necessary by active measures, on the smallest provocation, real or imagined. In the case of the Army the immediate ostensible cause of the mutiny of 1809 was not only trival but absurd, as is described later, and could not have caused even a ripple of excitement in a disciplined force. But the Madras Army, in common with those of Bengal and

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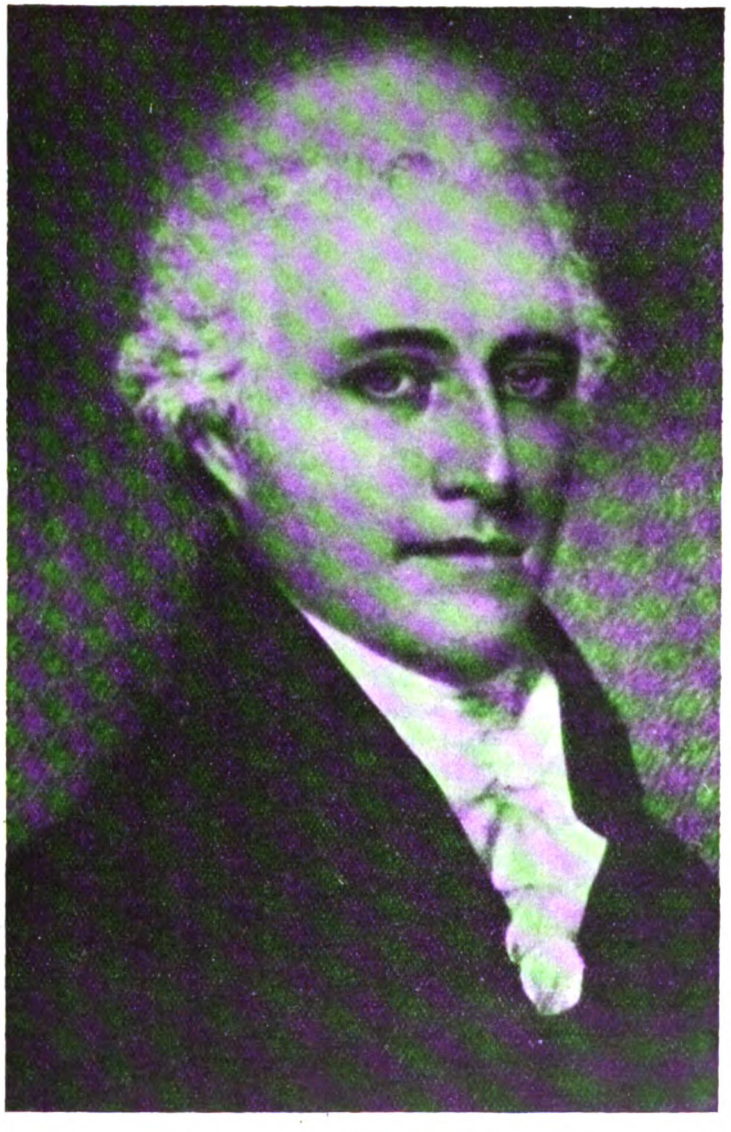

SIR GEORGE HILARO BARLOW, BART.
From a painting in the possession of Col. Sir Hilaro W. W. Barlow, *Bart.*, C.B., C.M.G.
(By the kind permission of Sir Alexander Cardew.)

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Bombay, was not disciplined, using the word in the sense that all officers accept without question that the constituted government must be obeyed always and at once, and without subsequent protest except on the rarest occasions. All these armies were very young—barely 50 years old and had increased in number very rapidly; the recruiting of officers had been haphazard, and there was no strong tradition of duty nor sufficient senior officers of real standing to establish one. Coupled with this there was a very galling sense of unfair treatment in that, with the conquest of the country, which he had assisted quite recently to make, the soldier saw most of the power, and vastly better pay, pass into the hands of the civilian. The Madras Army had already got its way by mutiny in 1776, when it kidnapped and imprisoned the Governor who died in captivity; and again in 1783 had compelled another Governor to rescind orders to which it objected. Lastly, the Commander-in-Chief, from 1807 to 1809, was a man with a grievance himself, with which he was obsessed, in that unlike his predecessors he had not a seat on the Governor's Council, and not only did he air his own grievance in public, but had shown a marked sympathy with the collective discussions of grievances by the officers under his command. Speaking generally, if one may judge by the style of his official letters and of his actions, he was quite unfit for his very responsible post. He was a ' King's Army ' officer—as were all Commanders-in-Chief in India at the time—Lieut.-General Hay Macdowall.

In February 1807 Macdowall's predecessor had called for a report from the Quarter Master General, Lt.-Col. Munro, on the system whereby tents and transport (including animals and men) were provided for the various regiments. This was done by the Commanding Officers of regiments being allowed a fixed sum, whether in peace or war, which they spent at their discretion. In his report, dated 30th June, 1807, Munro made the very obvious comment " By granting the same allowance in peace or war . . . while the expenses . . . are unavoidably greater in war than in peace, it places the interest and duty of officers commanding in direct opposition to one another . . . . and therefore furnishes strong inducements to neglect their most important duties." He recommended that the system should be abolished and that the admitted loss to commanding officers, due to its abolition, should be made up by increase of pay. This was approved by the Governor General and the 1st July, 1808, was fixed as the date for abolition. The order was very unwelcome but was accepted at first in silence. Somehow Munro's report, a confidential document, became known and a copy of it was circulated to the Army. On the 25th September, 1808, certain Commanding officers sent a request to the Commander-in-Chief that Munro should be tried by Court Martial for conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, in that his report " unequivocally conveyed a most cruel and wanton insult, as well as an injurious aspersion." Instead of taking the obvious line and refusing firmly at once to accede to this request, which might have settled the matter, Macdowall referred it first to the Judge-Advocate-General and then to the Advocate-General,

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both of whom, as was to be expected, were of opinion that the Commanding Officers' request could not be acceded to; and finally, after a long delay, and a good many happenings which it would take too long to describe, on the 20th January, 1809, he placed Munro under arrest. Munro, after a request to Macdowall for a reconsideration of his arrest had been refused, appealed to the Governor in Council, and sent his appeal to Macdowall for transmission. Macdowall refused to forward it on the ground that it was a purely military matter! Munro therefore sent his appeal direct. The Governor, Sir George Barlow, consulted the Advocate General and Judge-Advocate-General who advised, of course, as they had done previously. As the Statute defining the powers of the Governor in Council gave him general control in all Military matters, the Government wrote to Macdowall suggesting in the most earnest manner "that, as Lieut. Colonel Munro's act was really now the act of Government he should be released from arrest." Macdowall refused and said that he would now add to the charge against Lieut. Colonel Munro another of disrespect to himself in presuming to appeal to the Governor in Council! The Government of course stood firm, and on the 27th January, 1809, gave peremptory orders for Munro's release.

Macdowall, a short time previously, had tendered his resignation, citing various grievances, especially of course that of his exclusion from the Council, in a letter of prodigious bombast; and was due to sail on the 29th January.

On the 28th January Macdowall issued a General Order to the Army, upholding his action in Munro's case and publicly censuring the Government for ordering Munro's release; and steps were taken by his Staff for the immediate circulation of this order to all Military Stations. This order was not in the hands of Government until the 30th January when endeavour was made, but ineffectually, to stop the ship in which Macdowall had sailed. Technically, until Macdowall had passed the last port in the Madras Command on his voyage home, it was held that he had not ceased to be Commander-in-Chief, and the Government on the 31st January issued an order changing acceptance of his resignation into dismissal from his post. Here we leave Macdowall. He did not reach England as his ship, the *Lady Jane Dundas,* was lost with all hands. In Sir Alexander's words, "he had done the very utmost in his power to inflame the already agitated Army of Madras."

While perhaps the hasty dismissal of Macdowall was undignified and useless, it was no doubt justifiable; and up to this point the Government had made no serious mistake. Unfortunately in the same order it took a step which was definitely wrong—though it did not admit this and strove to justify its action by legal arguments and appeal to an obsolete, but uncancelled, Army Order—in that it suspended from the Service Major Thomas Boles, the Deputy-Adjutant-General, who had signed and circulated Macdowall's farewell order, and next day it did the same with the Adjutant-General, Lieut. Colonel Capper. The ground of its action was that these officers had obeyed an illegal order. Mischievous to the last degree the order was, but not illegal; nor was Major Boles doing an illegal action in

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signing and circulating it by order of his Chief. On the 6th February the Government issued a conciliatory order explaining its action in Munro's case, and it was hoped that the matter would drop. But it adhered to the suspensions and the conciliatory order was useless. Definitely mutinous action started with an appeal to the Governor General demanding the removal of the Governor for "a dangerous innovation and infringement of the Solemn laws of the Army" in Munro's case, and stating that, in Boles' and Capper's cases, "the exclusive right of the Army had been violated." There then followed an address of sympathy to Boles which was circulated for signature by all officers. At this stage, though he had figured earlier in violent protests to the Government as to his personal treatment and remained unconciliated by concessions, Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Arthur St. Ledger comes into prominence as a leader in mutinous action, and plays a very important part. He seems to have been a good fighting soldier, and was at this time in command of a small force engaged in successful action against the native state of Tranvancore. His literary style was well up to the bombastic standard of the period. He became very active in obtaining signatures to the memorial to the Governor General, and to the subsequent seditious documents, and generally in all mutinous action up to the 1st May when he was suspended from the Service by a Government order.

It is not possible within the limits of an article to deal with all the phases of the mutiny at the different Military stations, how talk and manifestos developed into action, and in one instance, near Seringapatam, to definite fighting between the mutinous and loyal troops—as a fact very half hearted fighting on the part of the former and a very pitiable affair.

The Government having become acquainted with the seditious memorials and other documents in circulation, and the senior officers who had acquiesced in, or actively promoted, them, issued an order, dated the 1st May, stating the summary punishments dealt to certain officers named, with particular reference to St. Leger as having taken advantage of the influence derived from the important command entrusted to him to attempt to subvert the Government. The order also endeavoured to placate the rest of the officers by a declaration of confidence in their loyalty. General Gowdie, who had succeeded Macdowall as Commander-in-Chief, issued a letter to the Army on Boles' case in which he stated that, as Macdowall's farewell order was clearly illegal on the face of it, Boles ought not to have signed it, and that Boles had refused, though approached personally by himself, to express any contrition. These steps failed to have any effect, and on the 25th June the first quite definite act of mutiny took place at Masulipatam, when the Commandant was placed in arrest by a Subordinate officer because the former had refused to cancel an order objected to. The Government despatched Lieut.-Col. John Malcolm (afterwards General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B.) to enquire, and, if possible, to compose the strife; but, as appears clear, without any mandate to adopt conciliation at any price. Malcolm, on his arrival at Masulipatam on the 4th July, and again on the 5th after interviewing the disaffected officers, wrote to the Government and recommended what would have amounted to a complete surrender

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to the demands of the Army. As appears from parts of his letters, and his action in another instance, Malcolm could not have been fully convinced of the soundness of his recommendations. Such letters from his trusted emissary would, as Sir Alexander remarks, have broken down the resolution of a weaker man, but they quite failed to do so with Sir George Barlow. Similar counsels of weakness arrived from many officers in command of divisions, but failed similarly.

The Government now took energetic measures to meet force with force. British (King's) regiments were summoned from Ceylon and elsewhere and a trustworthy force of Sepoys was collected, and a camp for 12000 men, half British troops, was formed at Madras.

Perhaps it was Sir George's knowledge that the King's regiments could be wholly trusted, and that the Sepoys and native officers had no real quarrel with the Government, and further that he had on his side several officers of the Madras Army, which helped him to maintain his resolution. His final step was the circulation of a test declaration of loyalty for signature by all European officers of the Madras Army on the 26th July. It ran as follows: "We the undersigned officers of the Honourable Company's Service, do, in the most solemn manner, declare upon our word of honour as British Officers that we will obey the orders and support the authority of the Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George agreeably to the tenor of the Commissions which we hold from the Government." The good effect of this test, though not immediately apparent, for only about one tenth of the officers signed it at once, was in fact immense. At all those stations where the disaffected had not completely the upper hand it enabled those who refused to sign to be segregated and sent to reside at places where they could do no harm, but particularly it brought home very clearly to those who refused to sign, precisely what their refusal could be quite justifiably be held to mean—definite refusal to obey constituted authority.

The first break up of the mutiny took place at Secunderabad, which had been regarded as about the most dangerous centre of disaffection, on the 11th August; when the test was signed by all. This was due in the main to a fine courageous officer, Colonel Barry Close. This surrender was received with fury at those stations where the disaffected were still holding out, but, as can be easily understood, led to rapid submission everywhere and by the 3rd September the mutiny was over. The bitter aftermath however lasted for a long time.

It remains to say something of the man who undoubtedly quelled the mutiny and did it in the teeth of opposition from every side and with the minimum of able military advice. Sir Alexander Cardew is no apologist for Sir George Barlow. He gives the facts and apportions blame for, and approbation of, Sir George's actions eminently fairly, and it seems probable that few, who read his book *carefully*, without preconceived ideas, will differ materially from his conclusions. He gives us a sketch of Sir George's career and points out that, whatever else he was, he was a man of proved ability and ample experience in dealing with men and affairs, whether

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civil or military--the latter no doubt mainly from the administrative side, though his personal acquaintance with great soldiers such as Sir Arthur Wellesley and Lord Lake, and with military needs during a period of continuous fighting, must have rendered him quite familiar with the purely military point of view, its likes and its dislikes.

Sir Alexander accepts Lord Minto's estimate of Sir George's character and temperament; and probably Lord Minto's estimate is as just as any we are likely to obtain, as he was intimately acquainted with Sir George in circumstances of considerable difficulty with all the possibilities of disagreement, seeing that he took over the post of Governor General which Sir George had held for two years with the promise of confirmation permanently by the Board of Directors, which promise failed owing to the Home Government wanting the post for one of their own supporters and refusing absolutely to consent to Sir George's permanent appointment. Sir George took second place quietly and gave absolutely loyal assistance from July to November 1807. Lord Minto says " Notwithstanding the awkward situation in which Sir George Barlow and I are placed with regard to each other, I find no unpleasant consequences result from it . . . . . His good sense and some other neutral qualities in his character have enabled him to act the part he has chosen with dignity and with many marks of real magnanimity. His good properties are of a high class. A real attachment to his public duties, and I have every reason to believe a naturally sincere and honourable character, secure his best advice as a colleague. A constitutional coldness and apathy of temper, which has exposed him to the reproach of indifference to the interests of other men and has enabled him to discharge many harsh duties pretty inflexibly, seem at the same time to have kept his personal feelings in a temperate state and to render a second place less irksome and irritating than it would be to ninety-nine men out of a hundred who had filled the first."

In dealing thus with Sir George's character and abilities and his actions before and during the mutiny, and particularly in his narrative of contemporary happenings in Madras which show into what a very disagreeable condition of affairs Sir George entered when he took up his post at Madras in December 1807, Sir Alexander Cardew takes a different line from most historians who have dealt with this Mutiny. Generally Sir George has been condemned as if he, and he alone, was the cause of all the trouble, and as obstinate, tactless, and incompetent. One good quality is usually, but grudgingly, allowed to him—courage. For instance, Fortescue in his History of the British Army (Vol. VII, Chapter XL) says of him: " In one respect he outshone the vast majority of Englishmen, namely in courage and strength of will; and it was these fine qualities underlying a superstructure of littleness which made him mistake resolute stupidity for firm administration." And, in another place, " He was a man who formulated theories and acted upon them with invincible courage but he had no knowledge of the world nor of men." Though there is no lack of evidence of Sir George's courage, the story may be told of his reply to the Admiral

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on the Madras station who suggested that he should take refuge on board the Admiral's ship as Madras was no safe place for him. He replied: "If your crew mutinied would you thank me for suggesting that you would be safer in Government House?" But, as to the rest of the picture, one hesitates to accept the verdict of obstinate tactless stupidity and lack of knowledge of men. These could scarcely be the characteristics of the man, who Sir Alexander tells us (page 25) was Chief Secretary to the Government of India at the age of 31 and specially selected by Marquis Wellesley —one of the greatest Governors General, and one may suppose a pretty exacting master—to act for him during his many absences. Moreover, prior to Sir George's going to Madras he had been for two years acting as Governor General and was no raw apprentice in command. One must look a little further for the motive which prompted him to scout methods of conciliation, and it is not very difficult to suggest a very probable one, namely a recollection of the methods employed in the past by the Madras officers in order to get their way in 1776 and 1783. It would seem that conciliation was rather a perilous course to take with an army which had found that organised disobedience pays. Further having served in Bengal Sir George must have been thoroughly cognisant of Clive's methods in a similar case. Apart for these considerations, what line are we to understand that conciliation was to take? There is little doubt that, at the time Malcolm suggested it, nothing but complete surrender would have satisfied the Army. That Sir George could be conciliatory, when not called upon to sacrifice a principle, is shown by Sir Alexander (page 61), even though Sir George could have had but little liking for the men he attempted to conciliate--Macdowall and St. Ledger.

There is one point not dealt with by Sir Alexander, and that is whether there would have been a mutiny if Boles and Capper had not been suspended from the Service, or whether this blunder by the Government was used merely as an additional argument against an unpopular Governor, leaving the Munro case still to be settled with. The reader must decide this after reading the book.

When all is said Sir George won; and but for his extraordinary mistake in removing Boles and Skinner from their posts he would have won handsomely. How he came to make such a blunder—a gratuitous one seemingly for discipline could not have been furthered to any material extent thereby—is inexplicable. Sir Alexander puts it down to loss of temper; but, as we have seen, Sir George must have had his feelings under good control. Granted that he may have had, according to General Sir Thomas Maitland (mentioned later) very poor military advice it is impossible to understand how he came to accept it if given; and he must bear the blame for this incredibly foolish action which, so far as he was concerned, marred a great accomplishment and gave his enemies one good argument to go upon of which they took every advantage.

The circulation of the test statement of loyalty for signature by the disaffected officers has been very severely criticized by some writers on grounds which do not appear to be very sound. Fortescue, who condemns the action, quotes General Sir Thomas Maitland (for a contemporary

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opinion of this officer see Admiral Pellew's letter dated 14th February, 1809, in Appendix D page 184) who commanded the troops in Ceylon, and wrote in the strongest adverse terms about it as a slur on the honour of the officers. It is interesting that Fortescue, when stating that only about one tenth of the officers signed it at first, makes the rather significant admission that this minority "included the ablest men in the Army." On the other hand Lord Minto, the Governor General, while disagreeing *in toto* with Sir George's action in the suspension of Boles and Capper, fully concurred in the matter of the test. Nobody so far as is known has ever questioned that Minto had a very fine sense of the honour of a gentleman, whether in himself or in others. That Sir George was execrated by the officers is easily understood, and goes for nothing, for it is perfectly plain that he was the one man who stood between them and acceptance of their demands. Bengal officers had execrated Clive, and there is an ugly story that his assassination was planned. It is quite possible also that Sir George with his back to the wall had a very disagreeable manner. Writing of Sir George's general unpopularity Lord Minto says in September, 1807—"but he is not popular, and I believe his merits may have been the cause of it, or at least one among others. In truth a Company's servant raised to the commanding height above his fellows which the Governor General holds here, excites envy rather than respect or love. They are all comparing themselves with him and their own pretentions with his." He was also detested by military men and many civilians for his policy of peace in Bengal long before he arrived in Madras. He certainly had another side, for it is perfectly clear that he inspired affection in some first rate men who knew his worth, as is evidenced by Admiral Pellew's (later Lord Exmouth's) letters, some of which Sir Alexander has published. Lastly when he was recalled in 1812 the European community of Madras presented him with a service of plate worth £4000. This must have been quite a voluntary proceeding and one can see no reason for it except good will, for it was perfectly well known that his enemies on the Board of Directors had triumphed and that his career in India was closed. His enemies had good cause to be satisfied for never did a bright opening have a blacker ending. He came to India as a "writer" without special interest and at the age of 43 was Acting Governor General and, as has been said previously, but for political quarrels at home would undoubtedly have been confirmed. It is not generally known that, on accepting the Governorship of Madras in 1807, he was promised renomination as Governor General on the expiration of Lord Minto's tour of office. In 1812 he was recalled as has been stated and never employed again. It is also not generally known that Sir George in 1812 was offered a peerage by Perceval and would no doubt have received it had not Perceval been assasinated in May 1812. With Perceval's death came a change of Ministry and, for reasons which are not known, the offer was not repeated. There is nothing to show that Sir George ever pressed his claims. He lived to a great age, long enough to experience many sorrows and little else, but the story of these has no public interest.

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"THE 60TH."

The ANNALS of THE KING'S ROYAL RIFLE CORPS. By Major-General Sir Steuart Hare, K.C.M.G., C.B. John Murray. London. 1929. Volume IV. Royal 8vo. pp. xxx. 398. *ill. maps.*

The post of regimental historian has now been taken by Major-General Sir Steuart Hare, who continues the narrative from 1873 to the verge of The Great War—1914. Each of the preceding volumes delineates a great Commanding Officer, the sphere of whose influence extended beyond the circle of his own regiment. During the brief period of command now allowed to a battalion commander it is hardly possible for a Lieutenant-Colonel of the present day to exercise a similar influence, but General Hare shows that in point of ability and power of leadership, at all events one C.O.—Colonel Henry Donald Browne, 1890-4—was probably not inferior to his great predecessors.

The period described in this volume embraces that of the so-called 2nd Afghan War, 1878-80; the Zulu War, 1879; the Boer War, 1880-1; the Egyptian Campaigns, 1882 and 1884, and the South African War, 1899-1902, in all of which one or more Battalions of the Regiment were engaged.

The King's Royal Rifles are fortunate in having their modern history narrated by a General Officer who has gained distinction as a Divisional Commander in the field, and who now shows his capacity for describing *and criticizing*, in clear and soldier-like phrase, the military operations in which his regiment has taken part. He also writes in an eminently judicial spirit and depicts characters, scenes and warlike feats as—in his opinion—they actually were, and not as he might have wished them to be.

A few years ago General Hare published a pamphlet on Martial Law. What circulation it attained is unknown, but it received the praise of some of the highest Judges in the land. That fact and the manner in which he has treated his present work give the impression that had he selected the legal instead of the military profession, Sir Steuart might have been, not a popular advocate, but, in all probability, a great Judge of the High Court.

His volume reflects credit also on the Publishers, and is well furnished with clear maps.

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NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, and REPLIES TO QUESTIONS will be greatly appreciated by the Hon. Editor, whose name and address are :—

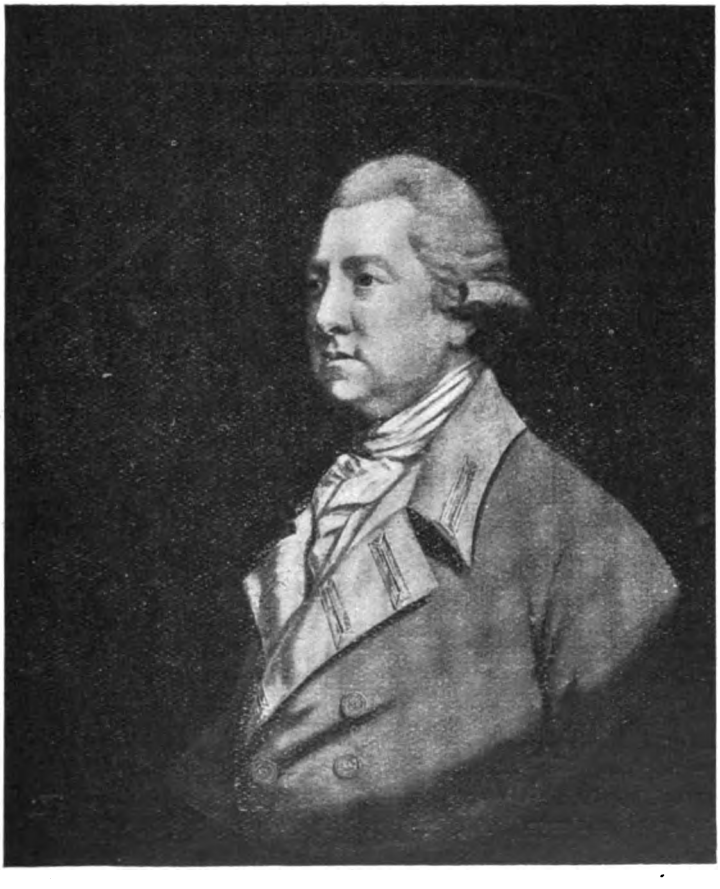
Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE, 8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

NOTES.

209. MAJOR DAVID PARRY. The illustration here reproduced, through the courtesy of The Editor of *The Connoisseur*, is of a painting by Thomas Beach, executed in 1784. The coat is red, with yellow facings; the neck-cloth and wig are white.

David Parry served for nearly 25 years in the 20th Regiment of Foot :—

Ensign.	26 January, 1751.
Lieutenant.	26 February, 1755.
Captain-Lieutenant.	9 March, 1757.
Captain.	26 August, 1759.
Major.	26 January, 1770.



He retired on 7 July, 1775.

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He was appointed Governor of Barbados on 10 January, 1784, and relinquished the Government on 22 July, 1793.

He returned to England and died at Bath on 26 December, in the same year.

He married Catherine Jane, only daughter of Colonel Edmund Okeden, of Little Critchell. She died in 1788.

Parry's will, in which he is described as "of Moor Critchell, Dorset, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Barbados," is dated 18 November, 1788. The executors are named as "My friends the Marquess of Lansdowne[1] and the Earl of Wycombe,[2] and his son."

Two codicils to the will are dated at Barbados on 3 January and 5 October, 1792, respectively, and a third one named the Earl of Strafford as a third executor "with the other two."

A fifth codicil is dated at Bath, 30 November, 1793.

The will was proved on 2 May, 1794, by Frederick, Earl of Strafford.

Two sons are mentioned in the will—David Okeden and Humphrey. They were both educated at Winchester. The latter was a Lieutenant in the 1st Foot Guards. He died in 1797.

(*See Genealogical Abstracts of Parry Wills*. By Lieut.-Colonel G. S. Parry. London. George Sherwood. 1911. pp. 18-9.)

210. THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE AT MARLOW. 1810. Major Coningsby Disraeli, of Hughenden Manor, High Wycombe, who kindly allows his aquatint to be reproduced in the *Journal*, contributes the following note:—

"'Remnantz', so called after a former owner, is a house on the western side of Marlow. It was the residence of Mr. Wethered, the Marlow brewer and, I think, banker. The brewery is still a flourishing concern. Mr. Wethered had the top floor taken off, as the house was too big for him, so the building as it stands to-day is the same house, less the top floor. It is occupied, but not by the Wethered family.

The parade of the Cadets, as shown, must be taking place in the grounds which are now, I think, fields on the south side of the house. The tower is that of the stables. I think the picture rather magnifies it, but it has some architectural pretentions. The wooden huts are gone; I imagine that they must have been mere temporary erections for the purposes of the R.M.C. The Cadets lived in 'Remnantz' and in another large house in Marlow, called 'Marlow Place'.

A similar view of the College in 1810, possibly by the same artist, will be found in *Annals of Sandhurst* (facing page 10), published in 1900."

The colour blocks have been kindly lent by the Editor of *The Royal Military College Magazine and Record*. Reproductions of the picture, 10¾ inches by 17¼ inches, mounted, can be obtained from Messrs. Gale & Polden, Aldershot—price 8s. 9d., post free.

Y.Z.

211. DRESS OF THE THIRD REGIMENT OF FOOT GUARDS IN 1828. In 1828, E. Hull published a book of military costume plates, in which there were eight of the IIIrd Guards.

The five other ranks of this set have been recently discovered, with the following notes written on the back of each print, and signed "J.A. 37", undoubtedly the initials of General Sir John Aitchison, G.C.B., at that date commanding the regiment:—

1. "The Band (a negro)". "I believe this correct. At this time there is no tambourine in the band, and only one black, whose dress is the same as this, only he had a red waistcoat. J.A., Dec., 1837."

2. "Bugle Man." "This is not correct, there being twelve in place of nine buttons in front J.A."

3. "Serjeant." "Correct except the slash on the sleeve."

4. "A Light-Infantryman." (Front view). "I think this correct, except for the slash on the sleeve."

---

[1] William, 1st Marquess. [2] John Henry FitzMaurice.

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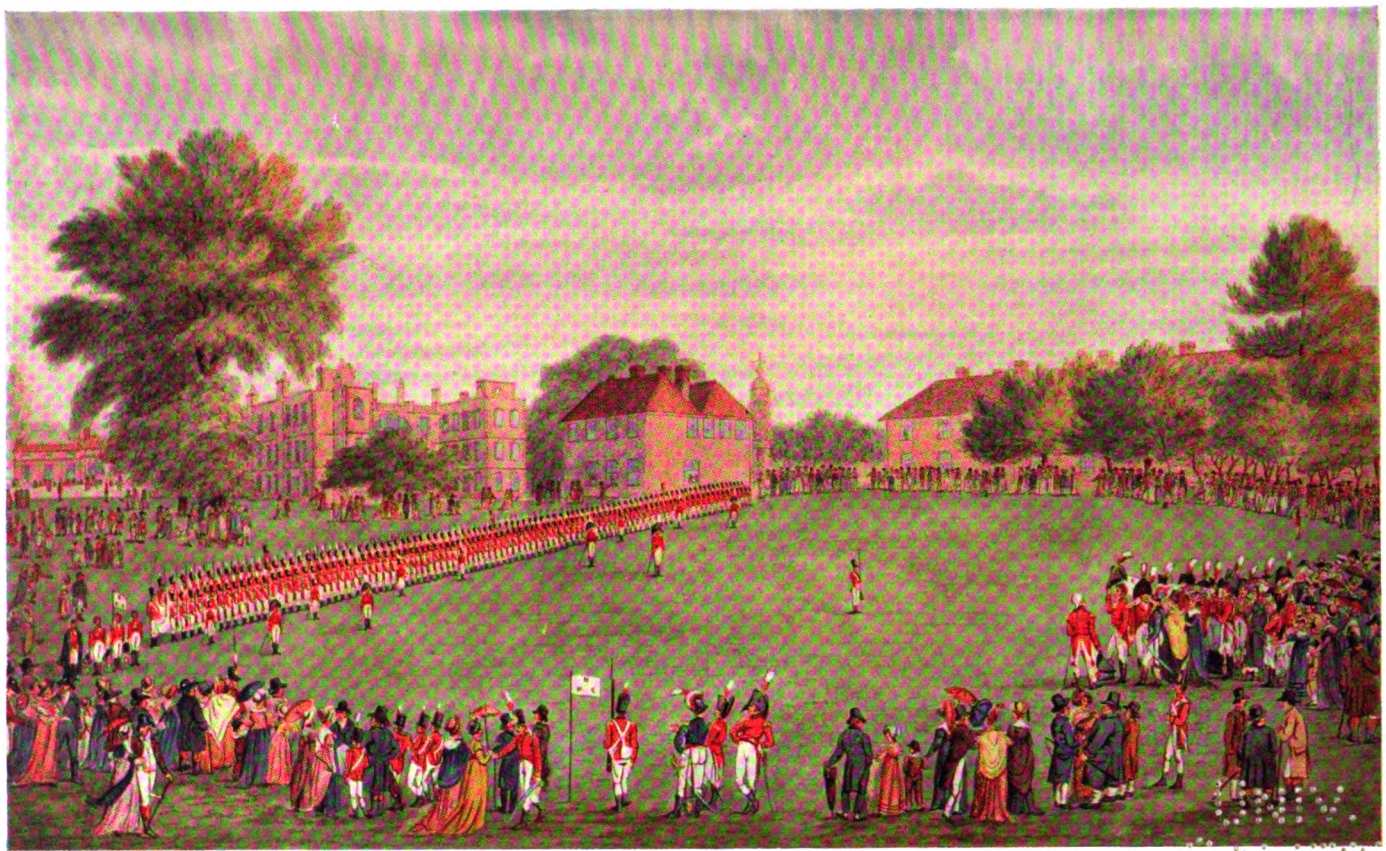

REVIEW OF THE GENTLEMEN CADETS OF THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE AT REMNANTZ, GREAT MARLOW, Circa 1810

From the original water-colour painting in the possession of Major Coningsby Disraeli

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5. "A Light-Infantryman." (Back view). "Correct, except the cover of the kettle, which ought to be white."

These notes are of interest as they show the degree of accuracy of contemporary costume prints. There can be no doubt as to the correctness of Sir John's criticisms for he was captain of a company at the date of publication. A.S.

212. THE INDIAN ARMY. The following references may be of use to those who are writing about the Indian Army:—

a. Order for the amalgamation of the Indian Army with H.M.'s British Forces. General Order by His Excellency the Governor General of India in Council. Fort William. Military Department. 10 April, 1861.

b. Strength of the Native Infantry in India. Fort William. Military Department. 3 May, 1861.

These two orders are printed *in extenso* in *The Indian Army and Civil Service List*. July, 1861 (pp. xxvii-xl, and xli-xliv, respectively). Issued by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council, and published by W. H. Allen & Co., of 7, Leadenhall Street, London.

[Numbering of regiments amended by G.G.O. No. 990, of 29 October, 1861.]

J.H.L.

QUESTIONS.

323. THE DRUM-MAJOR-GENERAL. Has any connected account of this office ever appeared? When was the rank first introduced, and when was it abolished?

The following references bear upon the subject:—

a. "John Clothier to be Drum-Major-General of H.M.'s Forces." 8 September, 1719 (C. Dalton, *George the First's Army*, II.331).

b. Commission of Charles Stuart, Gent., "to be our Drum-Major-General of our forces." 4 January, 1777. (Grose. *Military Antiquities*. 1786, I.314, note.)

c. C. James. *Universal Military Dictionary*. 4th edition, 1816. Under "Drum-Major-General," p. 179.

Information is asked for. H.B.

324. FLAG OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY. This is mentioned in Reply No. 308—page 72—of this No. of the *Journal*, where it is called a 'standard'. This is, presumably, incorrect.

What is known about the flag? Of what colours was it composed? What ships, regiments, etc., had the right to fly it? NEUX.

REPLIES.

305. "AS YOU WERE"—A WORD OF COMMAND. (vol. viii. 262). Gervase Markham's *Souldiers Accidence*, 2nd edition, 1635, gives on page 21:—

"Now to reduce any of these words of direction command to the same order or station in which the Souldier stood before they were spoken, you shall say—

"*As you were.*"

And again on page 58 we read:—

"Now to reduce any Motion before shewed, to the same station, in which the Horseman stood before the Comand given, you shall use this generall word:—

"*As you were.*"

J.H.L.

306. HOISTING. (vol. viii. 68.) This is evidently an old army adaptation of 'Cuckolding.'

The thrusting of the bayonets through the corners of the hat was a representation of horns. Horns on the head are on the whole a feminine symbol in antiquity. The cow and the moon were the typical horn-wearers and both were feminine signs. The cow in agriculture draws with its horns. The emblematic value of the horn lay in its hardness. This made it an image of sustaining power, hence in old symbology horns sustained the solar orb. The horns belonged to the beast of burden, the bearer was by nature the female, thus the horned cow bore the burden and carried the sun, the type of masculine source.

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The horns then are a symbol of bearing and sustaining and also of sacrifice as in the old hierglyphics the cow and the victim are synonymous. The horns, therefore, figuratively applied to the cuckold have the same meaning. They are symbolic of the man who patiently bears, and who is the victim lead to the sacrifice by his wife. In the old days the term cuckold was applied to the husband of an adulterous woman. He was crowned with horns as the pitiful beast of burden; willing to bear.

A horn-fair was anciently held at Charlton in Kent on St. Luke's or Whip-dog day October 18th, to which it was the fashion for men to go in women's apparel and thus appear as willing burden-carriers.

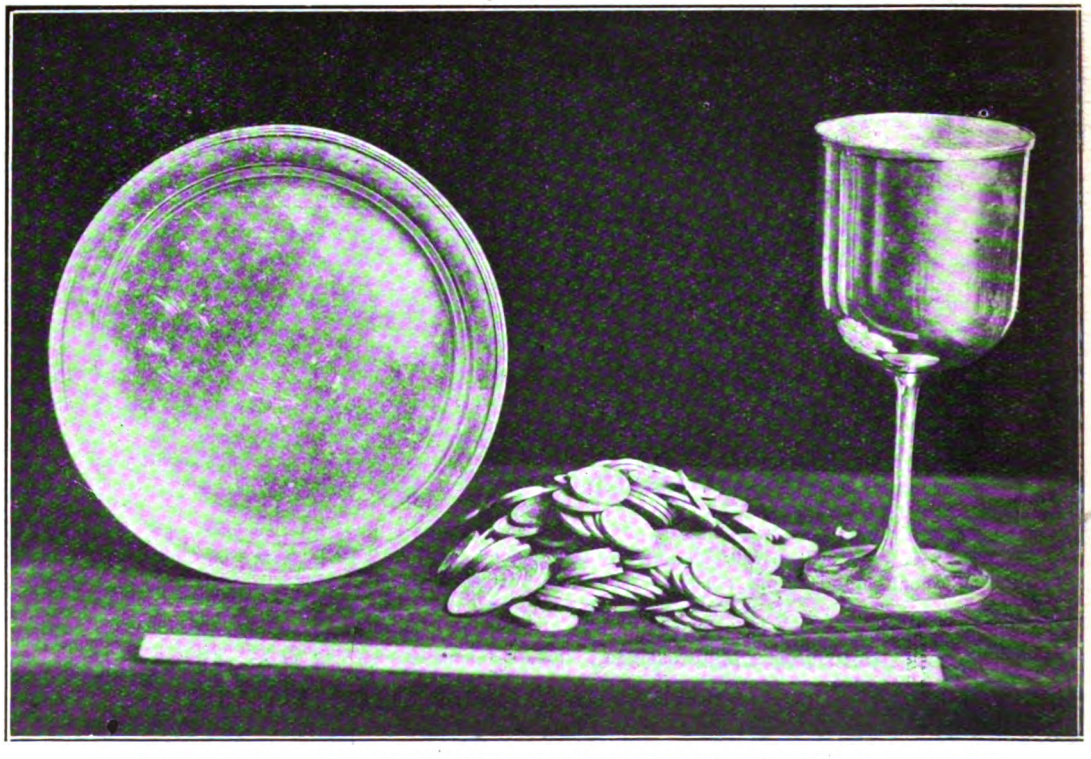
The crown of horns made by bayonets on the head of the newly enrolled benedicts was obviously to portray the fact that marriage had deprived them of their free and easy life, and that henceforth they would be bound and made to serve their wives patiently.

O.F.G.H.

See also Hone's *Every-day Book*, 1825, p. 1386—"Charlton Fair, commonly called Horn Fair," and Brand's *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1845, vol. ii, pp. 194-6.

E.T.R.

307. A REGIMENTAL CHURCH TOKEN. (vol. viii. 207, 263). I regret to say that I have to plead *Peccavi* for my answer regarding the above on page 263, vol. viii, of the Journal. A further search has been made in the Regiment, and not only have the missing tokens come to light, but the Communion Plate itself has been found.



REGIMENTAL COMMUNION PLATE AND TOKENS OF THE 72nd FOOT.
(Seaforth Highlanders.)
The paten measures 7¾ inches in diameter, and the chalice 7¾ inches in height.

They apparently have been laid away these forty years, in the deepest recesses of a plate-chest.

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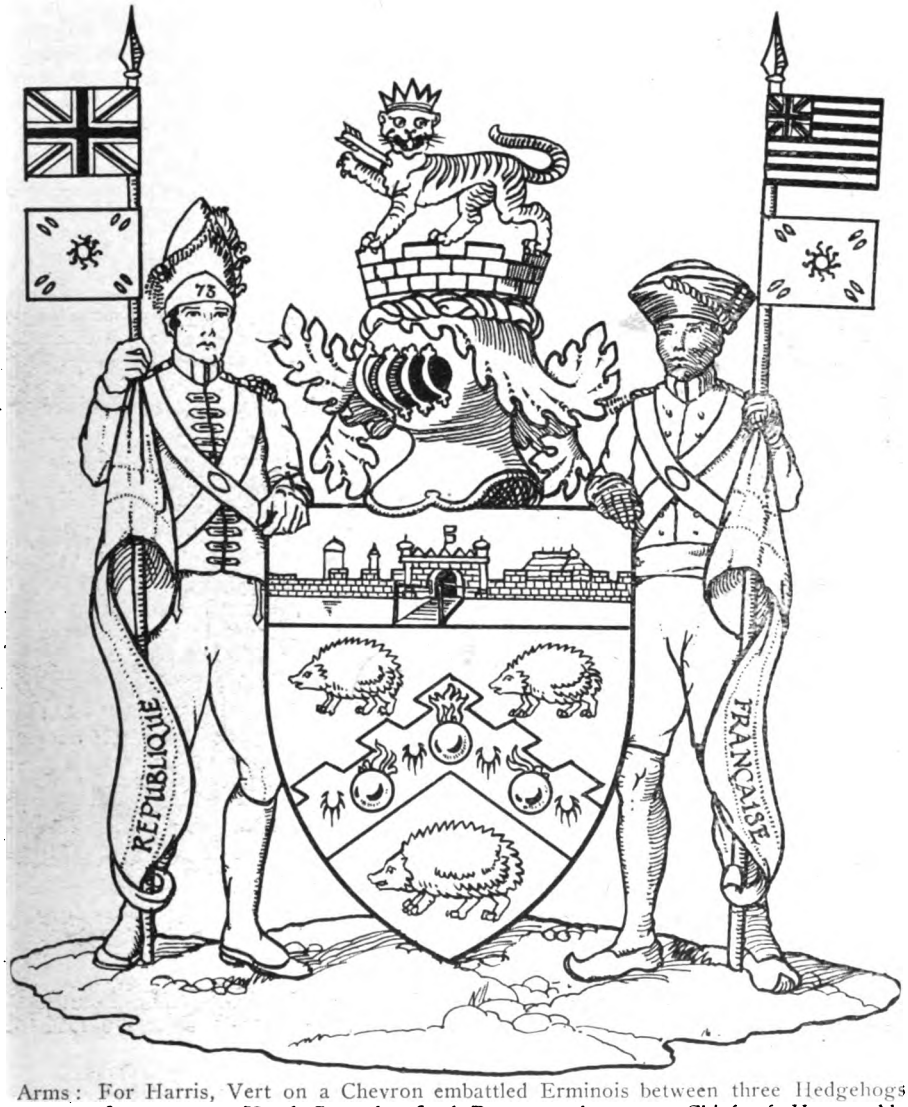
I was President of the Mess Committee for several years and never heard of their existence, as no doubt I ought to have. There is no hall-mark on either chalice or paten, which possibly indicates that they were not made in England.

Granville Egerton, Major-General, late 1st Battalion, Seaforth Highlanders.

308. ARMS (HERALDIC) BEARING NAMES OF BATTLES (vol. viii. 206, 262). This illustration is of the Arms of the Baron Harris, of Seringapatam and Mysore, East Indies, etc.

The Blazon is:—



Arms: For Harris, Vert on a Chevron embattled Erminois between three Hedgehogs Or as many Hand Grenades fired Proper and upon a Chief of Honourable Augmentation Argent a Representation of one of the Sally Ports of the Capital and Fortress of SERINGAPATAM thereon hoisted the Union Flag of Great Britain above the standard of Tippoo Sultan flying towards the Sinister all Proper.

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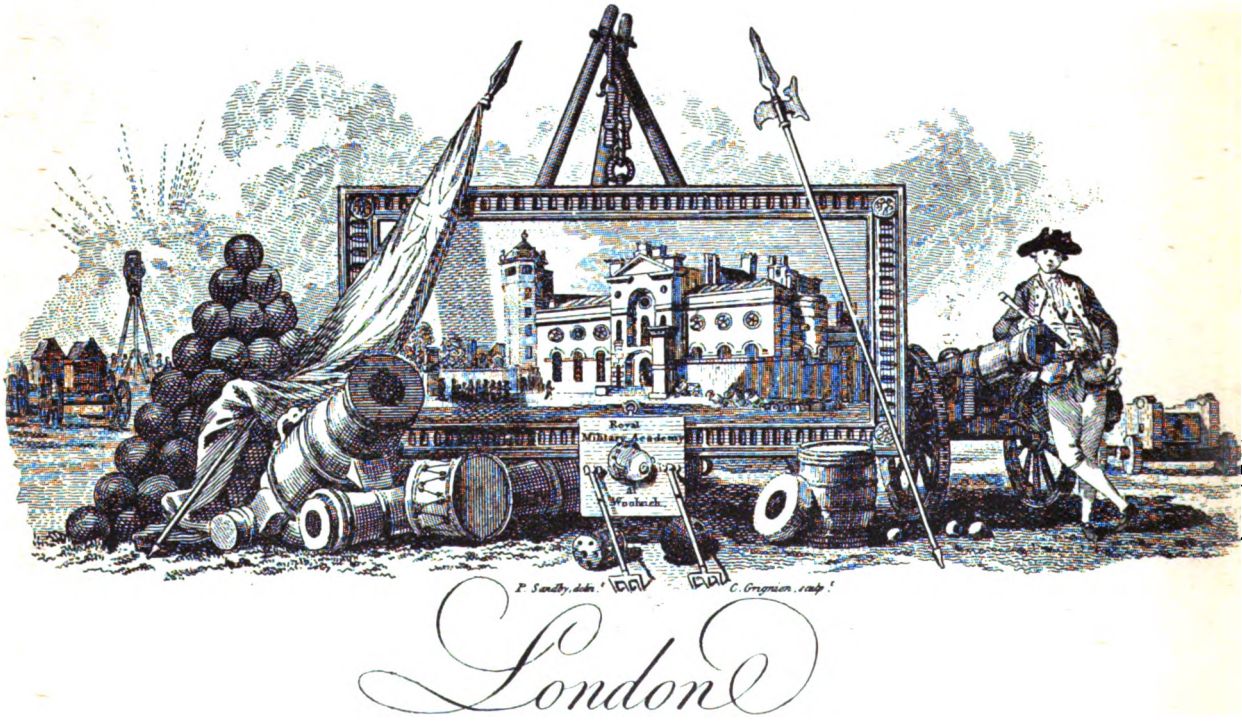
Crest: On a Mural Crown Or the Royal Tyger of Tippoo Sultan passant guardant Vert striped charged on the forehead with the Persian Character implying Hydery or the Dominions of Hyder Ally and the Breast transfixed by an Arrow of the first and vulned Proper.

Supporters: On the dexter side, a Grenadier of His Majesty's Seventy-Third Regiment of Foot supporting with the exterior hand a Flag Staff thereon hoisted the Union Flag of Great Britain flying dexterways over the Standard of Tippoo Sultan and below the same tricoloured Flag of the French Republic(k) depressed and furled all proper. And on the Sinister Side, a Sepoy of the Madras Establishment of the East India Company supporting with the exterior hand a Flag Staff thereon hoisted the Standard of the said Company flying over that of Tippoo Sultan towards the Sinister and below the same tricoloured Flag of the French Republic(k) as in the dexter.

NEUX.

THE FRONT PAGE OF THE JOURNAL'S COVER.



From George Smith's *Universal Military Dictionary*. 1779.

[See *ante* vol. viii. 251.]

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THE DIARY AND LETTERS
OF
ARTHUR MOFFATT LANG.

(*Continued from page* 26. For maps, see pages 25 and 26.)

[The following footnote should have been printed at the foot of page 26, *ante* :—

56. The 'Moveable Column' was formed at Peshawar in May 1857, under the command of Brigadier Neville Chamberlain, to operate at any point in the Punjab where danger might threaten. Herbert Edwardes wrote on 12 May to Captain Henry Daly, who was in command of the Guides, at Hoti Murdán, that its object was to "get between the stations that have gone wrong and those that have not, and put down further disaffection by force. It is obviously necessary to constitute such a column of reliable troops, and therefore it has been proposed to get the Guides and Her Majesty's 27th Regiment together without delay as a part of the scheme." Its subsequent composition changed almost every day.

The Corps of Guides, Punjab Frontier Force, was raised at Peshawar in 1846-7 by Lieutenant H. B. Lumsden. In 1930 its designation is "The Guides Cavalry (10th Queen Victoria's Own, Frontier Force)".

The 27th (or Inniskilling) Regiment of Foot, stationed at Nowshera, is designated in 1930, The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.]

The DIARY and LETTERS—*continued.*

Letter. 23 May, 1857. Saturday. Meean Meer. [Sunrise, 4-59. Sunset, 6-54.]

Well to proceed. We have more news to-day. The 55th N.I. at Nowshera have mutinied & marched off with their arms. Whether they have hurt their Officers we know not, but this we know that Sir John [Lawrence] has ordered the population, Hindoo haters, to prevent them crossing the Indus, north, south & west; they can only march among Afghan & Pathan ruffians. Cotton (57) is after them & I would not give a fig for the life of one of them. The Regiments at Peshawar have been disarmed, *à la* Meean Meer. The 45th & 57th are disbanded, and are to be driven away without even arrears of pay.

* * * * * *

Yesterday some of the Ladies were allowed to leave the Barracks during the day.

Ski and I dined at the Artillery Mess. It is odd that the only really cheerful Messes just now are the 16th and 26th. The Artillery certainly are much more gloomy in their anticipations.

We had such a night last night, high wind and pea soup dust-storm & heavy rain, which drove us all wet and 'cussing' under the shelter of the tents, and a 'Stand to your arms' false alarm. To-day is much cooler after the rain.

57. Major-General Sydney John Cotton, British service, Commanding the Peshawar Division.

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Letter. 24 May, 1857. Sunday. Meean Meer. [Sunrise, 4-59. Sunset, 6-55.]

I went to out-of-doors service at daybreak in the Artillery lines, artillerymen under arms.

* * * * * *

Letter. 25 May, 1857. Monday.

This being the Ramazan (58) it was declared by our alarmists that after morning prayers the Cavalry were going to rise! So Frank Boileau, Ski, I and Serjeant Marriott had to stay till sunset in that hateful belfry; of course, the station lay silent & asleep the whole day: luckily it was a cool day and our thermometer was content to remain at 101°; and this time we had the advantage of getting iced drinks from Wroughton's.

At sunset down we came & rode to Artillery Barracks & joined Mrs. Boileau's party sitting outside at their ices and tea. Dined at 16th Mess.

Letter. 26 May, 1857. Tuesday.

We had a fearful night: such a long continued dust-storm I never felt: hurricanes of wind blew, lifting charpoys & carrying them off, blowing seas of sand over us & hailing gravel & kunkur (59); nothing could be seen, nothing heard, but the howling of the wind and rattling of kunkur. If the sepoys could have managed, it would have been so very uncomfortable; they might have done what they liked with us.

* * * * * *

Last night we had a tent, with kanauts (60) down and a punkah, a most luxurious style of picket.

* * * * * *

Letter. 27 May, 1857. Wednesday.

* * * * * *

The Guides marched in yesterday and go on to-night: they came in 30 miles their last march. They have come in 12 days from Murdan (about 250 miles).

Diary. 28 May, 1857. Thursday.

* * * * * *

Rode on the Mall which looked almost like its former self, so many carriages, etc. were out. I joined Frank Boileau and his sisters, just as in old days, for a 'Light Brigade' gallop.

* * * * * *

Letter. 29 May, 1857. Friday.

We have had no news to-day. Since I wrote the day before yesterday

---

58. The ninth month of the Mahommedan year, throughout which the faithful are required to fast from dawn to sunset.

59. Kunkur. A coarse kind of limestone found in many parts of India. It is burned to lime and used for constructing roads, binding into a hard, compact, and even surface.

60. Tent walls.

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[29 May, 1857. Friday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 4-56. Sunset, 6-58.]

[27 May] we heard of the sudden death by cholera (?) of Anson (61). He went down from Umballa to join the army at Kurnal and there, a few hours after his arrival, he died. I don't know what more we shall hear, but the moment I heard of his death I thought that cholera had nothing to do with it.

* * * * * *

Letter. 30 May, 1857. Saturday.

* * * * * * *

The sick and women of the 52nd Queen's (62) and Artillery (63) from Sialkote came in here yesterday.

* * * * * *

Letter. 1 June, 1857. Monday.

We are all peaceable and quiet and the Musters went of all well. The croakers had it yesterday that last night the Cavalry were to go off and that the Troops would demand their arms this morning—sad reports which filled my mind with misgivings as to whether or no I should be doomed to another day in the Tower. Some part of the moveable column is at Shahderah to-day & will come into Lahore tomorrow.

* * * * * *

Letter. 2 June, 1857. Tuesday.

* * * * * *

Last night in came the 52nd Queen's, some Artillery & Punjab Cavalry: the 52nd in their jackets, trowsers & cap covers, dyed Khakee, look very soldierly & serviceable. They are to be quartered in the Artillery & 81st Lines; 18 more field-guns have come in with the moveable column.

This morning at about 6, I was surprised to see guns here & there tearing along & taking up commanding position at curious cross roads: presently without any warning out rang the Horse Artillery Trumpets & in dashed a crowd of Troopers & guns into the 8th Cavalry Lines & swept out the Horses. It was done very neatly and as fast as I write it. The 8th Cavalry (those bugbears who have caused such a lot of false reports & such alarm to our croaking cowards, but who I fancy are as non-disaffected as any nigger regiment can be) certainly have not much chance of doing much harm. Why the 9th [Bengal Light Cavalry] from Sialkote should come here with swords, colours & horses, while their quiet brethren the 8th are set upon in this manner, I know not. The Sepoys don't know what goes on: I expect they fear being charged & blown up now that more Artillery & Infantry have come in.

---

61. Commander-in-Chief. See *ante*, p. 21. He died at Kurnal on 27 May.

62. The 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment of Foot, Light Infantry—in 1930 the 2nd Battalion of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry.

63. *a*. The 3rd Troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery, commanded by Captain (Brevet Lieut.-Colonel) Michael Dawes. In 1930, the 58th Field Battery, R.A.

b. No. 3 Company, 1st Brigade, Bengal Foot Artillery, commanded by Captain George Bourchier. In 1930, the 53rd Field Battery, R.A.

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[2 June, 1857. Tuesday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 4-55. Sunset, 7-1.]

* * * * * *

During the night Warrand (64) made his appearance in our Tent. He had been wandering about our cantonments for a tremendous time not meeting a soul, till he thought that we must have abandoned cantonments, nor could he get a guide to show him the way to the Centre Picket, where he eventually learnt that I was sleeping, for not a nigger is allowed to move between 10 p.m. and gunfire. He is with me now. He is bound for Ferozepore, of which station he is to be Executive Engineer.

* * * * * *

Letter. 5 June, 1857. Friday.

Warrand left me on the evening of Wednesday, 3rd, and armed with swords, & pistols, rode away to Ferozepore, so that I am again solitary.

* * * * * *

Letter. 7 June, 1857. Sunday.

The Brigade Order-book has just been brought in. There is an order that all Sikhs, Hill-men, & Punjabis, from the 16th, 26th & 49th [the three regiments disarmed on May 13—see *ante*, pp. 16-7] are to be picked out, to march to Lahore this afternoon, there to receive arms and ammunition, & to be formed into a Depot under 2 Officers (Larkins, 49th [Captain Robertson L.] and Cripps 26th [Captain John Matthew C.]), and encamped near the Artillery. Something more to soothe the Poorbyas! (1).

* * * * * *

I heard from Warrand that he had reached Ferozepore safely. He mourned so fine a station ruined by the mutineers: half the station is destroyed; they were going to commence a lot of hanging presently.

---

64. 1st Lieutenant William Edmund Warrand, Bengal Engineers, who had just been appointed Executive Engineer, P.W.D., at Ferozepore.

1. From *A Year on the Punjab Frontier*, vol. i., p. 151. By Major Herbert B. Edwardes. Published in 1851.

"Poorbeeuhs, men from the Poorub or East, was applied in the Punjab to emigrants from Hindostan. They formed a large body in the Sikh army, and, like all renegades, were observed in the first and second Sikh war to be more bitterly hostile to the British than the Sikhs themselves. The reason is obvious. Runjeet Sing, in creating an army and an empire, gave a hearty welcome to military adventurers and ambitious spirits—the very class who found their "occupation gone", under our rule in Hindostan. The Punjab, therefore, for many years, acted as the main sewer of British India, and drew off all our malcontents; to meet us, however, at last, face to face, in a deadly and final struggle. There can be no doubt that the existence of a few independent native kingdoms on our borders is very useful, in the way above described; but they have been still more useful than they are now, or can ever be again; so surely does a peaceful government, strongly established, cause warlike arms, habits, feelings, and ultimately races, to disappear. We have always more to fear from a single soldier whom our advancing arms have thrown out of employ, than from the ten sons whom he bequeaths to the plough or beggary. In this way, the difficulty of the Punjab is the present generation. The future will be either the best and favourite soldiers of the East India Company's native regiments; or, if not enlisted from a ridiculous panic, will pass quietly back to those agricultural pursuits from which Runjeet, with so much difficulty, diverted their grandfathers."

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[7 June, 1857. Sunday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 4-54. Sunset, 7-3.]

We are all jolly here. The Headquarters and the Right Wing of the 52nd are here, the left Wing at Lahore, & they relieve the 81st now a good deal. We had them at Centre Picket last night. Anarkullie is like a great fair now, full of Troops. The 35th N.I. are in the Soldiers' gardens & the Commanding Officer has the superior accommodation of the Racquet court. The 9th [Bengal] Light Cavalry, the 16th & 17th Irregular Cavalry, the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, 2 Troops [Horse Artillery] & a light Field Battery of Artillery, etc., are encamped in various places.

Up here [Meean Meer] the Bands play again in the evening and people are much more courageous. Farrer performed Service in Church this morning to about 40, & performs again this evening; of course the Troops don't come. We have had heavy dust-storms followed by rain, both yesterday evening & the evening before; it almost seems as if the 'Rains' were coming on. If they are, I must say that we have had no hot weather to speak of. When the hot weather first came on I felt the heat & thought that I should want the Hills, which supported me last year & the year before, but, the hot weather fairly in, I got quite well & recovered spirits and I find that I don't suffer from the heat, in fact, being very absent sometimes, I find myself sitting an hour or two without having the punkah pulled.

* * * * * *

Diary. 8 June, 1857. Monday.

Manderson (2) and 40 Artillerymen went off in ekkas (3) for Ferozepore.

* * * * * *

Letter. 9 June, 1857. Tuesday.

I think I had better make up a bundle of letters and send them off to my friends, Messrs. MacIvor and Co. [Kurrachee], for transmission to England, before the Mooltan troops rise and stop our only road for English letters. The Eastern road is closed again, telegraphs cut, and dâks [mails] stopped. Those idiotic Jullunder regiments have risen. Neville Chamberlain and his moveable column are to be off in pursuit this evening. How very thankful we ought to be that our four regiments are disarmed.

* * * * * *

I don't fancy the 35th N.I., or the 9th Light Cavalry, at all; they are up to something with the 35th at Anarkullie this morning. The 52nd Headquarters & Right wing went off at 2 this morning to Anarkullie, and a lot of reserve 9 Pr. guns to the Citadel. I believe they are going to hang some of the 35th.

I shall not be sorry when that Moveable column is off, for I think a great part of it is highly objectionable and more to be looked on as foes than friends.

---

2. 1st Lieutenant George Rennie Manderson, Bengal Artillery. He had been serving with the Kashmir contingent and was, apparently, at this time "unattached".
3. A light two-wheeled country cart, drawn by a pony, generally at a gallop.

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[8 June, 1857. Monday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 4-54. Sunset, 7-4.]

The weather is very pleasant—On Sunday night [7 June] I was dining at Farrer's and we had such heavy duststorms that I didn't go to Picket till 2 o'clock. Yesterday I sat in my house till past two, the doors all open, no tatties (4), punkahs, or thermantidotes (5), and the thermometer never reached 90°.

* * * * * *

And as to myself, I report myself in the finest health and condition and spirits possible on this 9th June, and very thankful that I can be so, at this particularly lucky station. I wish I could hear from you and get my letters, but patience must ever long be the word.

Diary. 9 June, 1857. Tuesday.

The 52nd Wing went off at 2 this morning for Anarkullie. Two men of the 35th N.I. were blown away [from guns] for mutiny.

I got an agreeable order to run up rough gallows to accommodate 12 men at once, in the shortest possible time, so had to rush off to Godown (6) and invent a neat thing in gallows and set men to work.

Could not go to billiards as I had promised, as I had to attend to the gallows. I was in & out of my house to the maidan in front, from 2 till the evening & did not find it all distressingly hot. Lots of boxing, single-stick, and in the evening I dined at 16th Mess. Rode in the evening; 81st Band.

Diary. 10 June, 1857. Wednesday.

Church at 5½ a.m. Only three others there.

* * * * * *

Who should I find in the house in this morning but Pat Murray (7), left behind by the moveable column as too sick to go on. So I am to doctor him and see him all right again. He has had rheumatism so that he can hardly walk.

Knatchbull's Battery (8) has come here.

Diary. 12 June, 1857. Friday.

A Royal salute was actually fired this morning in honor of the victory! (9).

* * * * * *

Letter. 12 June.

Off I again start my Journal. * * * * On Tuesday, 9th,

4. Screens or mats, usually made of the roots of the fragrant cuscus grass, which are placed in frames, so as to fill up the opening of a door, or window, and are kept wet in order to cool and freshen the air of a room. *The Oxford English Dictionary.*

5. A rotating fan fixed in a window-opening and incased in wet tatties, through which a current of air is driven, to cool the interior of a house.

6. A warehouse for stores, equipment, etc.

7. 2nd Lieutenant Patrick Murray, Bengal Engineers. Sappers and Miners.

8. No. 1 Company, 7th Battalion, Bengal Foot Artillery (Native), commanded by Captain (Bt. Major) Reginald Edward Knatchbull.

9. 8 June, 1857. The action at Badli-ki Serai, about 5 miles north from Delhi, on the Karnal road.

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[12 June, 1857. Friday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 4-54. Sunset, 7-5.]
I received the pleasant order to have gallows erected to accommodate 12 men at once, to be ready by the afternoon. I was out in the sun from 2 to 6 seeing it put up and did not feel the sun a jot: such is our June in the scorching Punjab this year. Never having seen a gallows with its paraphernalia of drops, &c., my contrivances are original if they are nothing else. Courts-martial sit every day. The 1st day they condemned 11 men to be hung, but General Gowan (this blind idiotic leniency again which made the 3rd Cavalry rise & begin the whole row) reprieved them & commuted sentences to 14, 10, &c., years imprisonment.

* * * * * *

Our idiots here fired a Royal salute this morning for a victory (as if it could be anything else) over our own rebels! They show the white feather in triumph, as much as in danger.

* * * * * *

They have left us Knatchbull's Native battery, from Jhelum, to look after here.

* * * * * *

Diary. 13 June, 1857. Saturday.

Farrer woke me at Picket & we walked out together and went to 26th Coffee Shop. Frank came over late. Knocked up with duty. In tent all day yesterday; thermometer 116° and picket all night.

* * * * * *

Diary. 14 June, 1857. Sunday.

Church at 5½ a.m. Went to 16th Coffee Shop. Paid Fulton a visit. Got orders to send 60 Doolis (10) to Mooltan for the Bombay Fusiliers (11).

* * * * * *

These are dreadful times for women and children. Service at 7 p.m. I dined at home.

Letter. 14 June, 1857. Sunday.

Please thank ——— for the very pretty set of cricketing studs, etc.; very novel & calculated to produce no end of a sensation next cold weather at the first cricket Ladies' Tiffin. When shall we play cricket again?

* * * * * *

We are sending Foot Artillery men from here, and from Ferozepore half of the 61st are to go to Delhi. I am sending Doolis to Mooltan for the Bombay Fusiliers, who are coming up here. A quantity of the Trans-Indus Punjab force are to go down sharp Delhiwards. We get now such long interesting letters of what happened at Meerut & Delhi, but one is choked with indignation at the cruelty with which the poor women have been treated. I hope no quarter, no mercy, will be the cry, when we have the upper hand.

10. A litter for sick soldiers, suspended from a pole and carried by four dooli-bearers.
11. The 1st Bombay European Regiment—Fusiliers. In 1861 it became the 103rd Foot (Royal Bombay Fusiliers), and in 1881 the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers. It was disbanded on 31 July, 1922.

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[14 June, 1857. Sunday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 4-54. Sunset, 7-6.]

Activity saved Danvers Osborn (12) at Delhi; he was shot in the thigh at the Cashmere gate & leaped 30 feet down into the ditch & charged up the counterscarp and escaped. Vibart (13) seeing him do this was just going to try the same, when he heard womens' voices crying for help; back he rushed through showers of bullets & he & Salkeld (14) of ours (Executive Engineer, Delhi) got out some ladies, rushed them through the gate square (Quarter Guard); one lady was wounded: but they reached the escarp, made up ropes of dresses, let the ladies down & pulled them up the other side: luckily the Sepoys were too well occupied with other murderous work to come to the ditch & pot at them; they forded the Jumna on foot, ladies & all; water nearly 6 feet deep & after several days got away safe to Meerut.

We are all quiet at Meean Meer: the chronicle of my events is as usual.

This morning we had a good congregation at Church, but of course the troops did not come. Very hot days the two last.

Letter. 15 June, 1857. Monday.

* * * * * *

Don't fear for the result. 'Britons never shall be slaves,' &c., and we are not going to be kicked out of India if every native regiment & every black Raja and Nawab rises against us; it comes to a religious war of Christians versus Mahommedans & Hindoos, and we know which must win. Meanwhile I individually am as safe as if I were in England & very well in health & spirits.

Letter. 17 June, 1857. Wednesday.

This morning the [English] mail has arrived without any warning, any *avant-couriers* of telegraph messages, extras & expresses; every wire which isn't cut has too much to tell about the Rebellion to *waste* time over English mails. Come along tho', English mails, & bring us out some more stout hands and hearts, for it is all we can do now to hold our own: really the pressure is becoming heavy: our enemies increase daily, fresh barbarities happen, and no reinforcements can come to our poor army before Delhi. Yesterday news was bad, for it tells the strength of our Enemy: every day do they come out and every day under a scorching June sun have our poor fellows to fight through the hottest hours, but on the 15th out came the enemy and got his usual licking, back marched our wearied troops & just as they piled arms & began to break off, fresh alarms sounded! the enemy, a new and fresh batch, were out again, and off went our worn-out soldiers to fight again, and they were fighting when the message left. I wish the Bombay Fusiliers would make their appear-

12. Captain Danvers Henry Osborn, 54th Bengal N.I.

13. Lieutenant Edward Daniel Hamilton Vibart, 54th Bengal N.I.

14. 1st Lieutenant Philip Salkeld, Bengal Engineers. Wounded at the assault of Delhi, 11 September, 1857, and died 11 October. Was awarded the Victoria Cross.

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[17 June, 1857. Wednesday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 4-54. Sunset, 7-7.] ance here, then off would go the 81st to Delhi; half of the 61st have gone from Ferozepore; they ought to be one march beyond Loodianah to-day. Very meagre is the news which the Telegraph sends, or which the authorities publish: we can't find out what officers get killed in these every day battles.

* * * * * *

Johnstone (15) from Jullunder (may he be cashiered!) has let the Jullunder rebels escape: he marched 10 miles from Jullunder & halted!! when all the country between Jullunder & Delhi trembled for fear of this new rebel army. At Simla they are dreadfully frightened:

* * * * * *

Poor Wroughton is getting very miserable again: lucky those who have no women & children relatives to think of day & night.

* * * * * *

I wish a Cortez, or Pizarro, with a large force and unlimited power, were let loose against these scoundrels. I broke up the Bridge of Boats yesterday to stop the ingress of the 14th, Jhelum, and 46th, Sialkote, who are expected to rise, having no Europeans near them.

* * * * * *

Letter. 18 June, 1857. Thursday.

We have no more news from Delhi: tho' more details, & some which I wouldn't write, and which the editors ought to be prevented from publishing, considering that poor frightened ladies all read: I immediately tore paragraphs out of mine before lending them. Our soldiers who know these things are quite mad they say & want to stick every native they see. Pat. Grant (16) is C. in C. Bengal & Sir H. Somerset C. in C. India & Bombay. What shameful Dawly-ism (17)! They dare not, in this great crisis, refuse to put the right man in the right place, but they cheat him. Chamberlain [is appointed] Adjutant-General, & Nicholson (18) —the stern, the dreaded & the worshipped of the wild frontier enemy—is to command the Punjab Moveable column.

Life as usual. Another unexpected guest appeared last night—Edwards, 45th Rebels (19), from Cashmere, to rejoin? the place where his regiment was; his house & property were burnt at Ferozepore. Kirwan is up too for the day so my house is full. Here is a welcome English letter; let us forget India & its dear population; do you love them, Mother? One month of India now would change your opinion of a life time; we on the spot can hear of nothing every day but base ingratitude & deceit, & fiendish cruelty & you'll not say 'the mild inoffensive Hindoo' again! None of your chaff about ye trials of ye Domestic

15. Brigadier Montague Cholmley Johnstone, British service, Commanding the Jullunder district.

16. Lieut.-General Sir Patrick Grant, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, Madras Establishment. 17. Not understood.

18. Brigadier John Nicholson. Was wounded before Delhi on 14 September, and died there on 23 September. See 'D.N.B.'.

19. Lieutenant William Frederick Edwards, 45th Bengal N.I., which mutinied at Ferozepore.

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[18 June, 1857. Thursday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 4-55. Sunset, 7-7.]

Bachelor! I scorn to write for the 8th time the genealogy of Colonel Frank Boileau, of the Artillery, who is cousin & not brother of the two Engineer-Colonels (20) of same name! No, I won't tell any more about him or his sons & daughters, or where you knew him (at Monghyr or Berhampore) or of his wife, who is a very pleasant ladylike kind of person, or of Mademoiselles Sarah & Grace, or of Frank Boileau, a Lieut. in the 16th Grenadiers, or Charlie a do. in Hill's 61st, or four more boys—2 at home & 2 cheeky youngsters out here, who call me 'Lang' and otherwise irritate me! So you needn't ask any more questions about them * * * * I will ask Mr. Farrar if he has a brother Mr. Farrar at Harrow: he married a daughter of the famous Bennet: his wife he lost last Autumn, and has two little girls at Simla, little *buchchas* (21); he is the nicest clergyman I have seen out here, quite a cheerful, happy & good man. That daily morning service was only in Lent. Farrer has started a morning service for Wednesday. Your China commiserations you will long ere this have changed to fears for India.

Letter. 21 June, 1857. Sunday.

Service in Artillery Lines at 5. Then went to *chota hazri* at the Boileau's. Paid Major Knatchbull a visit and found him floored with fever. In the afternoon we paid Wroughton a visit & found a Jullunder couple, a Dr. Homan (22) & his pretty young wife there; likewise an infant, not a month old. Mrs. Homan was one of those who so narrowly escaped; she had only just time to jump up from bed, ill as she was, snatch up her child & run with the other ladies from the Barrack (where they were ordered to sleep) to the Quarter Guard, when the Sepoys made a rush through that Barrack. When they returned they found their boxes broken and rifled.

Service at 7 in Church: people I am glad to see are not frightened from coming, by the perpetual lying reports of massacres in Churches at other places. The troops don't come.

Letter. 22 June, 1857. Monday.

I am running up partition walls in the Ladies' Barracks (Artillery and 81st Lines), & these, as you may fancy, are troublesome, ladies being difficult to please in such matters & given to think others better off than themselves.

* * * * * *

Letter. 23 June, 1857. Tuesday.

The 100th anniversary of Plassey. I wonder if they will assault & take Delhi to-day! I hope not, for I want to be there. Gustavinski appeared, having come in with the Crommelins (23) from Amritsar.

20. John Theophilus and Alexander Henry Edmonstone Boileau, both Colonels in the Bengal Engineers at this time.

21. Hindustani, meaning young offspring, either human or animal.

22. Surgeon Samuel Adamson Homan, 61st Bengal N.I. This regiment mutinied at Jullunder on the night of 7/8 June.

23. Captain William Arden Crommelin, Bengal Engineers.

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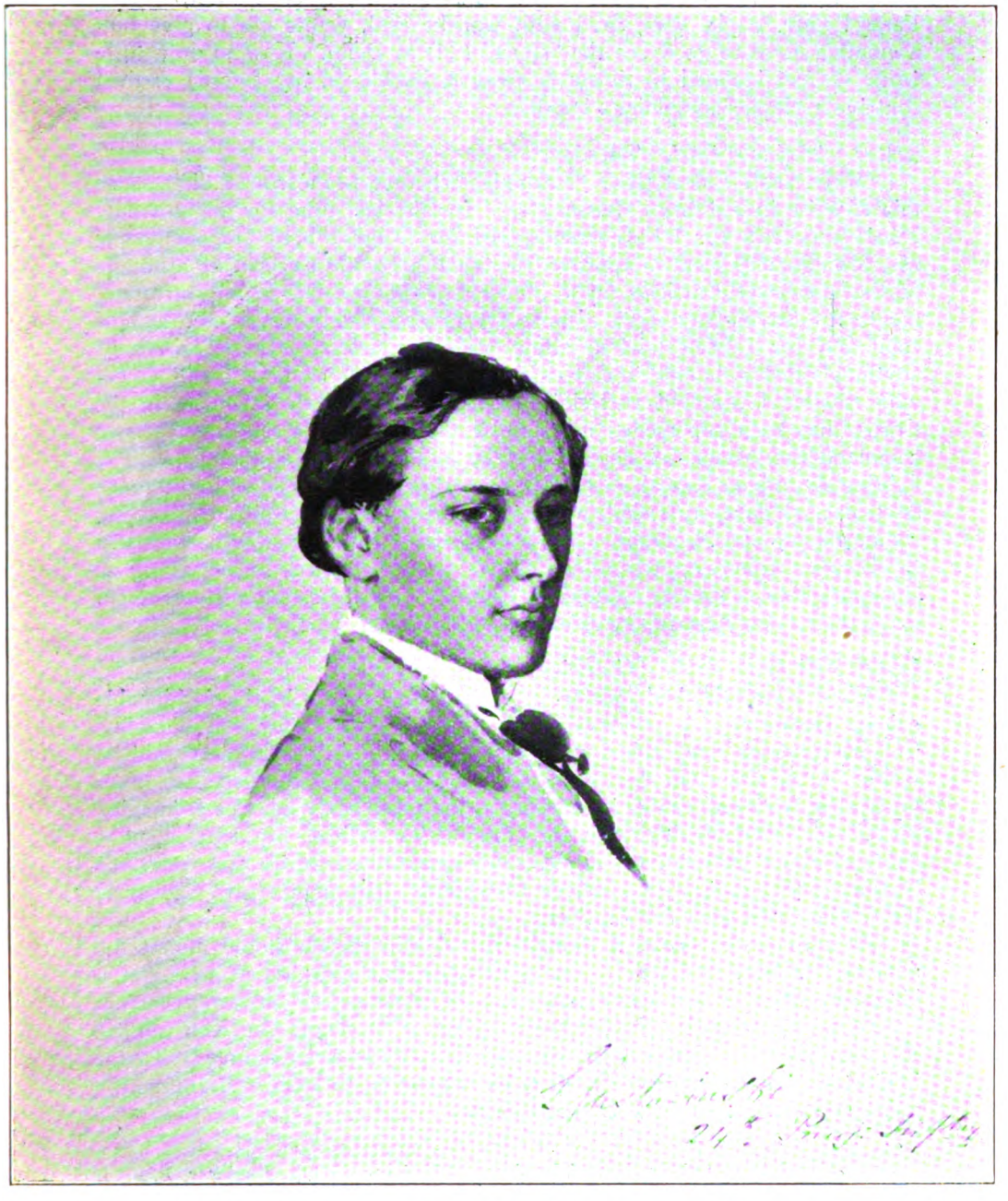

LIEUTENANT L. K. GUSTAVINSKI. [See *ante*, page 20.]

From a water-colour painting by Egron Sellif Lundgren in the collection of, and by kind permission of Lieut.-Colonel the *Hon.* R. H. Hermon-Hodge, M.V.O., D.S.O.

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[23 June, 1857. Tuesday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 4-56. Sunset, 7-8.]
Fancy! Mr. Alpin (24), fired with warlike zeal, wants me to give him a month's leave to go & see the 'sport' (!!) at Delhi. Now to do a little work (I feel inclined to throw it away & buckle on my sword) & then contrive a Napierian soldier's bundle.

Letter. 23 June, 1857. Tuesday.

When shall I post this? I wonder whether to-morrow I shall close this & write in red Ink 'Meean Meer' for the last time for many a day. I half expect it, for I have volunteered for Delhi & both Macpherson & Mr. Montgomery seem to approve, so I shall presently be devising a bundle of the most useful articles up to 20 seers weight (25) & making arrangements for leaving my work & property in good hands here. No end of roughing, for I can't take anything with me, tents, servants, horses or anything; just a bundle I can carry and rattle off as best I can & get what shelter I can find at Delhi. Laughton (26), our favourite in the Corps! has been superseded in Camp & they say Baird Smith (27) is to command the Attack. I hope I may be in time: what a change, heat & fighting & fatigue & real earnest life, to this luxurious dawdling cantonment life. I dare say I shall wish myself back in Mme. Boileau's drawing room, playing *'La ci darem'* (28) & such like. But I am right, don't you think so, in volunteering? This is no time for men to be idling & shirking; help is greatly wanted at Delhi & I shall be much more useful there than I am here in inglorious ease & security.

Letter. 25 June, 1857. Thursday.

Here I am still, bad luck to it! I am very nearly in the fashionable suicide condition. I volunteered on Monday [22 June]; on Tuesday, Col. Macpherson telegraphed to Rawal Pindi & Mr. Montgomery said he would let me know, in the course of the day. I wait in suspense; make up khakee trowsers, tunics & turbans, in the most hasty manner & imagine myself at Delhi in less than no time. To relieve my excitement I galloped about cantonments in the sun: saw Fulton, lucky dog, start for Shalimar, to go on with Gulliver to Phillour that night; saw Salwey & his Artillerymen start for Amritsar.

Yesterday, of course, I thought for certain that I should mount the mail-cart at half past one & reach Umballa this morning at ten: not a bit of it. First I get a line from Mr. Montgomery—"No answer from Sir John [Lawrence]. Taylor has come in; if he wants you, you can go, & Ommaney will arrange about your work." What a vague note! Taylor is Captain Alexander Taylor (29) & he is gone on to Delhi: of course my going had nothing to do with his pleasure.

24. Lang's head-clerk.
25. A *seer* is roughly 2lbs.
26. Major John Laughton, Bengal Engineers. Had been Suptg. Engineer, P.W.D., Lahore Circle, with Lang as his assistant, and was now with the field force at Delhi.
27. Captain Richard Baird Smith, Bengal Engineers, Director and Superintendent of Canals, N.W. Provinces. Appointed Chief Engineer at the siege of Delhi. See 'D.N.B.'
28. A vocal duett in Mozart's opera, *Don Giovanni*.
29. Bengal Engineers. Supt. of the Lahore and Peshawar Road, P.W.D. See 'D.N.B.'

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[25 June, 1857. Thursday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 4-56. Sunset, 7-9.]

Then I got from Colonel Paton (30), our plucky Assistant Q.M. General, Sir John's answer:—

"I will enquire if Lt. Lang is required: don't send him yet." And so it stands & I shall not go, or, if I do, I shall be late for the fighting, only in time for fever & cholera & demolishing the walls of Delhi in the rains. So to preserve myself from suicide I went over with Frank to Col. Boileau's and stayed there till they went to Barracks, as dust-storms prevented all Mall-riding, and so on! To-day I have no more orders.

I weighed. I am 10 stone, 11½ lbs, regular hot weather weight. It is very hot weather just now and the rains ought soon to come on: however, I find I don't dislike the heat.

No news yesterday or to-day. The Sikhs from the 62nd and 69th (disarmed Mooltan regiments) came in this morning to join the Punjab Battalion, which is getting a large regiment.

Letter. 26 June, 1857. Friday.

Here is apparently the first day of the Rains: we are sitting now (4 p.m.), and have been for some time, without punkahs or thermantidotes, doors open, and Thermometer 85°, instead of 95°, of many past days, & looking on a leaden sky & wet garden: very different is the temperature to what it was yesterday when I was last writing to you. Nicholson has begun his firm practice: he now commands the moveable column & has disarmed the 33rd (from Hoshiarpore) & 35th (Moveable column) at Phillour. The *Hurkaru* (31) states that Colvin (32) has been superseded by Sir H. Wheeler (33). I hope so. Colvin deserves any punishment for publishing that cowardly Amnesty order (34).

30. John Stafford Paton, 14th Bengal N.I.

31. Hindustani—a messenger or courier. The *Hurkaru* was a newspaper published in Calcutta. The report, however, was not true.

32. John Russell Colvin, Lieut. Governor of the North West Provinces.

33. Major-General Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler, K.C.B., commanding the Cawnpore Division.

34. The Agra Government Gazette, Extraordinary. 25 May, 1857.

PROCLAMATION.

"BY ORDER OF THE HONOURABLE THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES.

"All Soldiers, engaged in the late disturbances, who are desirous of going to their homes, and who give up their arms at the nearest civil or military Government post, and retire quietly, shall be permitted to do so unmolested.

"Many faithful soldiers have been drawn into resistance to Government only because they were in the ranks and could not escape from them; or because they really thought their feelings of religion and honour injured by the measures of Government. This feeling was wholly a mistake, but it acted on men's minds. A proclamation now issued by the Governor-General in Council is perfectly explicit, and will remove all doubt on this point.

"Only evil-minded instigators in the disturbances, and those guilty of heinous crimes against private persons, shall be punished.

"All those who appear in arms against the Government, after this proclamation is known, shall be treated as open enemies.

"By order of the Hon. The Lieutenant Governor, North-Western Provinces."

(Sd.) C. B. THORNHILL,
"Offg. Secy. to Govt., N.W. Provinces."

The Proclamation was disapproved of by the Supreme Government, who substituted for it another of their own composition. There was really little substantial difference between the two, and both were useless. See Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War in India.*, vol. iii., Book viii., chapter i.

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Letter. 27 June, 1857. Saturday. Meean Meer. [Sunrise, 4-56. Sunset, 7-9.]

300 of the Bombay Fusiliers are between Mooltan & this place. I have no further news about my going or not going. The weather is delightful—10 a.m. Thermometer 88°, all doors open, no Punkahs, etc., merry sunshine, clear atmosphere & cloudy sky—a regular change from hot weather to Rains. You must be just now receiving my first letter after the breaking out of the Rebellion. I hope you will not have been alarmed about me, as our Troops had been quietly disarmed. In reality I have been very happy and comfortable here—too much so, I feel, while my countrymen in other stations have been so harassed & injured. I wish I could get my orders to be off: this would be a gloriously cool day to mount the mail-cart at 1½ p.m., at the Meean Meer post office, but I begin to despair of being allowed to go.

* * * * * *

I feel convinced that the 1st [July] will be time enough for posting English letters. I hope I may write then, that Delhi has fallen. Down with the Rebels!

Letter. 28 June, 1857. Sunday.

We had service in the Church in the evening, Mr. Farrer going in the morning to one or other of the Lines, to the Troops.

Letter. 29 June, 1857. Monday.

Went out calling with Frank on the Crommelins, who have come here from Amritsar in lieu of Gulliver. The "Lahore Punjab Battalion" has now increased to about 700 men and is being formed into a respectable regiment, & has become our Centre picket, encamping in front of the Church. In a day or two 300 of the Bombay Fusiliers will strengthen our European Force. Knatchbull & young Robinson (the Jhelum Battery) have left us for Delhi, taking off their guns, but leaving the gunners (niggers) behind.

Letter. 30 June, 1857. Tuesday.

I have not yet got orders to go. I threw out a feeler by asking Hutchinson if my Head Clerk [Alpin] might have a month's leave, and he told me that he could not be spared as I might be ordered off. So I am all ready to be off at a minute's notice, and meanwhile go on in a careless, peaceful, station way, which I don't like, whenever I come to think of it, knowing that perhaps at Lahore and Peshawar alone does security of life and property exist, and that I have no right to be safe and comfortable, but being a strong young fellow, with nothing particular to do here, I should be doing my best in stern reality.

Letter. 3 July, 1857. Friday.

A letter from Mrs. Harris (35) has found its way here from Lucknow, dated 12 June, written in a very desponding strain, but reporting all as

35. Wife of the Rev. James Parker Harris, Chaplain at Lucknow.

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[3 July, 1857. Friday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 4-59. Sunset, 7-9.]
yet safe in the Residency.

* * * * * *

Sir Henry (36) is blowing away [from guns] and hanging all he manages to catch. At Delhi they have sent off a few such as Johnstone, Hartley (37), Laughton (hang the man, I wish he would retire; he gets into a mess everywhere). Taylor is acting as Chief Engineer there until arrival of Baird Smith. John Fulton (38) arrived all safely in camp and writes to say that the duty is most excessive. He is in the trenches for 24 hours at a time, every 2nd day. It is reported that the Assault will be given in a day or two; that powder is failing the enemy; that some of them daily desert.

* * * * * *

Letter. 5 July, 1857. Sunday.

How tantalizing your description of grassy lawns, shady trees, Spring breezes, azaleas and rhodedendrons, etc., sound to poor me, who looks out on the most scorched & brown of flat countries, almost invisible in the intense glare of a cloudless sky: we have had hardly any rain & this day is more like 5 June than 5 July: thermantidotes and *tattis* don't bring the thermometer below 94°.

* * * * * *

I wrote on Friday [3 July]. That evening as Ski, Murray & I were dining quietly at home, came an order for the former (who had volunteered for Delhi) to take down 200 Mazbi Sikhs (39) to join the Sappers (40). I certainly don't envy him; I wouldn't go down in that way for anything: he has not yet started, but is preparing & collecting military necessaries. My Tent and one of my swords are my contributions.

* * * * * *

Dinner at the Punjab Battalion Mess (which is in their Camp, in proper service state).

* * * * * *

Letter. 7 July, 1857. Tuesday. Meean Meer.

Here I am all safe and comfortable. Some rise was expected last night and an extra Picket of European Infantry & 2 Guns lay out last night opposite the Punjab Battalion. So Murray & I migrated out of the close neighbourhood of the 49th to Wroughton's opposite the Church. They

36. Henry Montgomery Lawrence, Bengal Artillery, Chief Commissioner of Oudh; elder brother of Sir John L. See 'D.N.B.'

37. Brigadier Henry Winchcombe Hartley, British service; Lieut.-Colonel, 8th (The King's) Regiment; first commissioned in September, 1818, but had seen no active service.

38. 1st Lieutenant, Bengal Artillery. Had been Executive Engineer, P.W.D., Irrigation Department, at Amritsar.

39. It is generally understood that the Mazbis were sweepers and other low castes, which under Guru Gobind Singh's reforms, at any rate, were admitted as Sikhs, though they have never attained the full status as such, and have to be enlisted in special Pioneer Regiments, such as The Corps of Sikh Pioneers. They make very useful soldiers.

Mazbi is probably a corruption of Mazhabi, i.e., Sikhs by religion.

40. Companies of The Corps of Bengal Sappers and Miners. The Corps consisted of eight companies.

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[7 July, 1857. Tuesday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 5-0. Sunset, 7-9.]

say a plot has been discovered made by the 49th to murder the officers & then attack the 81st; also that the Punjab Battalion have been tampered with and are not to be trusted. This added to a strong report that Nicholson's men (2nd Punjab Cavalry) have gone over to the Enemy & the fact that the Loodiana Sikh regiment fought us at Benares, certainly do not soothe the feelings of the most hopeful, and drive the croakers into fits as to the certainty of our all being done for before those British bayonets, 'so long a coming,' come to the rescue. I wish I were commanding here. I would take up the extermination policy advocated by the *Friend of India* (41), instead of keeping all the Europeans in a state of everlasting suspense & killing the women by inches. I'd have the whole native force out here and order them within a quarter of an hour to give me up ringleaders, 1 out of every ten men: otherwise vollies of grape and musquetry should rid the station of these night mares & strike a gentle warning into the bosoms of troops at other stations. This long delay before Delhi, which we apparently can't take, has cost the lives of hundreds of our countrymen & women throughout the country & must lead, if still protracted, to the desertion of Sikhs, Punjabees and all who have not white faces in the country.

Letter. 8 July, 1857. Wednesday.

Last night we joined the European Picket, being warned that it was unsafe to sleep in lines: our two Guns raked the line of officers' tents of the Punjab Battalion in the most pleasant way. The men that the new regiment got from the 49th are going off to-night to Jullunder; they are not to be trusted here with their own old regiment. That Lahore Punjab Battalion is now made an Irregular Regiment and only four officers left with it—Commandant (42), 2nd in Command (43), Adjutant (44), & a "Doing duty"; the last is Frank Boileau.

Letter. 10 July, 1857. Friday.

Here we are again in our 'siege' condition. All ladies secured in Barracks, their guard doubled, the 16th Irregulars patrolling the station, Larkins ordered to let his Sikhs fire into any party of natives numbering ten or more who may appear. The most loyal, the best of regiments (hang them), the 46th N.I. & wing of 9th Cavalry (alone remaining at Sialkote) have risen; Brigadier Brind (45) there is wounded. Such news a meagre telegraph message brought us at midnight.

* * * * * *

The 52nd (Queen's) in *ekkas* from Amritsar (where is the moveable column) have dashed off to Sialkote. They have just disarmed the 59th

41. A weekly newspaper, published at Serampore, Bengal. See Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*—1906—under 'Marshman, John Clark'.

42. Captain Robertson Larkins, 49th Bengal N.I., disarmed.

43. Lieutenant John William Hoggan, 45th Bengal N.I.

44. Captain John Matthew Cripps, 26th Bengal N.I., Light Infantry, disarmed.

45. Frederick Brind, C.B., Bengal Artillery, commanding the station. Was shot by his orderly on 9 July, and died the following day.

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[10 July, 1857. Friday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 5-2. Sunset, 7-8.]
at Amritsar, thank heavens. I wonder whether our four regiments will rise or not. Ski, Murray & I will make for the roof with double barrels & defend my treasure. We have a pleasant locale. I hope Larkins and Cripps and Frank will come to the rescue in this direction with their Sikhs. I have been all morning in their Camp & challenged them all to athletic amusements—jumping, putting the shell, etc., and licked them. They are such jolly cool fellows these Sikhs, no cringing *"gharib parwaring"* (46), but they laugh and chaff at one in true manly style, and enter with a smile into the racing, games, etc., and are very good natured, as I found when I 'put' a heavy shell on a fellow's foot.

No news from Delhi: the camp are looking to Baird Smith of 'ours' to settle the matter. The young Artillerymen all declare that the old ones are muffs, and that our batteries are absurdly far distant.

* * * * * *

Gustavinski & Kirwan are living with me now; we all sleep at the little European Picket. Dined at the 81st Barracks. Well, goodbye for the present. I hope this letter, bungalow & all, won't be burnt presently. I don't think our regiments will be such fools as to rise with lathis and tulwars.

Letter. 12 July, 1857. Sunday.

All right you see. Saturday (Yesterday) morning, Gustavinski said goodbye and in the evening marched from Anarkullie with his Mazbi Sikhs. I was out at the Artillery Lines in the morning and saw the left wing of the Bombay Fusiliers march in, all the women and ladies standing outside their barracks in great glee to see some more white faces (very sunburnt and dirty) with British hearts, hands & bayonets, come to defend them. On their arrival, 100 of the 81st went off in *ekkas* for Amritsar. We had guns & European Infantry waiting at the Bridge of Boats on Friday & yesterday for the Sialkote rebels, but they have made for Goordaspore, where they will, I suppose, pick up the 2nd Irregulars. We had a detachment of that noble cavalry here, but their room being preferred to their company, they were told to go off to their own regiment yesterday morning.

As to my doings, they continue as if nothing was going on, except that I sleep at the picket. Last night we were all roused by a horse rolling and a pistol in the holsters going off. The day I spent as if nothing were expected, tho' I do get rather pitched into for living in the 49th lines. For myself I don't care & I shall not move, but Murray I should like to see move to safer quarters, but he does not seem inclined to accept offers. Yesterday afternoon Frank & I spent in Barracks. Mrs. Boileau's quarters are not so uncomfortable, being one of the end Serjeant's Quarters, so that they are much more private than parties who have little partitioned rooms in the big wards, with *cutcha* partition-walls, only six feet high. These latter parties can't be very jolly and private.

46. *Gharib parwar*—Hindustani—Protector of the Poor—a favourite expression of natives, by way of compliment.

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[12 July, 1857. Sunday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 5-3. Sunset, 7-8.]

You never had to live in Barracks guarded night & day by sentries in your Indian career. *Voilá* the march of civilization! However, some of the ladies keep up their spirits very well; of course the horrible details which we hear with all these accounts of massacres, etc., and which make the mens' blood boil with indignation & hatred, distress poor women's minds & keep them perpetually miserable. You will feel horror enough, I dare say, but fancy the people living amidst it all, hearing these things every day, and knowing the sufferers in their wide-spread India acquaintanceship & hearing much more detail than you will. How very strange this state of things is whenever one thinks of it, but it has grown quite natural: it would be strange to hear of no disaster any day.

Letter. 14 July, 1857. Tuesday.

Yesterday morning [13 July] at daybreak, the Brigadier drove me down to the River; we picked up Colonel Paton, the Asst. Q. M. General, & held a council as to the best way of defending the Bridge. We saw the little force of a camp of 81st, and Manderson with his two guns, on a sandy knoll on this bank of the river; precious hot little camp! We then went to Colonel Macpherson's (Military Secretary) where was also Mr. Montgomery.

* * * * * *

Now Goodbye. You will be thankful to see another fortnight has passed and that I am all safe: really there is *here* no cause for anxiety. Thanks (under God) to the very prompt measures taken by our Brigadier here, Lahore has become, instead of a second Delhi, the rallying point of every native regiment in the Punjab, the British capital of Upper India, holding its own & helping the unfortunate North West.

Letter. 16 July, 1857. Thursday.

[The first part of this letter contains the announcement of Lang's engagement to Miss Sarah Boileau, elder daughter of Colonel F. B. Boileau, Bengal Artillery.]

* * * * * *

A force goes out from here of some European Infantry, some Guns, 150 of the Punjab Sikh Battalion, some Police *sowars*; they go out after the remainder of the 9th & 46th (47). We expect Green's (48) Regiment, 2nd Punjab Infantry, in here, in a day or two: they come up from Mooltan.

The Bombay Fusiliers are such queer fellows, to us quite foreigners. They look more slovenly than our swell officers; wear crumpled jackets, no collars, black neckerchiefs, ride absurd tats (49), with swords & pistols, on the Mall & wonder at mules, at the number of buggies, etc.

Now I must at once close this. I hope you will be happy to hear that I am engaged; if you knew Sarah Boileau you would certainly be so.

47. The 9th Bengal Light Cavalry and the 46th N.I. which mutinied at Sialkote.
48. Captain George Wade Guy Green, Commandant.
49. Ponies.

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PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE "LANG" DIARY.

R. E. Egerton.
Page 17.

Mrs. C. Hathaway.
Page 19.

Lieut.-Col. J. D. Macpherson.
Page 20.

Major E. L. Ommaney.
Page 13.

Lieut. H. W. Gulliver.
Page 17.

C. P. Elliott.
Page 17.

A. A. Roberts.
Page 17.

Lieut. J. Crofton.
Page 13.

These portraits, of some of the persons mentioned in the 'Lang' diary and letters, are taken from a Group, as photographed by Captain Charles Waterloo Hutchinson, Bengal Engineers—Assistant to the Chief Engineer, P.W.D. Punjab—at Lahore in 1856, in the garden of Mr. D. F. MacLeod, Financial Commissioner.

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Letter. 20 July, 1857. Monday. Meean Meer. [Sunrise, 5-8. Sunset, 7-4.]

* * * * * *

Sir John Lawrence came in here last night. General Gowan is gone down to consult with him, I believe, about sending yet more troops from the Punjab to Delhi.

Letter. 22 July, 1857. Wednesday.

* * * * * *

Sir John Lawrence, Nicholson, General Gowan, etc., have been holding council of war here yesterday morning. They are anything but sanguine as to our prospects; they believe in the notion (now rapidly gaining ground) that Sir Hugh Wheeler and his force have been cut up (50), and begin to doubt if Sir Henry Lawrence can hold out any longer [at Lucknow.]

Consequent on this council of war, the left wing of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers last night again started on their travels en route to Ferozepore, from whence the other half of the 61st "Queen's" join their comrades at Delhi. The 52nd "Queen's," from the Moveable column, march straight away to Delhi. The 27th "Queen's" [see *ante*, p. 73.] descend from Nowshera to Pindi. The Head Quarters and right wing, 24th "Queen's" (1), come down from Pindi, to catch up the left wing, which having fought the 14th N.I. at Jhelum, are now somewhere near here, and these replace the 52nd in the Moveable column.

One or two Punjab corps are to go to Delhi. Gulab Singh (2) sends a contingent of Dogras (3), Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery, who are

50. Major-General Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler, commanding at Cawnpore. The rumour was true, for the Cawnpore massacre had taken place on 27 June. These news took more than three weeks to filter through.

1. 1st Battalion, 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment (Queen's), stationed at Rawal Pindi—in 1930 the 1st Battalion, The South Wales Borderers.

2. Maharaja of Jammoo and Kashmir.

3. Sir Louis Dane writes:—Dogras are Rajputs of various clans coming from the low hill tracts between the Jhelum and the Sutlej Rivers. The leading family now is the Jammoo family which rules Jammoo and Kashmir. The founder, Maharaja Gulab Singh, had been a kinsman and in the service of Raja Ranjit Deo of Jammoo, then a small Rajput princedom. He entered the Sikh service as a horseman. His brother, Mian Dhian Singh, became Chamberlain to Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1818, and soon rose to be Minister, and at the close of his reign and in the years that succeeded his death was the principal man in the Punjab. He made the fortune of his family, and put Gulab Singh in as chief of Jammoo when the old family was turned out. The representative of this was living on a small allowance in the Gurdaspur district up to a short time ago. Raja Dhian Singh retained the Punch principality for himself. Another brother, Suchet Singh, also rose to high office, but fell out with Hira Singh, the son of Raja Dhian Singh, who succeeded on his father's murder in 1843. Suchet Singh was killed in the following year fighting against Hira Singh. Gulab Singh held aloof from the Sikh invasion in 1845 and collaborated with the British in the negotiations for the Treaty of Lahore of March, 1846, and on 16 March, 1846, a treaty was concluded with him making over to him all the hill country, including Kashmir, between the Indus and the Ravi in consideration of a payment of Rs. 10,000,000 (£1,000,000), subsequently reduced, owing to some changes in boundaries, to £750,000. His descendant is Maharaja Hari Singh of Jammoo and Kashmir. The family were Hindus but became Sikhs in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's time. The term Dogra, however, includes many other clans of Rajputs and is really a territorial name. Many, if not most, of the men recruited in the Dogra Regiments are from the Kangra District.

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[22 July, 1857. Wednesday. Meean Meer. Sunrise, 5-9. Sunset, 7-3.]

to start on 1st August, from Jullunder. Dick Lawrence goes as Consulting General, and Manderson, from the Horse Artillery here, as Consulting Artillery Officer, but the contingent goes down under Gholab Singh's own officers.

Our Army is entrenching itself at Delhi. So you see we can't take Delhi, and the Punjab is to be almost denuded of its troops to enable our side to hold its own before Delhi. And all this time we read sickening twaddle in the leaders from *Times, Examiner,* &c., where old women write their views on the component parts of the Indian Army, our great supremacy over our conquered subjects, our might never to be endangered, the Hindoo element very strong, but no chance of a row as the Mahomedans are on our side (we are really fighting Cross versus Crescent now), and all such sort of trash.

* * * * * *

Letter. 23 July, 1857. Thursday.

* * * * * *

Yesterday I got a warning note from Kirwan telling me I might expect to be ordered off.

* * * * * *

I went down at daybreak [to Anarkullie] to see Macpherson; he says I am to go off by mail-cart as soon as ever I can; so I hope to send off my tent, bed & a box of clothes, etc., by bullock-train to-day, & follow by mail-cart to-morrow. I saw also Mr. Montgomery, Hutchinson, etc., Two more Engineer officers go down—Warrand from Ferezopore, and Medley from Dera Ghazee Khan.

* * * * * *

You will miss the Meean Meer postmark on the familiar Indian letter this mail!

Diary. 24 July, 1857. Friday.

Went to see my traps packed up. I had sent tent, bed and 2 boxes by bullock-train yesterday: heavy furniture, &c., I ordered to Godown, & other things to Colonel Boileau's.

Kirwan is to go to Dera Ghazi Khan, Murray to act for me.

At 7, I had to tear myself away and rush off to the post-office to catch the mail-cart. When shall I see her dear face again? These are sad days for partings, but we ought to be grateful we have no more serious sorrows to mourn and are all alive. A heavy storm came on, but as I had a palki *ghári* (4), I could lie down & care nothing for the rain.

Diary. 25 July, 1857. Saturday. [en route to Delhi.]

I slept and woke till 3½ a.m. and then I got out of the palki & got on a mail-cart & went down to the River [Beas] passing strings of camels, ekkas full of 52nd, Guns, &c. On the river bank found Bourchier,

4. Palki = palankin. Hence 'palki-ghári,' a carriage shaped somewhat like a palankin on wheels.

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[25 July, 1857. Friday. On the river Beas. Sunrise, 5-11.
Sunset, 7-1.]

Cracklow & Sconce (5) getting their guns across. Had a chat & cup of tea with them & got my cart sent across with one of their howitzers, limber & horses. At seven I was across & at 10 a.m. got to the house in Jullunder in which Major Hill (6) & Captain Holmes (7) live. Having a note for the former, he took me in, fed me, &c. The few Jullunder people live in one bit of the Cantonments; a Barrack holds nearly all the officers; another couple, connected by a wall with sandbag loopholes, holds 100 of 8th, 2 guns & some volunteer Artillery men. Went to Officers' Barrack: found Oliphant, Faddy, Auldjo, Marquis (8). Oliphant has just fortified Phillour & now goes to Govindghur. Jullunder looks beautiful and green after bare Meean Meer. At four, after tiffin, Marquis & I started: at seven we reached the Sutlej: left M.(arquis) at Phillour: we only took about ¾ of an hour to cross. Rain fell during some hours but wrapped in my big military cloak I did not much care.

* * * * * *

Letter. 25 July, 1857. Saturday. On the river Beas.

Here I am, off to the wars—in a great flat-bottomed, square-sterned, high-prowed, wall-sided barge, in company with a howitzer, with its limber and horses, of Bourchier's Light Field Battery. Ahead of me a string of similar boats full of khakee-dressed soldiers of Hill's 52nd: behind me boats full of more guns and horses. We are supposed to be towing along under the low sand cliffs of the right bank of the Beas, but I can't say that we have moved for five minutes. I have just had a chat with Bourchier, Cracklow and Sconce, all of one Battery.

* * * * * *

I stop here animated to have a row with the manjis (9) & make them climb on the side of some of the boats ahead & pass outside them—off we go— & stick again. I shall not get into Jullunder till noon; luckily the sky is covered with clouds. Such a row! Officers swearing, niggers shrieking & shouting, horses, camels, men & dhoolies passing down to the ghats.

I had no time to write yesterday [24 July] as you may suppose.

* * * * * *

These fellows now crossing with me (Hill's 52nd, Dawes's Troop of Horse Artillery & Bourchier's Light Field Battery) will be a grand help at Delhi.

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5. Captain George Bourchier, 1st Lieutenant George Cracklow, and 2nd Lieutenant James Sconce, No. 3 Company, 1st Battalion, Bengal Foot Artillery, which formed No. 17 Light Field Battery—in 1930 is 53rd Field Battery, R.A. See Bourchier's *Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoy Army*, 1857, published in 1858.
6. Captain (Bt. Major) George Mytton Hill, 17th Bengal N.I., Deputy Paymaster, Jullunder circle.
7. George Edward Holmes, 72nd Bengal N.I., Brigade Major at Jullunder.
8. 1st Lieutenant William Stirling Oliphant, Bengal Engineers, P.W.D.
   Major Samuel Brougham Faddy, 36th N.I. } Mutinied at Jullunder.
   Lieutenant John Richardson Auldjo, do. }
   Captain James Marquis, 3rd Bengal N.I. Mutinied at Phillour.
9. Boatmen.

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[25 July, 1857. Saturday. On the river Beas. Sunrise, 5-11.
Sunset, 7-1.]

We are going along jollily now; on my left the view shut out by sand cliffs rising above us; on my right the swollen river rushing smoothly & swiftly past; the opposite banks quite distinctly visible, looking green & covered with Trees. I can see the tents too, waiting for these Troops. I left at seven yesterday evening, and started in a palki *ghári* in which I lay down & slept comfortably, despite the pouring rain; at half past 3 this morning I exchanged into a mail-cart, and here I am.

Diary. 26 July, 1857. Sunday. Umballa.

At 8 I got to the Hotel Umballa. I paid Perkins a visit at his house and found him looking excessively ill and pulled down: he goes to Simla tonight. He gave me very full accounts of Camp, etc. Breakfasted table d'hote fashion at Hotel: knew none of the men but Brig^r. Graves. One was Brig^r. Hartley, another Captain Anson, A.D.C., the rest I don't know who. Tiffin at 3; retired to sleep, and at 11 heard the bugles of the Lahore Dâk coming in: went over to Dâk office and at 11½ started. A most wretched road to the Narkunda River. After that good.

Letter. 26 July, 1857.

Here I am at Umballa in ye Hotel of Mr. Parker; but I will resume where I left off yesterday morning. I crossed the Beas all right & got to Major Hill's house in Jullunder at 10 a.m. From Kurtarpoor, about 10 miles into Jullunder, is a beautiful road, shaded by a beautiful avenue of Sirris & Shisham trees, such as we would give anything for at Meean Meer. Jullunder, too, looks so green & fresh, large trees & rich grass, a relief after our brown sunburnt Meean Meer. In one little corner of the Station live 100 of the 8th King's, some volunteer Artillery men for the two guns, & all the officers left there. Two barracks, with a connecting brick wall, furnished with sandbag loopholes form the defensive position. Major Hill, the Dep^y. Paymaster, & Captain Holmes the Brigade Major, live now & hold office in a Bungalow just by this Barrack: & having a letter of introduction from Colonel Boileau to the former, I stayed with them till four and had breakfast & tiffin. I paid a long visit to the Barrack in which nearly all the officers are stowed, and found Oliphant of ours; he has just put the Phillour fort into a state of thorough defence & built new batteries to mount 20 more heavy guns; he goes now to put Govindghur (Amritsar) into a similar state. At 4 p.m. I started in an express cart with Marquis, of 3rd N.I. He stopped at Phillour & I went on at once & was to cross the Sutlej by nightfall; two streams were bridged & the other one I crossed in less than an hour; at Loodiana it began to rain & rained for some hours, but in an oilskin cap and big military cape, I did not care for the rain. As night wore on I got most intensely sleepy, plunging head first at the imminent risk of breaking my neck or being driven over. The careful coachwân eventually had to put his arm round my waist to keep me on. I then tried sitting at his feet,

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[26 July, 1857. Sunday. Umballa. Sunrise, 5-12. Sunset, 7-1.]
but when I slept my feet kept being caught in the wheel & rubbed and scraped. I then tried lying down curled up on the back seat. At last I gave up and from 3 a.m. to 5 a.m. I slept like a top on a charpoy put in the middle of the road. I then woke up and pushed on, and at 8 was at this hotel. Just opposite is a fortified set of barracks in which most of the officers live. I then went over and paid Aeneas Perkins a visit; he has been back about a week from Camp [at Delhi] and goes away to Simla to recover. He is so pulled down and seedy and haggard-looking that I should scarcely have recognized him: he gave me no end of information about camp and our fellows: & showed me plans & described actions, that I almost feel that I have been there and know all about it.

* * * * * *

He says everything is managed shamefully and some of the Europeans fight very badly and occasionally bolt. The outlying pickets are 9th Irregular Cavalry, who are notoriously traitors, and the enemy are always in our camp before we know anything about it. The similarity between our and their Irregular Cavalry leads to perpetual mistakes, and their men have before now come in, drawn swords and charged before the men, listlessly watching their movements, some 20 or 30 yards off, have had any idea but that they were our own Cavalry. The mail cart starts this evening at any time between 5 and 12, so that I may expect to be in Camp [before Delhi] any time between 8 a.m., or 3 p.m.; the former I hope will be nearer the mark; anyhow, this time tomorrow I shall hear the regular boom of the guns & mortars.

* * * * * *

If I can find time I will send you a few lines from Delhi tomorrow to go by Marseilles, but I hardly expect to be fit to write. I ought to be sleeping now, or I shall fall off the cart tonight; how very tired I shall be: I am the very worst of people to do without sleep. Here is the man to take off the letters. I feel as if I have been half asleep for some time, but have no time now to see if I have been writing nonsense. Fancy! your next letter from your son will be from a *pucka* soldier: when I have been once or twice under regular fire & seen men knocked over right & left of me, I shall feel I can say I am a soldier and no carpet-knight, and I shall not care half so much for volunteering & such things incompatible with the duties of your married man! I have just been having the true comfort of discoursing with a fine specimen of the *pucka* old muff, your live General 'Hartley,' now commanding this Division, and station, because he was kicked out as incompetent from Delhi: such an old owl.

From your most affectionate son A. M. LANG,
who tomorrow will be Field Engineer, 'Avenging Army,'
Camp before Delhi, the doomed city of the Moghuls, etc., etc.

[He left Umballa in the Mail at 11-30 p.m.]

Diary. 27 July, 1857. Monday. Kurnal.

At 2 [a.m.] came on such a storm of thunder, lightning & rain;

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[27 July, 1857. Monday. Kurnal. Sunrise, 5-12. Sunset, 7-0.]

regular mussack (10) fulls came down, and in less than a minute I was drenched to the skin & the cold wind chilled my bones: a most miserable drive I had into Kurnal. I got to the Dâk office at 7: the whole place seemed under water, regular rivers rushing down roads & the parades & compounds like lakes: the station looks most melancholy and deserted: some of the compounds full of rank luxuriant vegetation and skeletons of houses: other buildings stand deserted but looking in good repair: the Church, graveyard, some of the Barracks & the long line of quarter guards & bells of arms (11) standing to show that this was once a grand large station. I said at the dâk office that I was going on, but feeling wet, cold hungry and miserable, I was easily persuaded by the Post Master to stop, as he said he wanted to send lots of parcels to Delhi and was going to send in the evening covered carts to Camp for the wounded and I could go on in one. At the Dak Bungalow I found three Artillerymen, Major Mallock (from camp) & Cadell & Robinson (12) only waiting the Kemaon Battalion to escort their ammunition-waggons & horses, to go on to Delhi. Poor Knatchbull (with paralysis of the right side) had to leave for Murree.

* * * * * *

At 9½ p.m. I got into a covered Shigram (13) and started & slept comfortably.

Diary. 28 July, 1857. Tuesday. Before Delhi.

In the morning I passed the outpost at Lursowlie, stopped & had a cup of tea at Raee with (I believe) Lewin & Richards: & at last, at about ten, passed Badli Ki Serai, & came in sight of the long green ridge with the Flagstaff Tower, the Mosque, & Hindu Rao's house conspicuous on it: & the long white camp lying below it: very pretty it looked: the swampy meadows by which we drove into camp were most offensive from the smell from the carcasses of camels, horses & pandies (14). At the Dâk office found a note from Charlie to tell me that he was on Picquet at the Subzi Mundi Serai. I drove on to the Engineer house & found about 20 fellows there; it was very jolly meeting so many old friends: We have here now Col. B. Smith, Capt. A. Taylor, Lieuts. Greathed, Stewart, Chesney, H. Brownlow, Gulliver, Maunsell, Salkeld, Geneste, Thomason, Champain, Macneile, Tandy, Carnegie, Thackeray, Ward, Fulford, Forbes,

10. The leathern water-bag, consisting of the entire skin of a large goat, stript of the hair and dressed, which is carried by a *bhisti* (water-carrier).

11. The masonry buildings in which the arms of Indian regiments are kept, when not actually in use.

Bells-of-Arms were originally bell-tents, in which the fire-arms of infantry regiments were placed for safety, and protection against weather, when in camp. See *The Journal*, vol. i., p. 182.

12. Major Mallock cannot be identified.
1st Lieutenant Henry Moubray Cadell. } Bengal Artillery.
2nd Lieutenant Charles Gilbert Robinson. }

13. A kind of palankin carriage, on wheels—"a strange clumsy-looking article which bears a striking family likeness to an English bathing-machine."

14. The most current colloquial name for the sepoy mutineers of 1857-8.

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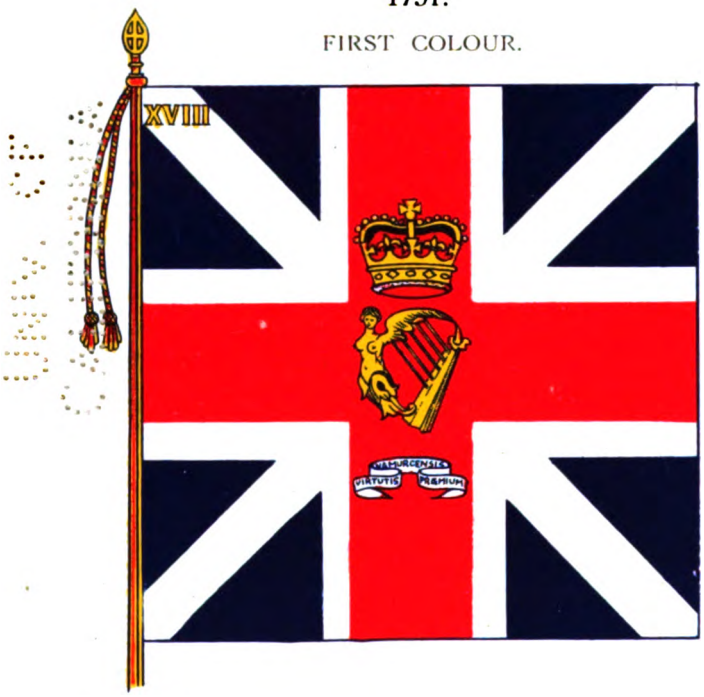
1751.

FIRST COLOUR.



SECOND COLOUR

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Bingham, Chalmers, Hill, Dr. Woodward (15). After tiffin Geneste, McNeile & I drove out in Brownlow's dogcart & called on Lindsay, Jimmy Hills, Roberts, Salwey, etc. (16).

330 miles in 3 days 16 hours.

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15. Nearly all of these belonged to the Bengal Engineers.
16. 1st Lieutenant Alexander Hadden Lindsay, Bengal Artillery.
2nd Lieutenant James Hills, Bengal Artillery. Afterwards General Sir James Hills-Johnes. Victoria Cross awarded for gallantry on 9 July, 1857.
1st Lieutenant Frederick Sleigh Roberts, Bengal Artillery, now D.A.Q.M.G. of the Artillery, before Delhi. Afterwards Field-Marshal Earl Roberts. Victoria Cross awarded for gallantry on 2 January, 1858.
1st Lieutenant Edward Salwey, Bengal Artillery.

[This concludes Section I of 'The Letters and Diary.' Section II—The Siege and Capture of Delhi—will be commenced in the July No. of *The Journal,* and will be edited by Colonel F. C. Molesworth, Royal Engineers.]

THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

The Colours of the following Regiments have already appeared:—

The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment)	Vol. vii.	p. 1
The Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey).	do.	p. 119
The Buffs (East Kent Regiment).	do.	p. 204
The Royal Scots Fusiliers.	do.	p. 184
The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster)	Vol. viii.	p. 32
The Northumberland Fusiliers.	do.	p. 127
The Royal Warwickshire Regiment.	do.	p. 191
The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment)	do.	p. 242
The King's Regiment (Liverpool).	Vol. ix.	p. 43

18TH REGIMENT, OR THE ROYAL IRISH.

[This Regiment was disbanded on 31 July, 1922.—Army Order, No. 78 of 1922.]

"In the Center of their Colours, the Harp in a Blue Field, and the Crown over it, and in the three Corners of their Second Colour, the Lyon of Nassau, King William the Third's Arms."

The facings of the Regiment are described in the Royal Warrant as "Blue."

(*In the next Number* (*July,* 1930) *the Colours of The Royal Welch Fusiliers will be given.*)

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THE SIKHS OF THE PUNJAB.

BY SIR LOUIS DANE, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.

There is a good deal of misconception about the Sikhs, and often they are supposed to form a separate race or nation. Such is not the case. They are followers of a religion, distinct from that of the Hindus or Muslims. The founder of the religion was Nának, a Khatri of the Bedi class, who was born in 1469 A.D. at Talwandi (Nankána), a village in the scrub Bar waste about 45 miles south west of Lahore in the Punjab, and died in 1538, A.D., near Dera Nának, on the Ravi, about 45 miles north east from Lahore. He was the son of Kalu the Hindu Weighman of the village.

From his youth he was a thinker and devotee, and his memory stands as one of the best and most selfless religious reformers. Clearly influenced by the faith of Islam, which was then strong in the Punjab, he modified many of the tenets of Hinduism to which by birth he belonged and discountenanced the worship of idols, but he was not an iconoclast. He believed in one God, self existent, incomprehensible, omnipotent, without beginning, and everlasting. Sat Sri Akal. True, Holy, and Timeless is still the note of prayer of Sikhs of all classes. All must depend on God alone and not on prophets or holy men. He believed in the transmigration of souls, and that after suffering for sins committed, the soul eventually finds its blissful home with God. Here his ideas were affected by the teachings of Budha. At the same time he held that there was good in all religions and that holy men of all sects deserved respect.

He was very friendly with Muslims and one of his earliest disciples Mardána, who sang his hymns, was a Muslim originally. He travelled widely through the eastern world, visited many prominent men and more than one Delhi Emporor, and was respected by all. When he died, Hindus and Moslems contested for the right of paying him funeral honour, and during the contention the body disappeared, as it was supposed miraculously.

He had two sons, Lakhmi Chand and Sri Chand, of whom the former adopted a secular life and the latter founded the sect of the Udási fakirs, who are in charge of most of the Sikh shrines and are distinguished by never shaving. They show a constant tendency towards Hinduism and the worship of idols, which Nának discountenanced.

The followers of Nának are known as Sikhs, or Learners, and he decreed that the succession to the office of Guru, or High Priest, should be by appointment and not hereditary. Outwardly, except for a preference in wearing blue clothes, there was nothing to differentiate his followers from ordinary Hindus, and they have Hindu names. Nánaki Sikhs shave and cut their hair, and are known as Mumna, or Sahjdhari, Sikhs for this reason. The relations of Guru Nának are Bedis.

After Nának, nine Gurus in turn occupied the Sikh Gadi, or throne. Practically all of these belonged to subdivisions of the Khatri caste.

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A Sikh Cavalry Officer—Indian Army.
Risaldar-Major (1905-10) GOPAL SINGH, Bahadur,
(a Malwa Sikh from the Ludhiana district)
10th Duke of Cambridge's Own Lancers (Hodson's Horse),
Now forming part of Hodson's Horse
(4th Duke of Cambridge's Own Lancers).

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CALIFORNIA

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The first three were purely religious leaders, but the 5th Guru, Arjan, a Sohdi Khatri, married the daughter of Guru Ram Das, a Bhalla Khatri, who had built the Harmandir, or Golden Temple, and the great tank of Nectar and the Ram Bagh at Amritsar, and the succession became hereditary. Guru Arjan was the first Guru who adopted a princely pomp. His attitude aroused suspicions, and he was carried to Lahore, tried and sentenced to death in the second year of the reign of Jehangir, 1606, A.D. It is said that he miraculously disappeared in the Ravi, but a shrine was erected to him under the walls of Fort Lahore, to which an Akáli pilgrimage was made during the recent meeting of the Indian Congress at Lahore, 1929-30.

Up to this time the Sikh Gurus had been tolerated and even patronised by the Moghul Emperors. The 6th Guru Hargobind of Sri Gobindpur, on the Bias, was a great warrior and also maintained great state, and he evenually excited the displeasure of the Emperor Jehangi and was imprisoned for 12 years in the Gwalior Fort. He was at last released, but later, under Shah Jehan, was attacked by an Imperial force, which however, was defeated near Amritsar. Two subsequent attacks on him met with similar results, but he eventually retired to Kirtarpur near Anandpur and Rupar on the Sutley river close to the Siwalik hills, where he died in 1645.

His successor, Har Rai, occupied himself with religious pursuits and ruled the Sikhs peacefully until his death in 1661. His son, Harkishan, succeeded, but died at Delhi in 1664, when an uncle, Tegh Bahádur succeeded. He lived as a prince and soon excited the hostility of the Emperor Aurangzeb. He was brought to Delhi once and warned, when he went to Patna and lived as an Udási for some time, but soon resumed his princely life at Kirtarpur. There he was captured and again brought to Delhi and executed in 1675. He is the Guru who when ordered by Aurangzeb to embrace Islam and accused of spying on the Emperor's harem, declared his innocence, but said that he saw a white race who would come from across the seas and destroy the Moghul empire and all its rulers.

Before his arrest he had invested his son Gobind Singh at the age of 15 as his successor. On the execution of his father Gobind Singh, who was well educated, resolved to form the Sikhs into a separate and self coherent militant community, differentiated by dress and manners, as well as by religion from the people around them. He instituted, or rather revived the páhal, or Sikh baptism, in which the Guru gives to the disciple to drink sugared water after stirring it with a sacrificial dagger, and they repeat the creed—*Wah Guru ji ka khalsa, Sri wah Guru ji ka Fatheh,* i.e., Glory to the pure community of the Guru, Victory is of the Holy Guru. Then he ordained that, in addition to wearing blue, the Sikhs should never cut their hair or shave, must always have something of steel about them, must abstain from smoking and must keep the five Kakkas, or Ks :—

Kangi (or comb), Kachh (breeches to the knee only), Kárd (Knife), Kes (long hair), & Kirpán (sword). He said when five Sikhs were assembled the guru was present with them. As champions of the faith,

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they were no longer to be called Sikhs, but Singhs or lions, a title hitherto appropriated to the Rajputs. Caste was abolished and all were equal, though in practice the sweepers and outcastes are only created Mazhabi Sikhs, i.e., Sikhs by religion. His changes were not popular with the higher class Khatris and others, but commended themselves to the Jats, or main body of the Central Punjab agriculturalists, who represent either a cross between the Rajputs and indigenous tribes, or were probably an earlier Aryan body of invaders. The veneration of the cow was strongly upheld.

It was not long before such a forceful reformer came into collision with the Hill Rajas round Anandpur and with the Imperial Viceroys, and in 1791 Aurangzeb sent an army against them. In the fighting two of his sons were killed before his eyes and two others who had taken refuge at Sirhind were buried alive, so that up to the present time the town is accursed for all Sikhs. The struggle with the Moghuls contiued and at Muktesar in the Ferozepore District Gobind Singh was victorious, and was left in peace for some time near Bhatinda and later at Amritsar. Aurangzeb was however nervous about him and ordered him to present himself in the Dekkan, but the Emperor died before he arrived at the Camp in 1707. Gobind Singh was himself assassinated the next year, 1708, by a Pathan servant whom he had irritated, at Nánder on the Godavery, where a great shrine called Abchalnagar was erected, and is still a great place of pilgrimage.

Before he died he was asked by his disciples who should lead them when he had gone. He replied that the 10 Gurus had done their work, and he now entrusted the Sikhs to the care of God the never dying. Whoever wished to behold the Guru can offer karah parshád (sweetmeat offerings) and bow before the Granth & open it, & he can so interview the Guru. Thus the Granth Sáhib takes the place of the Guru, and of the Bible of Christians and of the Korán of Muslims.

The first, or Adi Granth, was compiled of the hymns and sayings of Guru Nának and his successors by Guru Arjan. When Guru Govind Singh was introducing his reforms he called for this from the Sohdi guardians of it at Kartarpur, but was told that if he was a Sat, or true, Guru he should produced his own Granth. This he did and completed a larger collection of hymns and songs, discourses and sayings of Gurus and Sikh Saints, and his own rules, which is known as the Daswan Padshan-ka Granth, or Granth of the Tenth King. Much of it, as in the case of the Vedas, consists of repetitions, but it contains some fine religious poems and sermons, and the Japji is really a great work which all true Sikhs repeat and revere.

To the Granth Sahib the greatest respect is accordingly paid by all Sikhs and in Sikh regiments in the British service the Granth Sahib is saluted when carried out with the Regimental Granthi, or Priest. It must always be kept carefully covered with silks and precious cloths, and only opened with ceremony and reverence. When a Granthi reads from it, a

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yak's tail chauri (fly-whisk) is waved over the volume.

The history of the Sikhs after the death of Gobind Singh is one of continuous struggle with the Delhi authorities and amongst themselves. They eventually split up into small misls, or republics, until they were brought together again by the genius of Maharaja Ranjah Singh, and then they ruled the whole Punjáb.

The Gobindi Sikhs number at present about 3 million souls out of a population of 25 millions, and perhaps there are a million more Sahjdhari, or Shaved, Sikhs as opposed to the Kesdhari or Longhaired Gobind Singhs, but these are often counted as Hindus.

Under the modern method of election by universal suffrage with one man one vote, the Sikhs would have no representation at all in their own province, though if left to themselves they would soon be master of most of it. Though of the same race, as Hindu and Muslim fellow agriculturalists descended from the same ancestor, the Jat Sikhs are splendid men and grand fighters when controlled by a firm hand and treated fairly. But like their beloved water buffaloes they are turbulent, if allowed to get out of hand or if they become too prosperous. They also have the defects of their qualities and are liable to drink to excess and to break out into serious gang crime and risings, such as those which led to the downfall of the Lahore Kingdom and the absorption of the Punjab in the British Dominions in 1846 and 1848. There is something fine and strong in the basic concepts of their faith, as reformed by Guru Gobind Singh which has worked such a change in their character. It was revived really by the British Military authorities, who would recruit only Singhs who had taken the páhal. They are now some of the best soldiers of the Empire. In modern times the reforming spirit is abroad again amongst them and the Khálsa Diwan is dominant. Idolatry as denounced by Guru Nának is being stamped out, especially in the Udási temples and Gurdwáras where it was prevalent, and the fighting Sikh fanatic, or Akális clad in blue, is re-appearing and is multiplied by fresh recruits. In some ways this is to the good, but the portents should be carefully watched, as weakness or vacillation in administration with such a warrior sect of high spirits and great traditions may easily lead to disaster for all concerned. Serious trouble has already arisen owing to the violent assertion of the claim of the Chief Khalsa Diwán to take over the Gurdwáras such as that of Nankána or that of Jethu-in Nabha from the Udásis, and no doubt the large revenues of some of these due to canal irrigation have excited cupidity. Reform was probably needed and is being carried out, but in such matters the only safe guide is *festina lente*.

This note is largely based on the History of the Punjab by the late Sayad Mohammad Lalif, District Judge, Punjáb, who gives a good deal of unusual information from vernacular sources, and on my personal experience during 37 years service in the Punjab—1876 to 1913.

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A SOLDIER'S BALLAD.

CONTRIBUTED BY SIR CHARLES FIRTH.

This ballad—*circa* 1640—comes from the Pepys Collection of Ballads (vol. i, pp. 296-7) in the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and is now reproduced by the kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College.

The Discourse betweene
A SOULDIER AND HIS LOUE.
Shewing that she did beare a faithfull minde,
For Land nor Sea could make her stay behinde.
To the tune of Upon a summer time.

SOULDIER.

My dearest deare adue,
since that I needs must goe
My fortunes to pursue
against some Foraine Foe.
Being that it is so,
I pray thee patient be,
And doe not kilt (1) they Coat,
to goe along with me.

PEGGE.

Alas my dearest heart,
if that thou leave me here,
Death kills me with his dart,
as plainly may appeare.
For sorrow griefe and smart,
will quickly make me dye,
Therefore Ile kilt my Coat,
and goe along with thee.

SOULDIER.

Over the dangerous Seas,
whereto I must repaire,
Will breed thee some disease,
and change thy colour faire.
Therefore my Loue forbeare,
and well advised bee,
And doe not kilt thy Coat
to goe along with mee.

PEGGE.

Theres nothing can withstand,
a willing settled minde:
There neither Sea nor Land,
shall make me stay behind.
I thinke I were unkind,
to leave thy Company:
Ney I will kilt my Coat
and goe along with thee.

1. To tuck up the skirts round the body. *The Oxford English Dictionary* gives a quotation of 1513, describing Venus 'with hir skirt kiltit till hir bair kne'.

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SOULDIER.

Sweet-heart let me perswade,
that thou wilt stay at home,
And marke what shall be said
as all to passe will come.
When we have past the Seas,
and come unto the Land,
Against our Enemies,
in Armour we must stand.

PEGGE.

Well I for one will stand,
whilst that my life doth last,
And fight with heart and hand,
till dangers are ore* past.
And then I will releive
thee in extremity,
Therefore Ile kilt my Coat,
and goe along with thee.

The second part to same tune.

SOULDIER.

To lye in open fields,
in time of Frost and Snow,
Without or house or shields,
where bitter blasts doe blow.
It will they body change,
my deare I tell to thee:
Then doe not kilt thy Coat
to goe along with me.

PEGGE.

Sweet-heart I doe suppose,
all that you say is true,
I am as sure a choyce,
as I appeare to you.
I thinke I were unkind
to leave thy company,
Therefore Ile kilt my Coat
and goe along with thee.

* Probably a misprint for 'o'er'.

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SOULDIER.
It is a dangerous thing,
my sweet, my faire, my deare,
To heare the Cannons ring,
like thunder in the ayre.
The sword, the Pike, the Speare,
the dreadfull enemie:
Will much affright they Coat
to goe along with me.

PEGGE.
I will lay all aside,
what ever may befall,
Whatsoever doth betied
Ile venture life and all.
The matter were but small,
though for thy sake I dye,
Therefore Ile kilt my Coat
and goe along with thee.

SOULDIER.
My griefes would still abound,
if I should see thee want,
They cries would still resound,
and make my heart to pant.
Sweet-heart let not they mind,
be bent unto the sea,
Nor doe not kilt thy Coat
to goe along with me.

PEGGE.
Why, doe thou not despaire,
nor trouble so thy mind:
Howsoever I doe fare
Ile take it as I find.
And I will thee comfort
in middest of thy woe:
Then doe not say no more,
but yield that I may goe.

SOULDIER.
Then welcome with my heart
seeing thou wilt goe with me
Thou playest as kinde a part
as did Penelope.
Thou comfortst all my woes,
Ile have thy company:
Therefore loue kilt thy Coat
and goe along with me.

PEGGE.
No Turtle with her mate,
could ever be more true,
For she with fortunes fate,
all dangers did pursue.
She ventures loue and life,
most like a louer true:
God send me such a wife,
and so kind hearts adue.

Printed at London for F. Coules.

THE MODEL ROOM IN THE ROYAL ARSENAL AT WOOLWICH.

BY MAJOR O. F. G. HOGG, Royal Artillery.

In late Plantagenet times the warren at Woolwich stretched from the borders of the old town, at Warren Lane, to the swamps of Plumstead Marsh. It was bounded on the North by the river, the gravel bed of which had, in the course of centuries, raised a sufficiently high marge to prevent inundation by the flood tide. A stream, however, descending from Shooter's Hill to the South of the ancient borough, ran through it, converting the low-lying ground to the East into a reedy mere, whilst the sandy knolls to the West were covered with scrub and bramble. It was regarded as a worthless wilderness and was inhabited, as its name implied, by innumerable rabbits.

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Upon this drear and lonely spot was built, at least as early as the 16th century, a substantial dwelling. When, or why, it was erected is unknown, even the name of the builder has not been recorded. Possibly the auctioneer of the period would have described it as a "desirable residence," for, judging by the old cellars still remaining, the house must have been no mean structure. It was called "Tower Place."

In 1545 the mansion belonged to Sir Martin Bowes, a Lord Mayor of London during the reign of Henry VIII., who was responsible for installing the first system of water-conduits in the City. It was sold by Sir Martin's son on 14 April, 1568, to John Peers and Alice, his wife.

Later on it passed into the possession of the Barnes family, who were persons of note in Woolwich, and, as Sir William Barnes was a Crown official the property, presumably, came into the hands of the Government soon after this date.

After passing into official keeping, Tower Place became the residence of several Masters-General of the Ordnance, according to tradition, and of the Lieutenants-General according to fact. An old deed, dated March, 1683, states that the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance having to vacate his official residence in the old Artillery garden situated near the Spittle, in the parish of St. Botolph's, Bishop's Gate, should be allowed the Manor House and grounds known as Tower Place, Woolwich, together with the Warren, but on the express condition that the proving of great guns should still take place at Woolwich and that the Government should have the use of all wharves, magazines, etc. as heretofore. It also stipulates that the Master-Gunner of England should be allowed quarters in the said mansion.

Prince Rupert, the 2nd son of Frederick V. Duke of Bavaria, and King of Bohemia, by the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James I of England, who was given a commission by his cousin Charles II, dated 13 June, 1667, to fortify the Warren, was once said to have lived in Tower Place. Prince Rupert was born in 1619. He was created Earl of Holderness and Duke of Cumberland. He died at his house in Spring Gardens, Whitehall, on 19 November, 1682, and was buried in Henry VII's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

Alongside Tower Place stood the Tower, sometimes known as "Prince Rupert's Tower." It was a tall erection, hexagonal in plan and quite detached from the house. It is difficult to determine the reasons which induced the original builder of Tower Place to provide himself with such a lofty column in the neighbourhood of his abode. Was it for ornament, or for use? The first assumption appears hardly likely, and so we must presume that its purpose was strictly utilitarian.

In this case there are three conjectures possible; an observatory, a shot-tower, or a look-out post.

A model preserved in the Royal United Service Institution shows clearly that it possessed 5 floors, with stair-cases running from floor to floor, and as this internal arrangement was evidently part of the original design, the shot-casting hypothesis is difficult to maintain. In all probability

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the tower was built as a look-out post, covering the marshes, and formed one of a ring of such defences put up around London, for the protection of the Royal Palace at Greenwich, and of the City. The City chronicles state that in 1380 John Phelippot, late Mayor of London, undertook, at his own cost, to provide a tower on the bank of the Thames " sixty king's feet in height " to guard the shipping in the river and the City from hostile attacks and alarm, the City undertaking to build a second tower.

If this solution be correct Prince Rupert's Tower must have dated from about the reign of Edward III, or Richard II, and therefore antedated, in all probability, the mansion which lay at its foot.

The Tower in the course of time became unsafe and was demolished in August, 1786.

Tower Place was reconstructed, or rather a new building was erected on its site, in 1719, by Sir John Vanburgh, the architect who designed Blenheim, the seat of the Duke of Marlborough.

Upon being rebuilt, it became the home of the original companies of Artillery, the present Officers' quarters in Dial Square (also built in 1719) being their barracks. In 1741 it became the home of Royal Military Academy, which was established by a Royal Warrant (Public Record Office. Warrants 1740-1744. W.O. 55/351. page 65.) dated 30 April, 1741 :—

Warrant for Establishing a School for Practitioner Engineers, &c.

To Our Right Trusty & Right / Entirely beloved Cousin & Councillor / John Duke of Montagu Master / General of Our Ordnance, or to the / Master General of Our Ordnance / for the time being.

GEORGE R.

Whereas you, Our Right Trusty and Right Entirely beloved Cousin, and Councillor John Duke of Montagu, Master General of Our Ordnance, hath laid before Us a Representation of Our Principal Officers of Our said Ordnance setting forth that it would conduce to the good of Our Service, if an Academy or School was Instituted, Endowed, and Supported for Instructing the raw and unexperienced People belonging to the Military Branch of this Office, in the several parts of Mathematicks necessary to qualify them for the Service of the Artillery, and the business of Engineers, and that there is a Convenient Room at Woolwich Warren, which is our property, and may be fitted up for that purpose, We having taken the same into Our Royal Consideration and Approving thereof, Our Will and Pleasure is and We do hereby Authorize, Impower and direct you to Nominate, Constitute and Appoint an Able and Skilful Master and Assistants, and to prescribe such Rules, Orders and Regulations from time to time, as you shall think fitt and expedient for the Instruction and improvement of the people, and for the good Government of the said Academy or School, Also to provide such an Apparatus of Instruments, Books, and other necessarys as may be proper for the use thereof, the Expence of all which not Exceeding Five hundred Pounds per Annum Communibus Annis to be defrayed out of such Money as shall at any

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P. Sandby *pinxit.* M. A. Rooker *sculpsit.*

Exterior of the Model Room, Royal Arsenal, 1 December, 1775, prior to the destruction of Rupert's Tower. From a print in the British Museum.

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Interior of The Model Room—present day. The Hall.

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time be paid into the Treasury of Our Ordnance either for Land or Sea Service, And for so doing this shall be as well to you as to the Auditors of Our Imprests and all others herein concerned, a sufficient Warrant. Given at Our Court at St. James's the Thirtieth day of April 1741 in the Fourteenth Year of Our Reign.

By his Majesty's Command.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

The "Convenient room at Woolwich Warren," mentioned in the Warrant is the house in question, as shown by the drawing executed by Paul Sandby, R.A., the Artist.

The 'Academy' remained in the Warren (1) till 1806, when it was moved to its present quarters, adjoining Woolwich Common.

After that date the building appears to have been used as a museum and narrowly escaped destruction by fire. Later it became the "Pattern Room" of the Royal Laboratory, and was finally handed over to the Inspection Department upon its formation in 1888, since when it has been used as an ammunition pattern room.

At the present time, besides patterns and museum exhibits, it contains the records of the Armaments Inspection Department. About 7 years ago a portion of it was converted into an Officers' luncheon room.

The frontispiece of No. 34 (vol. viii.) of the *Journal*, shows the Model Room at the present day. The illustrations accompaning this article give an idea of the present interior, and of the exterior at the close of the 18th century.

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b. Old Woolwich. By J. Hewitt. In *Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution.* 1870. vol. vi. pp. 272-82. *With maps.*

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1. "The Ordnance Board have signified to General Lloyd, who commands the Artillery at Woolwich, that the *Warren* at that place is no longer to bear that name; but from this time to be denominated the "Royal Arsenal." The old name had its origin from the place having actually been a *rabbit warren*, but the name of one of the tamest of all animals was certainly ill-suited to the nature of the place. On the recent Royal visit to what is called the Warren, where all ordnance, stores, ammunition, &c., are lodged, His Majesty noticed how little appropriate the name was to the place, and suggested the propriety of changing it to that of "Arsenal." The Master-General admitted the justice of the idea, and instantly adopted it: henceforward, therefore, in compliment to His Majesty's suggestion, the Warren is to be called "The Royal Arsenal."—*Gentleman's Magazine.* 27 July, 1805.

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THE POINTS OF WAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

The Oxford English Dictionary gives this definition :—

POINT. 9.a. "*In Music.* A short strain or snatch of melody : especially in phrase *point of war,* etc., a short phrase sounded on an instrument as a signal. *Archaic.*"

Quotations are given :—

9th century. "Of that songe myght synge a poynt."

1578. "When . . . threatnying trumpet sounde the poynts of warre." (translation).

1597. "Turning . . . . your tongue divine to a loud trumpet and a point of war"—Shakespeare. 2 Henry IV. iv. i. 52. This is the only instance of its use by Shakespeare.

1602. "Make me a straine: . . . Breath me a point that may inforce me weepe."

Other later quotations are given, all referring to 'points' as being sounded on trumpet or horn.' Its military use appears to apply to mounted soldiers only.

Francis Markham in his *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre* (1622) has no chapter on the 'Trumpet.' but Epistle 5 of the 2nd Decade (pp. 57-60) is of 'Drummes and Phiphes.'

In describing the various duties and activities of the 'Drumme,' i.e. 'Drummer,' he writes, p. 59, that he may "carrie Challenges and Defiances from one enemie to another, and either for Honour or Ladies loues make composition for single Encounters, prouided it be vpon foot, as with the Push of the Pike, the Locking of Halberds, the Joyning of Partizans, the Crossing of Swords, or else the Exchanging of Bullets : but if it be vpon Horseback, then it is the office of the *Trumpet,* and the *Drumme* hath no interest in it."

This, I think, shows clearly that trumpets were connected with mounted affairs only, and that, therefore, 'sounding' a point of war was essentially a cavalry matter.

In Gervase Markham's *SOVLDIERS ACCIDENCE, or an Introduction into Military Discipline,* 2nd edition, 1635, the duties of the Trumpet are very explicitly laid down in section 5, pp. 60-2, which are here given in full :—

5

Of the trumpet

The fift and last Lesson belonging unto the Horse-troope, is to teach the Souldier the Sounds and Commands of the Trumpet, and to make him both understand the Notes and Language of the Trumpet, as also in due time to performe all those duties and Commands, which are required by the Trumpet. And of these Soundings (which we generally call *Poynts of Warre*) there are sixe, which are most necessary for the Souldiers knowledge. ---- The first is-----

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1. *Butte Sella*: --or-- Clap on your Saddles. — The first point of Warre.

Which as soone as the Souldier heareth (in the morning, or at other times) he shall presently make readie his Horse, and his owne person, trusse up his sacke of necessaries, and make all things fitting for Journey.

The second is,--- — The second.

2. *Mounte Cavallo*---or---Mount on Horsebacke.

At which Summons, the Souldier shall bridle up his Horse, bring him forth, and mount his backe.

The third is— — The third

3. *Al'a Standardo*———or—Goe to your Colours.

Whether it be *Standard, Cornet,* or *Guidon,* vpon which sound, the Souldier with those of his Fellowship, shall trot forth to the place where the *Cornet* is lodged, and there attend till it be dislodged. Also, this sound in the field, and in service, when men are disbanded, is a Retrayt for the Horseman, and brings him off being ingaged, for as oft as hee heares it, hee must retire and goe backe to his Colour.

The fourth is,— — The fourth.

4. *Tucquet,*—or—March.

Which being heard simplie of it selfe without addition, Commands nothing but a Marching after the Leader.

The fift is,— — The fift.

5. *Carga, Carga,*—or—An Alarme, Charge, Charge.

Which sounded, every man (like Lightning) flyes vpon his enemie, and gives proofe of his valour.

The sixt and last is,—— — The sixt.

6. *Auquet,*—or—The Watch.

Which sounded at night, Commands all that are out of dutie to their rest and sounded in the morning, Commands those to rest that haue done dutie, and those that have rested, to awake and doe dutie. And in these Sounds, you shall make the Souldier so perfect, that as a song he may lanquet or sing them, and know when they are sounded vnto him.

Other Soundings there are; as, *Tende Hoe,* for listening, *Call* for Summons, a *Senet* for State, and the like. But they haue reference to the greater Officers, and those have no need of my Instructions.

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RELATIVE RANK IN THE ROYAL NAVY AND THE ARMY.

The following printed letter from the Admiralty, dated 10 February, 1747, together with the Order in Council referred to, regarding the relative rank of Officers of the Royal Navy, or Sea Officers, and Officers of the Army, or Land Officers, is communicated by Major-General Sir Richard A. Bannatine-Allason, K.C.B., C.M.G.

Mr. W. G. Perrin, Librarian at the Admiralty, adds the following explanatory Note :—

John Clevland, who signed the letter, was Second Secretary to the Admiralty in 1746-1749, and First Secretary from that year to 1763.

Lieutenant Paul H. Ourry, to whom the Order in Council was sent, was serving in the 'Salisbury' under the command of Captain the Hon. G. Edgecumbe, subsequently Earl of Mount Edgecumbe. In 1775 Ourry was made a Commissioner of the Navy and given charge of Plymouth Yard. He died in 1783.

W. Sharpe who signed the Order, was one of the Clerks of the Privy Council.

The "Broad Pendant," mentioned in Section V., is wider and shorter than the ordinary ship's pendant, and is the distinguishing flag of a Commodore.

Post Ships, referred to in section VI., were ships of 20 guns and upwards. Ships inferior to these in size were the "Ships or Vessels that do not give Post," of section XI.

Post Captains were officers who commanded, or had commanded, a Post Ship. Appointment to a Post Ship was equivalent to promotion to the substantive rank of Captain in the Royal Navy at the present day.

Admiralty-Office, Feb. 13, 1747.

Sir,

The King having been pleased, in Consideration of the inconveniences arising from the Want of an Establishment of Rank and Precedence between His Sea and Land Officers, as well as from the Want of a due Distinction among the Sea Officers themselves, to establish, by His Order in Council of the 10th Instant, certain Regulations ascertaining the Rank and Precedence between them; I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith an attested Copy of the said Order in Council, and to signify their Direction to you, strictly to conform thereto. I am,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

J. CLEVLAND.

Lt. Ourry—Salisbury.

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At the Court at St. James's, the 10th Day of February, 1747.

PRESENT

The King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have, by their Memorial of the 13th of November last, represented to His Majesty at this Board, That for Want of an Establishment of Rank and Precedence between His Majesty's Sea and Land Officers, and like-wise between the Sea-Officers themselves, great Inconveniencies had arisen both in the present and former Wars: And as several of the Flag-Officers, Captains, and Lieutenants, have made a Remonstrance upon this Head to the said Lords Commissioners, that they had taken the same into their Consideration, and being of Opinion, that if such an Establishment was made, as should comprehend all the Sea Commission Officers, and settle their respective Ranks paralled with the Army, according to the Quality and Trust of the Posts they should serve in, and should likewise ascertain the Distinction they have a Right to among themselves, it would be a Means, not only of animating them to support the Dignity of their Rank in their respective Stations, but be likewise attended with many good Consequences to His Majesty's Service; and particularly with regard to the Preventing Disputes and Confusion when the Sea and Land Forces shall happen to act together. And the said Lords Commissioners have thereupon humbly offered to His Majesty the following Proposals, viz.

I.

That the Admiral and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Fleet have the Rank of a Field Marshal of the Army.

II.

That the Admirals, with their Flags on the Main Top-Mast-Head, have Rank with Generals of Horse and Foot.

III.

That Vice-Admirals have Rank as Lieutenant Generals.

IV.

That Rear-Admirals have Rank as Major Generals.

V.

That Commodores, with Broad Pendants, have Rank as Brigadier Generals

VI.

That Captains commanding Post Ships, after three Years from the Date of their first Commission for a Post Ship, have Rank as Colonels.

VII.

That all other Captains commanding Post Ships, have Rank as Lieutenant Colonels.

VIII.

That Captains of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels, not taking Post, have Rank as Majors.

IX.

That Lieutenants of His Majesty's Ships have Rank as Captains.

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X.

That the Rank and Precedence of Sea-Officers, in the Classes above-mentioned, do take Places according to the Seniority of their respective Commissions as Sea-Officers.

XI.

That Post Captains, commanding Ships or Vessels that do not give Post, rank only as Majors, during their commanding such Vessels.

XII.

That nothing in this Regulation shall give any Pretence to any Land Officer to command any of His Majesty's Squadrons or Ships; nor to any Sea Officer to command at Land; nor shall either have a Right to demand the Military Honours due to their respective Ranks, unless such Officers are upon actual Service.

And whereas the Lords of the Committee of Council, to whom His Majesty referred the Consideration of the said Proposals, have this Day reported to His Majesty at this Board, that they have no Objection to His Majesty's signifying His Royal Approbation thereof, His Majesty in Council is therefore hereby pleased to declare His Approbation of the aforesaid Proposals, and to order that the said Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty do cause the same to be carried into Execution.

W. SHARPE.

A true copy, J. CLEVLAND.

NAPIER'S RIFLES.

NAPIER'S RIFLES. The History of the 5th Battalion, 6th Rajputana Rifles. By H. G. Rawlinson, Indian Educational Service. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1929. Demy 8vo. pp. x. 200. *Illustrations and maps.* 15*s.* net.

Mr. Rawlinson has succeeded in condensing into a book of 200 pp., which include 20 pp. of appendices and index, a spirited account of the history of this regiment from its formation in 1817 down to the present year. In order to achieve this feat, he has wisely concentrated on the more important episodes of its career: Sir Charles Napier's conquest of Sind, the Mutiny, and the Great War on three fronts—France, Mesopotamia, Palestine—with short chapters on the Abyssinian Expedition and the third Burmese War, 1886-8. The result, as indeed was only to be anticipated from Mr. Rawlinson's previous writings on Indian history, is entirely satisfactory, the part played by Napier's Rifles in all these campaigns being set forth in a lucid and interesting manner.

Formed out of Capt. John Ford's Dapuri Brigade (in the Peshwa's service), which behaved with such steadiness and fidelity at the battle of Kirkee, the regiment was constituted the 1st Extra Battalion in 1820 and

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joined the Line in September, 1826, as the 25th Regt., Bombay N.I. Since that date it has, in common with most regiments of the Indian Army, undergone many changes of name; and it was not until 1903 that its association with the picturesque and unconventional Conqueror of Sind was officially commemorated by the granting of its penultimate title (125th Napier's Rifles)—a title which will surely endure so long as the Cenotaph stands in Whitehall.

It was but fitting that this association should be preserved, for it was under Sir Charles that the 25th first distinguished itself, and, in Napier's own words, referring to the battle of Miani: 'It was to the gallant Bombay army that the credit was due . . . . there was my own, the 22nd Queen's Regiment, there was the brave 25th Regiment, Bombay N.I., which regiment I love, and this army gave me the victory.'

An account of the capture of Gwalior fort by two officers of the regiment on 20th June, 1858, written by Mr. Rawlinson to supplement and correct the account as given by Kaye and Malleson, appeared in a recent number of this *Journal*.

We note that the author, when enumerating the reinforcements which reached Napier immediately before the battle of Dabo (Hyderabad), includes the 3rd Bengal Light Cavalry. It should be the 3rd Bombay L.C., now forming part of The Poona Horse (17th Q.V.O. Cavalry). He errs, however, in good company, as the same mistake occurs in *Fortescue*, xii, p. 294. We must also challenge the statement, made in the second footnote to p. 76, to the effect that 'General Wheeler, who commanded at Cawnpore, was 75.' As a matter of fact, he was born at Clonbeg, co. Tipperary, on 30th June, 1789, as a reference to the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* would have shown; so that when he met his death he was still three days short of completing his 68th year.

By an unfortunate misprint (from which, by the way, the book is not altogether free) the name of the original Commandant of the regiment, Capt. Nathaniel Betts (1783—1821), appears as Belts on pp. 20, 191, and in the index; whilst that of his successor, Capt. Thomas Daubeney (1783—1821)—uncle of Gen. Sir H. C. B. Daubeney, G.C.B. (1810—1903), Colonel of the 2nd Bn. Border Regt.—is given as Danbery on p. 20, as Danbury in the index.

The date of the battle of Kirkee (p. 186) should be Nov. 5th.

The maps and plans are adequate, and the illustrations and portraits, including as frontispiece a pleasing photograph of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Colonel-in-Chief, 6th Rajputana Rifles, satisfactory and well reproduced. The portrait of Sir Charles Napier (p. 28), which also adorns the jacket, possesses an enhanced interest, for it was presented to the regiment by Sir Charles, 'as a memento of their intrepidity at the battle of Miani and with the reflection that his name will be associated with the 25th Regt. N.I. . . . . .'

This is undoubtedly a book which should appeal to many who have no particular connexion either with India or with Napier's Rifles. It is also a valuable addition to the list of regimental histories.

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THE GORDON FENCIBLES, 1778-1783.

THE NORTHERN, OR GORDON FENCIBLES, 1778-1783. By H. B. Mackintosh, M.B.E. Privately printed by Turnbull & Spears, Edinburgh, 1929. Crown 4to. pp. 106. *ill.* some coloured.

The account of the Northern Fencibles which Mr. Mackintosh has written is interesting not merely as the history of a particular unit, but as part and parcel of a new movement for dealing with the history of the Army, by including in local history the contributions of particular areas of the country to the national defence. Military history has to a large extent had an extraneous feeling, just as barracks have been a foreign element in a town, taking their cue from the King and not from the Mayor or Provost. Besides that, data on the subject, housed as it is at the Public Record Office, have been almost inaccessible to the average local historian, who usually has not the means of getting at it.

It was one of the great advantages of Lord Haldane's Territorial Army Scheme that it aimed at making national defence an integral part of local government, and this has reacted upon the local historian, who is now including regimental records in his chronicles. The first attempt in this direction was made by the Duchess of Atholl in her co-operative *Military History of Perthshire,* arising out of the South African War. It was followed by a similar book by the present writer, published by the New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, on *Territorial Soldiering in the North East of Scotland, from* 1759 *to* 1814, undertaken before the war broke out and issued during its tortuous progress. Since that time there has been a happy tendency to preface the history of local units in the Great War with some account of the local military units, either as Regulars or Volunteers from the earliest known time, and local historians, even if they do not go into details, no longer neglect this side of their subject.

The spirit of the time has found an ardent exponent in Mr. H. B. Mackintosh of Elgin, who has an eye on treating his county and district from the military side. He began with a short account of *The Inverness-shire Highlanders, or 97th Regiment of Foot,* 1794-1796, and now he has tackled the Northern Fencibles of 1778-1783. Both these units were dealt with in *Territorial Soldiering in North East of Scotland,* but Mr. Mackintosh has expanded the material on more minute lines.

The Northern Fencibles of 1778-1783 were the second of the four regiments raised by Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon. He began in 1759 with the 89th, and he ended with the Gordon Highlanders in 1794, raising between these dates two regiments of Fencibles. What Mr. Mackintosh has done is to give prominence to those companies formed west of the Spey and in particular to the company more particularly connected with Moray, for which he has got new material in the charter chests of the Countess of Seafield and Sir William Gordon-Cumming of Altyre, whose ancestor, Alexander Penrose Cumming, the first baronet, had a company in the regiment. He has done the work in a scholarly way, one of the best

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features of the book being the biographical notes on officers, an aspect of the subject sometimes neglected by the regimental historian who has often lost touch with the local significance of his unit, which frequently remains a family or a county affair on a big scale.

The illustrations are admirable, especially two coloured plates of an officer, sergeant, piper and private, wearing the ("government") tartan kilt, scarlet tunic and diced bonnet with a yellow hackle. It is greatly to be hoped that Mr. Mackintosh, who is a very busy man, will meet with sufficient encouragement to tackle the military history of his beautiful county completely.

THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. American Phase. Being the second volume of A History of the Founding of the American Republic. By Claude H. Van Tyne, Professor of History in the University of Michigan. London. Constable and Company, Ltd. 1920. 8vo. pp. x 518.

This work shews that the old American legend—creed, indeed—to the effect that every 'Patriot' was a Saint and every Briton a monster of depravity, is at length, after a century and a half, passing away. Better late than never.

The present work is written in a spirit of judicial impartiality. Mr. Van Tyne has studied deeply the archives in the Public Record Office, and other official sources in England. He has tried to get at the real truth and has succeeded. He unveils the astonishing weaknesses and jealousies of the States in revolt. At the outset, at all events, the men elected their own officers, and insisted on the pay of such officers being pooled with that of the 'other ranks.' The character of Washington is clearly, but without exaggeration, delineated. So is that of his opponent, Sir William Howe; and it deservedly suffers. Mr. Van Tyne's opinion—agreeing closely with that of Mr. Belcher, the British historian—is that Howe was either animated by political party spirit or that he had definite instructions not to exploit his victories. His conduct in deserting Burgoyne must be laid to his own account and not to that of Lord George Germaine.

Our author clearly shows, however, that nothing could have saved the Colonial cause but for the secret aid of France from the very outset of the troubles. It was to France that Washington owed the supplies and munitions which enabled him to keep the field at all.

We are glad that Mr. Van Tyne refutes the libels poured upon the soldiers of the British Army. In one respect the British Government put itself entirely in the wrong. Disputes between Britons should be settled by Britons alone. The employment of foreign troops was indefensible.

The book may be confidently recommended for careful study, not less by civilians than by military men: and it is written in a style which commands absorbing interest. It is to be hoped that it will receive the circulation which it eminently deserves.

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CAMP DISCIPLINE,

OR,

THE SOVLDIERS DVTY.

In certain Articles and Ordinances of WARRE, commanded to be observed in the ARMIE.

BY HIS

EXCELLENCE

The LORD GENERALL of the said ARMIE.

And the Souldiers demanded of him, saying, What shall we do? And he said unto them, *Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely,* and *be content with your wages.* Joh. 3. 14.

LONDON:
Printed for *Jo. Rothwell* in Pauls Church-yard.
the tenth of *August,* 1642.

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ARTICLES OF WAR.—1642.

[See *ante*: vol. iv. 166; v. 111, 202; vi. 56, 188; vii. 222; viii. 57.]

Of the Code here printed three copies only are known to exist.

a. British Museum Library. E. 109. (38). Thomason Tracts.

b. Lincoln's Inn Library. Pamphlets, 'Brydall' Collection. xiv. 24.

c. F. Edwards, Esq., 83, High Street, Marylebone.

The pamphlet consists of 8 printed pages, measuring 5¾″ by 7¼″.

The "Lord General of the saide Army" was Alexander Leslie, 1st Earl of Leven.

ARTICLES AND ORDINANCES of WARRE, &C.

The publishing of the Articles and Ordinances of War.

That no man pretend ignorance; and that everyone may know the dutie of his place, that he may do it: The *Articles* and *Ordinances* following, are to be published at the generall randezvous in every Regiment apart, by the Marshals of the severall Regiments, and in the presence of all the Officers. The same shall afterward be openly read to every Companie of Horse and Foot, and at such times as shall be thought most convenient by the Lord Generall: and in like manner shall be made known to sō many as joyn themselves to be professed souldiers in the Armie. For this end, every Colonell and Captain shall provide one of those Books, that he may have it in readinesse at all occasions, and every Souldier shall solemnly swear this following Oath;

The Oath of Souldiers.

I N. N. promise and swear to be true and faithfull in my service to the Kingdom of Scotland, *according to the heads sworn by me in the Covenant. To honour and obey my Lord Generall, and all my Superiour Officers and Commanders, and by all means to hinder their dishonour and hurt: To observe carefully all the Articles of war and Camp discipline: never to leave the defence of this Cause, nor flie from my Colours so long as I can follow them: To be ready to watching warding and working, so far as I have strength: To endure and suffer all distresses, and to fight manfully to the uttermost, as I shall answer to G O D, and as G O D shall help me.*

Kirk discipline.

I. Kirk discipline shall be exercised, and the poore cared for in every Regiment, by the particular Eldership, or Kirk Session to be appointed, even as useth to be done in every Parish in the time of peace: And that there may be an uniformitie throughout the whole Army in all matters Ecclesiasticall: there shall be a generall Eldership, or

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common Ecclesiastick judicatorie, made up of all the Ministers of the Camp, and of one Elder direct from every particular Regiment, who shall also judge of appellations, made unto them from the particular Sessions or Elderships.

Counsels of War.

II. For deciding of all questions, debates and quarrellings, that shall arise betwixt Captains and their Souldiers, or any others of the Armie, and for the better observing of Camp Discipline, two courts of Justice, the one higher and the other lower, are appointed, wherein all Judges are sworn to do Justice equally: The higher also to judge of appellations to be made from the lower court. And if any man shall by word or gesture shew his contempt or mis-regard, or shall fall out in boasting or braving, while Courts are sitting, he shall be punished by death. And both these Judicatories as well of the Kirk matters as of war, shall be subject to the Counsell of Estate, and generall Assembly *respective*.

Duties to God.

III. Whosoever shall wilfully or carelesly absent himself from morning and evening prayers, or from preaching before and after-noon on the Lords day, or other dayes of the week, when the signe is given by sound of Trumpet, or Drum, he shall be censured and punished for his neglect or contempt, by penaltie, imprisonment, or other punishment, as his fault deserveth.

After the warning given, there shall be no Market, nor selling of commodities whatsoever, till the Prayers or Preaching be ended, upon the pain of fore-faulting the things so sold, and of the imprisoning of the offenders.

IIII. Common and ordinarie swearing and cursing, open prophaning of the Lords day, wronging of his Ministers, and other acts of that kind, shall not onely be punished with losse of pay, and imprisonment, but the transgressors shall make their publike repentance in the midst of the Congregation, and if they will not be reclaimed, they shall with disgrace be openly casseered, and discharged as unworthy of the meanest place in the Armie.

Duties to King, countrey, and Generall.

V. If any man shall open his mouth against the Kings Majesties person, or Authoritie, or shall presume to touch his sacred Person, he shall be punished as a traitor. He that shall speak evill of the Cause which we defend, or of the Kingdom and Countrey in the defence thereof, or shall use any words tending to the dishonour of the Lord Generall, he shall be punished with death.

No man shall at his own hand, without warrant of my Lord Generall, have or keep intelligence with the enemie, by speech, letters, signes, or any other way, under the pain to be punished as a traitor. No man

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shall give over any Strength, Magazin, victuall, &c., Or make any such motion, but upon extremitie, under the same pain. No man shall give supply, or furnish money, victuall, or any commodities to the enemie, upon pain of death.

Whosoever shall be found guiltie of carelesnesse and Lord Generall his Safe-guard, or safe-conduct, shall die for it.

Whosoever shall be found guiltie of carelesnesse and negligence in his service, although he be free of treacherie and double dealing, shall bear his own punishment.

VI. All Commanders and Officers shall be carefull, both by their authoritie and example, that all under their charge, live in godlinesse, sobernesse, and righteousnesse: and if they themselves shall be common swearers, cursers, drunkards, or any of them at any time, shall come drunk to his Guard, or by quarrelling, or any other way shall commit any notable disorder in his quarter, losse of place shall be his punishment: And further, according to the sentence of the court of War. Duties of Superiors.

The Captains that shall be negligent in training their Companies, or that shall be found to with-hold from their Souldiers any part of their pay, shall be discharged of their place, and further censured by the court of War.

No Commander or Officer shall conceal dangerous and discontented humours, inclined to mutinies, or grudging at the orders given them, but shal make them known to the prime Leaders of the Army, upon the pain to be accounted guiltie of mutinie.

No Commander or Officer shall authorize or wittingly permit any Souldier to go forth to a singular combate, under pain of death; But on the contrarie, all Officers shall be carefull by all means to part quarrellings amongst Souldiers, although they be of other Regiments, or Companies, and shall have power to command them to prison, which if the Souldiers shall disobey or resist by using any weapon, they shall die for it.

No Captain shall presume at his own hand, without warrant of the Lord General, to casseere or give a Passe to any enroled Souldier, or Officer who hath appeared at the place of the generall Randezvous; nor shall any Commander, Officer, or Souldier depart without a Passe, or stay behind the time appointed in his Passe, and whosoever transgresseth the one way or the other shall be punished at the discretion of the Court of War.

VII. All Souldiers shall remember that it is their part to honour and obey their Commanders, and therefore shall receive their commands with reverence, and shall Duties of Soldiers.

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make no noise, but be silent, when the Officers are commanding or giving their directions, that they may be heard by all, and the better obeyed: he that faileth against this, shall be imprisoned.

No Souldier shall leave his Captain, nor servant forsake his master, whether he abide in the Army or not; but upon licence granted and in an orderly way.

Whosoever shall presume to discredit any of the great Officers of the Armie, by writ, word, or any other way, and be not able to make it good, and whosoever shall lift his weapon against any of them shall be punished by death; and whosoever shall lift his hand against any of them, shall lose his hand.

No Souldier nor inferior Officer shall quarrell with, or offer any injurie to his Superior, nor refuse any dutie commanded him upon pain of casseering, and to be further censured by the Court of War. And if any shall presume to strike his Superiour, he shall be punished with death. But if it shall happen that any Officer shall command any thing to the evident and known prejudice of the publike, then shall he who is commanded modestly refuse to obey, and presently give notice thereof to the Lord Generall.

If any man shall use any words or wayes, tending to mutinie or sedition, whether for demanding his pay, or upon any other cause, or if any man shall be privie to such mutinous speeches, or waies, and shall conceal them; both shall be punished with death.

All must shew their valour against the enemie, and not by revenging their private injuries, which upon their complaints to their superiour Officers, shall be repared to the full. And if any man presume to take his own satisfaction, or challenge a combate, he shall be imprisoned, and have his punishment discerned by the Marshall Court.

Duties to others.

The Provost Marshall must not be resisted or hindred in apprehending or putting delinquents in prison, and all Officers must assist him to this end, and if any man shall resist or break prison, he shall be censured by the Court of War.

VIII. Murther is no lesse unlawfull & intolerable in the time of war, then in the time of peace, and is to be punished with death.

Whosoever shall be found to have forced any woman, whether he be Commander or Souldier, shall die for it without mercie. And whosoever shall be found guiltie of adulterie or fornication, shall be no lesse severely censured and punished than in the time of peace.

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Theeves and robbers shall be punished with the like severitie. If any shall spoile, or take any part of their goods that die in the Armie, or are killed in service, he shall restore the double and be farther punished at discretion. It is provided that all their goods be forthcomming, and be disposed of according to their Testament & will declared by word or writ before witnesses, or if they have made no Testament, to their wives, children, or nearest kindred, according to the Lawes of the Kingdome.

All shall live together as friends and brethren, abstaining from words of disgrace, contempt, reproach, giving of lies, and all provocation by word or gesture. He that faileth, shall be imprisoned for the first fault, and if he be incorrigible, he shall be with shame put out of the Armie.

Concerning Armes.

IX. All Souldiers shall come to their Colours, to watch, to be exercised, or to muster, with their own Armes, and if any Souldier shall come with another mans Armes, he shall be punished with rigour, and the lender shall loose his Armes. All shall come also with compleat and right Armes in a decent manner, otherwise to be severely punished.

If any man shall sell, or give in pawne his Horse, his armes, or any part of the ammunition committed to him, or any instruments, as Spades, Shovels, Pickes used in the field, he shall for the first and second time be beaten, through the quarter, and for the third time be punished as for other thift: And he that buyeth them, or taketh them to pawne, be his Souldier, or Victualler, shall pay the double of the money, beside the want of the things bought or impawned, and be further punished at discretion.

Whosoever in a debauched and lewd manner by Cards or Dice, or by sloath, and unexcusable neglect, shall loose his Horse, and Armes in whole, or in part, to the hinderance of the service; and whosoever shall wilfully spoile, or breake his Armes, or any instrument of warre committed to him, by cutting downe of trees, or any other way, he shall serve as a pioner, till the losse be made up, and he furnished upon his owne charges.

Concerning Marching.

X. No man on his march, or at his lodging within or without the Countrey upon whatsoever pretext, shall take by violence either horse, cattell, goods, money, or any other thing, lesse or more, but shall pay the usual prices for his meat and drink, or be furnished according to the order given by the Lord Generall upon paine of death, without mercie.

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If any man shall presume to pull down, or set on fire any dwelling house, though a Cottage, or hew downe any fruit trees, or to waste, or deface any part of the beautie of the countrey, he shall be punished most severely, according to the importance of the fault.

In marching no man shall stay behinde without leave: No man shall straggle from his Troop or Company. No man shall march out of his ranke, and put others out of order, under all highest paine.

Of Musters. XI. If any Colonell of horse or foot, shall keepe back his Souldiers from the appointed musters, or shall lend his Souldiers to make a false muster, upon tryall in the court Marshall, he shall be punished as a deceiver. And if any Muster-master shall use any false Rols, shall have any hand in false musters, or by connivence, or any other way betryed to be accessory to them, he shall suffer the like punishment.

Victuallers. XII. No man shall presume to doe the smallest injurie to any that bring necessaries to the Leaguer, whither by stealing from them, or deceiving them, or by violence in taking their horse or goods, under the paine to be accounted and punished as enemies. No Victualler shall sell rotten victuals, upon paine of imprisonment and confiscation, and further as they shall be judged to deserve.

No Souldier shall provide and sell Victuals, unlesse he be authorized, nor shall any that selleth Victuals, keepe in his Tent or Hutte, any Souldier at unseasonable houres, and forbidden times, under paine at discretion. Like as all the prices thereof shall be set down by the generall Marshall, and be given to the Marshall of the severall Regiments.

Duties in the Campe. XIII. No man enrolled professing himselfe or pretending to be a Souldier shall abide in the Army, unless he enter in some Company, nor shall he that hath entered depart without licence upon the paine of death. No man having licence shall stay beyond the time appointed him upon paine of losse of his pay during the time of his absence, and further punishment at discretion. If any man in a mutinous way shew himselfe discontent with the quarter assigned him, he shall be punished as a mutiner.

And if any man shall stay out of his quarter or goe without shot of Cannon being intrinshed, but one night, without leave of his superiour officer he shall be casheerd.

All that shall be absent from the watch after the signe is given for the setting therof shall be severely

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punished. He that revealeth or falsifieth the watchword given by the officer, within the trenches or before the Colours: He that is taken sleeping or drunken upon his watch: he that commeth off the watch before the time, every one of those shall be punished with death.

If any number of Souldiers shall assemble together, for taking mutinous counsel upon whatsoever pretext: The Officers joyning with them, shall suffer death: The tenth man of the Souldiers shall be hanged, and the rest condemned to be pioners, and to purge the Campe, till by some exploit they procure pardon, and redeeme their reputation.

Duties in Battell.

XIV. Every man when the Alarum is given, shall repaire speedily to his Colours: no man shall forsake or flee from his Colours. No man in the Countrey shall receit them that flee. No man in the Battell shall throw away his Musket, Pick, or Bandilier, all under the paine of death.

Whatsoever Regiment of horse or foot, having charged the enemie, shall draw backe, before they come to stroke of sword, shall answer for it before a councell of war: And if it be through default of any Officer, he shall be censured by the councell of war. If the fault be in the Souldiers, the tenth man shall be punished with death, and the rest put to base service, till by their valour they prove themselves worthy of a better condition.

Duties after Battell.

XV. If it shall come to passe, that the enemy shall force us to Battell, and the Lord shall give us victory, none shall kill a yeelding enemy, not save him that still pursueth, upon paine of death. Neither shall there be any ransoming of persons, spoiling, pillaging, parting of the prey, or wasting and burning by fire, or disbanding from their charges, or Officers, but as the Lord Generall shall give order upon the same paine of death.

Rewards for the well-deserving.

XVI. Every mans carriage shall be diligently observed, and he according to his merit rewarded or punished: And whatsoever Officer or Souldier shall carry himselfe dutifully in his station, and doth his part valiantly, in battell or fight, shall after the laudable example of the wisest, and worthiest Kingdomes and Estates, have his honour and reward according to his worth and deserving, whether hereafter we have peace or warre.

Matters that are cleare by the light and law of Nature are presupposed: Things unnecessary are past over in silence: and other things may be judged by the common customes and constitutions of Warre, or may upon new emergents, be expressed afterward.

FINIS.

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NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, and REPLIES TO QUESTIONS will be greatly appreciated by the Hon. Editor, whose name and address are :—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE, 8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

NOTES.

213. A REMINISCENCE OF WATERLOO—1815. The picture of *La Belle Alliance*, facing this page, was found amongst the papers, etc., of Major Edward Hodge, 7th Light Dragoons, and has been kindly placed at the disposal of the Society by his grandson, Captain F. A. Hodge, Royal Navy. Major Hodge was killed in the Cavalry action at Genappe, on 17 June, 1815, so that he could not have painted the picture himself. On the back is written :—

So destructive and decisive a battle cannot but furnish some room for knowledge and amusement. By some called Waterloo, by others *La Belle Alliance*, neither very appropriate.

Waterloo is a village 3 miles from the engagement. *La Belle Alliance* is a farm-house where the two Commanders [Blücher and Wellington] met. Mount St. Jean is a hill where the engagement was hottest, and where the Old Guard [French] were destroyed almost to a man.

This is as it appears about a week after the battle. The farm-house was seized by the French to aid their attack on St. Jean, and was a seat of great slaughter.

The Telegraph is where Buonaparte was stationed during the engagement. Already the farm house is repaired and made an inn. NEUX.

214. IRREGULAR CAVALRY—INDIAN ARMY. The principal difference between regular and irregular cavalry was that the latter (like English yeomen) supplied their own horses, accoutrements, clothing, and weapons (except fire-arms), and, to a great extent, selected their own patterns of such things, until late in the 19th century. They were, on this account, called *Silladar*—one who bears arms.

In view of the above conditions the *silladar* cavalry were paid at quite different and higher rates than the regular soldiery, for their pay had to take into account the upkeep and replacement of horses and kit. Generally each regiment maintained a fund (or funds) for replacement of

(*a*) horses,
(*b*) baggage animals,
(*c*) kit,

called *chanda* funds. The men subscribed a monthly sum and were supplied with renewals as necessary—a system of insurance, in fact.

The earliest "Irregular" cavalry regiments were Skinner's and Gardner's, taken into the British service from the Mahratta forces. These brought their own horses. Later on it became common (and, ultimately, universal) for recruits to bring not a horse, but the money value of one. There was always great competition for a vacancy in a good *silladar* regiment, and such vacancy or appointment was called an *assami*. The money to be paid for horse and kit was termed the price of the *assami*. When a man was discharged he handed over his horse and kit to the regiment and the price which he had paid for his *assami* was returned to him.

The numbers of the *silladar* regiments varied from time to time. These changes are all shown in *Services of the Bengal Native Army*, by F. G. Cardew (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1903). After the Mutiny, all regular native cavalry regiments were disbanded, and thence-forward all the Bengal cavalry were *silladars* until the great war, when the system was abolished. F. G. C.

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"LA BELLE ALLIANCE"—NEAR WATERLOO.

Painted in June, 1815, a few days after the Battle.

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215. LONDON VOLUNTEERS IN 1803. A great deal of interesting information about London Volunteers in 1803 appears in the *Letters and Papers of Andrew Robertson*, the miniaturist (1777-1845), very poorly edited by his daughter, Emily Robertson, published in 1895.

Robertson, who had been a Volunteer in the corps of his native Aberdeen (p. 2) and who went to London in 1801, seems to have been largely responsible for suggesting the creation of two Volunteer corps—the "Artists" and the "Loyal North Britons" (p. 107). In July, 1803, he proposed to Benjamin West—then President of the Royal Academy—to "form the Artists of London into a Volunteer Corps" and West and the Academy voted £500. He writes on 30 July, 1803, to his father (p. 101):—

> "Somerset House, the Royal Academy, will be the depot for arms, and rendezvous. The Government Clerks, etc., form another strong body there, and as it is inaccessible on all sides, it will be a great point of defence."

On 19 August, 1803, he wrote again to his father (p. 102):—

> "I have at last brought about the Artists as Volunteers. We had a general meeting, and a Committee was appointed. I was the third member proposed, and elected before many Royal Academicians. The engravers had a meeting and they can depend upon 100 already. . . . I am regarded as the *primum mobile* of the thing."

In a long letter, dated 22 August, 1803, to his brother, Alexander, in New York (pp. 102-6), he gives a full list of all the men (111 names are quoted) who attended the meeting, together with ten names on the provisional committee, headed by Valentine Green (1739-1813), the Mezzotinter. They adopted the following resolution:—

> "That a corps of Artists shall be formed to offer its services to Government, under the Volunteer Act, and in any other way that a body of Artists, in particular, may be thought most useful."

The corps was not only to serve without pay, and to provide its own clothing and accoutrements, but every member was to "subscribe one guinea annually," etc. The resolution concluded thus:—

> "Any member speaking in the ranks shall be subject to a fine of 1/-."

The alliterative title—"Armed Association of Artists"— was adopted (p. 105).

Robertson wrote to his father on 25 August, 1803, saying that "Government has declined our offer as Volunteers, there being already too many. . . . After we had lost so much time, and had 150 names, it is a great disappointment." And so the scheme collapsed.

But the miniaturist was so full of military ardour that he immediately associated himself with a corps called the "Loyal North Britons," with which Lord Reay was connected. On 24 September, 1803, he wrote (p. 107) to his father:—

> "I was appointed adjutant, pro tempore, but resigned immediately, in consequence of observations from people who were jealous of me."

On 3 October, 1803, he was appointed lieutenant, after being a "private member for some time." He painted the portraits of some of the members.

On 29 August, 1805, Robertson writes (p. 123):—

> "Lord Reay has resigned command of the L.N.B. Colonel Robertson of Struan got the Duke of Sussex to take command. All through me we are the Duke of Sussex's 'Loyal North Britons'. I am now a great man in the corps."

Robertson painted a portrait of the Duke in the uniform of the corps, which shows him in a diced feather bonnet. The portrait, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1806, is reproduced in the "Letters" in Woodbury type (4in. x 2¾ins).

The corps was disbanded in 1814, and in a Regimental Order, dated 23 June, 1814, (pp. 176-7), the Duke, bidding farewell to the Corps, mentions the following officers, thanking them for their services.—

Major.	Lieutenants.	Lieutenants.
Sir Alexander Grant.	John Slade Skaife.	John Isbister.
Captains.	John Pirie.	Isaac Kitchen.
Alexander Gray Davidson.	George Allan.	James Fairlie.
Andrew Robertson.	John Morris.	William Anderson.
Alexander Grant.	Kenneth Murchison MacRae.	Alexander Duncan Stewart.
Hon. Dudley MacDonald.		
Simon MacGillivray.		

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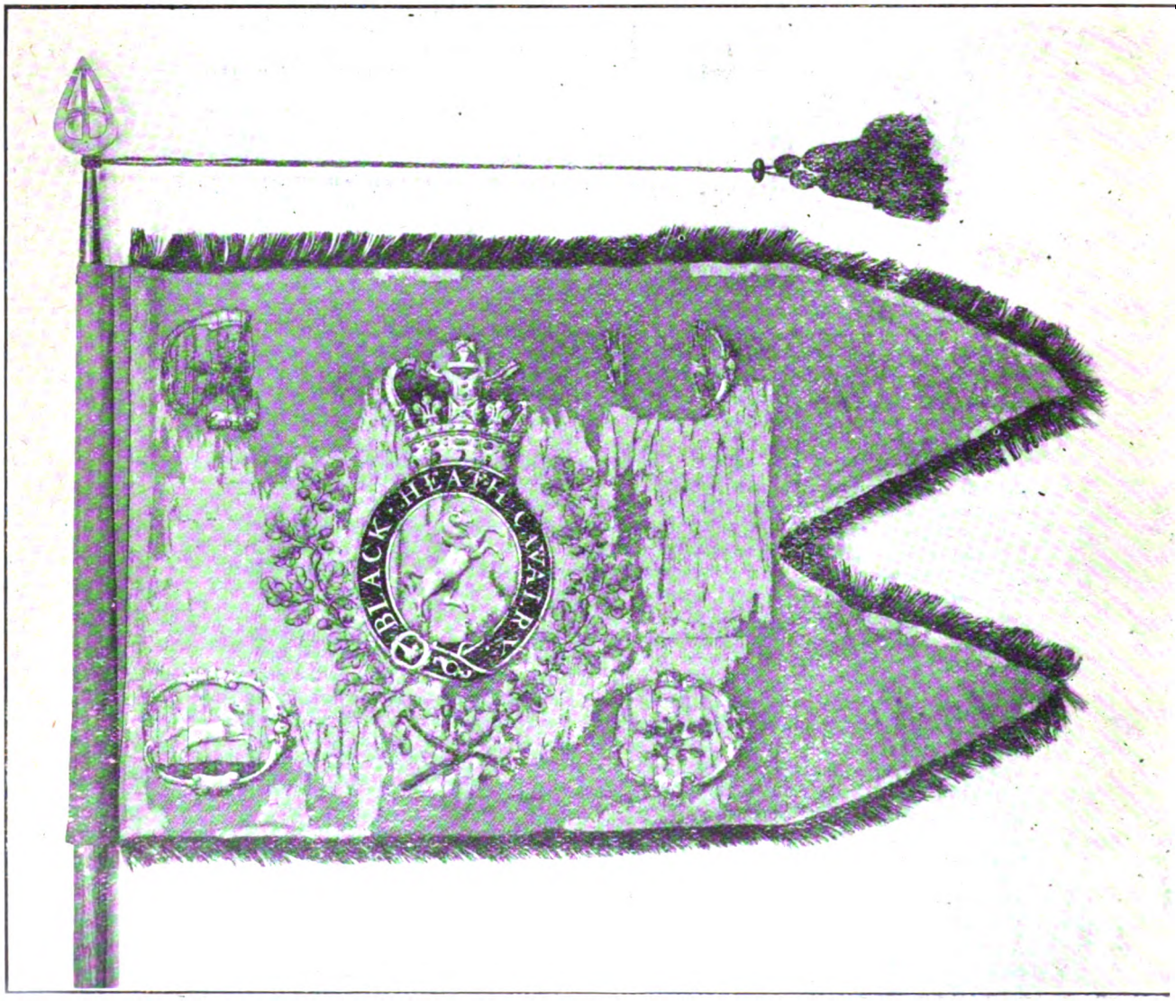
Robertson painted many military pictures. In August, 1804, he was "busy painting the Colonels of the City Regiments, which are to be engraved and published by subscription" (p. 116). On October, 1804 (p. 118), he writes:—"I am painting the Colonels of the London Volunteers, ten in number, to be engraved." Where are the originals of any of these portraits to be found? Who were the ten Colonels—"all the first men in London"—? J. M. BULLOCH.

QUESTIONS.

325. BLACKHEATH CAVALRY. The guidon, which is here illustrated, measuring 20 inches on the staff and 35 inches from the staff, horizontally. The emblems and badges are painted. The field of the guidon is of light green material.



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What is known of the Blackheath Cavalry?

The illustration is produced by the kind permission of Mr. J. Rochelle Thomas, of 10, King Street, St. James's, S.W.1, to whom the flag belongs. It is for sale.

NEUX.

326. HARQUEBUSER—A MILITARY PUNISHMENT. Clause 20 of a code of *Orders and Institutions of War*, of 1642 (British Museum Library. E.127 (23). Thomason tracts.), reads thus:—

"He that is found sleeping upon his watch in any place of danger shall be harquebuser'd."

This, obviously, is a form of punishment, carried out with an harquebus. What was the punishment, and how was it carried out?

"Harquebuser'd", in the same sense, occurs also in clauses 14 and 21.

The verb "harquebuser" is not given in *The Oxford English Dictionary*.

NEUX.

327. ARTICLES OF WAR— 1199 to 1216. In *Military Antiquities*, by Francis Grose—edition of 1812—vol. ii. p. 61, the following passage occurs:—

"The first record of this kind [i.e. "Articles of War"], is in the time of King John, entitled

'Constitutions to be made in the Army of Our Lord the King;'

these are apparently calculated to facilitate the supply of the army with necessaries, which it seems were to be exposed for sale in the churches and church-yards", etc.

Where is this record to be found? Grose gives no reference. Q. F.

REPLIES.

308. PLACES—TOWNS, MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, STREETS, ETC., NAMED AFTER ARMY OFFICERS, OR REGIMENTS. (Vol. vi., 122, 192; vii., 75, 143, 256; viii., 263.) Members of the family of FENWICK, father and sons, were honorably conspicuous in the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, in the military and social life of Annapolis Royal and Halifax, in which city their memory is perpetuated in the name of a street at the south end. Robert Fenwick, an officer, afterwards Captain, of the Royal Artillery, born 1740, son of Captain John Fenwick, R.N., arrived in Halifax in 1758, on his way to the second siege of Louisbourg, in which he took an active part and served in Annapolis Royal, 1758-66, and at Halifax during several periods afterwards. He married, at Annapolis, January 2, 1764, Ann, daughter of Colonel Erasmus James Philipps, and died in New York May 23, 1779. His widow died at Woolwich, October 11, 1785. He was described as a "gentleman of many excellent qualities," who "in his public life stood distinguished by the greatest attention and abilities, while his private life was adorned with every social and domestic virtue," His eldest son, Robert George, Lieut. 16th Foot, was born at Annapolis Royal, October 2, 1765. His second son, William, was born at Halifax, January 12, 1767. A son, Benjamin, born at Barbadoes, November 3, 1769, served as Major R.A., at Halifax, where he died, June 15, 1812. William, afterwards Colonel R.E., and A.D.C. to H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, married at Annapolis Royal, December 20, 1794, Ann, daughter of Lieut. Thomas Walker (not Maria, as Mr. Bailey wrote in his parish register), whose sister, Anna Maria, was wife of Colonel Thomas Williams, and mother of the famous General.* Colonel Fenwick was the future General's guardian and adviser at Woolwich, but died at Paris, February 6, 1817, before his brilliant nephew was eighteen years of age. (*Supplement to the History of the County of Annapolis*—p. 95—by A. W. Savary. William Briggs. Toronto. 1913.)

See *ante*, vol. viii, pp. 2-32. NEUX.

BYTOWN—now called Ottawa—in Canada, was so called after Lieut.-Colonel John By, Royal Engineers. He was Chief Engineer for the construction of the Rideau canal, from the St. Lawrence to the Canadian Lakes. See 'D.N.B.' H. M. McC.

* General Sir William Fenwick Williams, *Bart.*, of Kars, Royal Artillery. See 'D.N.B.'

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309. ARMS (HERALDIC) BEARING NAMES OF BATTLES (vol viii. 206, 262; ix. 71). "Whitehall. December 13, 1815. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent—taking into His Royal Highness's consideration the highly distinguished services of Colonel James Stevenson Barns, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st, or the Royal Scots Regiment of Foot, Companion of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, and Knight of the Royal Portuguese Military Order of the Tower and Sword, manifested by him on divers important occasions in the campaigns of Toulon, Corsica, Holland, Egypt, and during the recent arduous operations and splendid achievements of His Majesty's arms in Portugal, Spain, and France; and being desirous of conferring upon that officer such a mark of favour as may in an especial manner evince the sense His Royal Highness entertains of the intrepidity and valour displayed by him at the battle of Busaco, wherein, as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Staff, he commanded a brigade; at the capture of Badajoz, on the 6th April, 1812; at the victory of Salamanca, where, in leading his battalion to the charge, he was severely wounded; and his distinguished gallantry at the assault and capture of San Sebastian, and at the battles of the Nive—hath been pleased, in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, to grant unto the said Colonel Barns His Majesty's royal license and authority that he and his descendants may bear the following honourable augmentation to the arms of his family:—

> "A chief, thereon the representation of the curtain of a fortification; and, above, the word St. Sebastian, as also a canton charged, with the representations of the gold cross presented by His Majesty's command to the said James Stevenson Barns, and of the badge of the Royal Portuguese Military Order of the Tower and Sword pendant from the ribands from which the said distinctions are respectively attached."

And the following crest of honourable augmentation:—

> "Issuant from a broken battlement, a dexter arm in armour, the hand grasping a banner, inscribed, 'St. Sebastian', in allusion to the conspicuous conduct of the said Colonel Barns, on the 31st August, 1813, when he gallantly led the third battalion of the Royals, and assaulted and carried the curtain of the fortress, thereby eminently contributing to the ultimate capture of that important place; provided the said armorial distinctions be first duly exemplified, according to the law of Arms, and recorded in the Herald's Office; otherwise His Majesty's royal license and permission to be void and of non-effect."

[From *An Historical Account of His Majesty's First or the Royal Regiment of Foot.* General George, Duke of Gordon, G.C.B., Colonel. Compiled by Major Joseph Wetherall. London. Printed by W. Clowes, 14, Charing Cross. MDCCCXXXII. pp. 219-20.] H. M. McC.

310. THE KINNEGAD SLASHERS (vol. vi. 122; viii. 142). The poem referred to in the last reference is actually entitled *Petticoat Loose: a Fragmentary "Tale of the Castle"*, [i.e. Dublin Castle]. It was published in London in 1812. There is a copy in the British Museum Library, "embellished with plates".

The allusion to the 'Kinnegad Slashers' is found on page 40:—

> "Till now, (its every colour soil'd,
> "Its flowers torn, its gloss quite spoil'd),
> "In vain you'd send it to the washer,
> "It will not answer e'en a *Slasher*."

A footnote explains that "in this country [Ireland] we are rather unfortunate in *some* of our *professional* names. For instance, we have *threshers*, who have never handled a flail—*White*-boys, who for the most part ascend from the collieries—*Right*-boys, generally so much in the *wrong* as to discover their error at the gallows—*Hearts* of *Oak*, who will fly before a flock of watchmen!—and *Slashers*! Reader! could'st thou ever suppose this hussar-like appellation (rendered doubly tremendous by the thundering preface of Kinnegad) intended for a couple of ladies, so remarkably *slender* as to be, in this respect at least, the envy of all the *squeezers* of the metropolis?"

It, therefore, seems that the sobriquet "Kinnegad Slashers" was in no way connected with the "Slashers" of the 28th Foot.

It would be interesting to know the names of the two ladies of the early 19th century who have been handed down to posterity as the "Kinnegad Slashers." NEUX.

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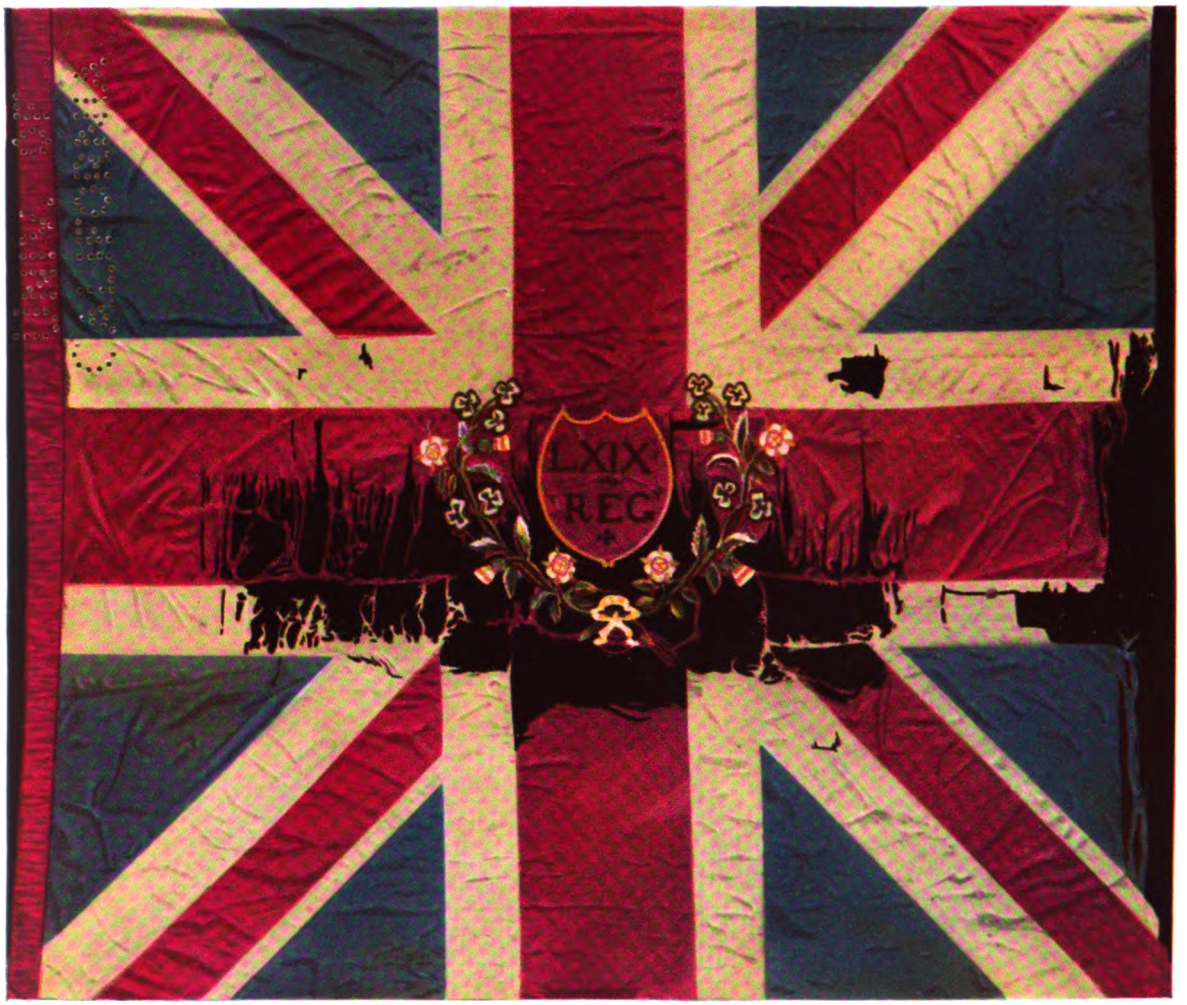

The King's Colour of the 69th Foot, 2nd Battalion,
Captured by the French Cavalry,
In the Battle of Quatre Bras,
16 June, 1815.

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THE HOME-COMING OF THE KING'S COLOUR OF THE 2ND BATTALION, 69TH (OR THE SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE REGIMENT) OF FOOT*,

Captured by The French at Quatre Bras on 16 June, 1815.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

At Azay-le-Rideau, in the Touraine district (Indre et Loire) in France, 13 miles S.W. from Tours, is a *Château* which has been acquired by the French Government and converted into a museum.

In 1909 the Curator of the Museum was M. Louis Xavier de Ricard, son of General de Ricard, and great-nephew of General François Xavier Donzelot, who commanded a Cavalry division in the Waterloo campaign, 1815.

The late Captain J. W. G. P. Jeffcock, formerly in the 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons, when touring in France in 1909, visited this *Château* and saw in the hall-porter's lodge two flags labelled "For Sale." Recognising one as a British Colour (the other apparently being Dutch), he inquired their price, and asked to whom they belonged.

It appeared that they had belonged to the Curator of the Museum, the aforementioned Louis Xavier de Ricard, who had given them to the hall-porter in liquidation of a debt.

The following extract (translation) from a letter, dated 23 June, 1909, addressed by the hall-porter at the *Château* to Captain Jeffcock, explains the matter:—

"General Donzelot captured four flags from the English; he gave two of them to the *Musée des Invalides* in Paris. . . . .

"From General Donzelot the other two flags passed to his nephew, General de Ricard, and from the General to his son, Louis Xavier de Ricard, who was keeper of the *Château d'Azay-le-Rideau.*"

The price asked for the two flags was 600 francs, which Captain Jeffcock paid at once, and thus, after being 'absent without leave' for 94 years, a British King's Colour, which had been captured in battle, returned to England.

The flag measures 72″ by 78″. As will be seen from the illustration, the silk near the heavy embroidery in the centre was somewhat perished, but the material has now been completely renovated. The colours of the silk are slightly faded.

* Disbanded in 1816.

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The story of the Colour is of interest, and the following evidence proves that it was captured from the 69th Regiment of Foot, 2nd Battalion, by French Cavalry at Quatre Bras on 16 June, 1815.

The first intimation of its purchase by Captain Jeffcock appeared in *Le Matin*, published in Paris on 28 June, 1909, in an article headed :—

UN DRAPEAU

conquis par des Français
vient d'être vendu
à un Anglais.

Le beau de l'histoire, c'est
qu'il appartenait à un
conservateur de musée.

The article was full of historical inaccuracies, but two main points are clearly established :—

(1) The flag was once the property of General François Xavier Donzelot, and passed from him into the possession of his great-nephew, Louis Xavier de Ricard. How it came into Donzelot's hands does not greatly affect the story.

(2) It is the King's Colour of the British 69th (or the South Lincolnshire) Regiment of Foot.

In the battle of Quatre Bras the 69th Regiment (2nd battalion) was one of four regiments which composed the 5th Infantry Brigade, under the command of Major-General Sir Colin Halkett, K.C.B., belonging to the 3rd Division (Lieut.-General Count Sir Charles Alten, K.C.B.) of the army.

The other three regiments were :—

The 30th (or the Cambridgeshire) 2nd battalion.
The 33rd (or the 1st Yorkshire West Riding).
The 73rd (Highland), 2nd battalion.

The 3rd Division formed part of the 1st Corps, under the command of H.S.H. General William Frederick Henry, Hereditary Prince of Orange, G.C.B.

The following evidence establishes the fact that the 69th lost a Colour at Quatre Bras.

In Captain W. Siborne's *History of the War in France and Belgium in* 1815 (third edition, 1848) we find on page 93 that Halkett ordered "the 69th Regiment to prepare forthwith to receive cavalry" :—

"A sudden and heavy cannonade had already opened from the French heights, a sure prelude to the attack which was about to take place, and

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the 69th Regiment was in the act of forming square when the Prince of Orange rode up to it and asked what it was doing. Colonel [Charles] Morice† explained that he was forming square in pursuance of the instructions that he had received, upon which his Serene Highness, remarking that he did not think there was any chance of the cavalry coming on, ordered him to reform column and to deploy into line. During this last movement a strong body of French cuirassiers, taking advantage of the surrounding high corn and of the circumstance of the regiment lying in a hollow, approached unperceived quite close to the spot, and rushing suddenly and impetuously upon a flank, succeeded in completely rolling up the regiment, riding along and over the unfortunate men, of whom great numbers were cut down, and in the midst of the confusion thus created captured and carried off one of the Colours, in defence of which Major [Henry] Lindsay, Lieutenant [Brooke] Pigot, and Volunteer [Christopher] Clarke* highly distinguished themselves and were desperately wounded."

The extracts from the three letters which here follow are taken from *Waterloo Letters*, edited by Major-General H. T. Siborne, R.E. (Cassell and Co., 1891). They were collected by his father, Captain W. Siborne, and subsequently published and edited by the son, who states in the preface that they "were written with the knowledge that the information contained in them would be conveyed to the public."

I.—Lieut.-General Sir Colin Halkett, K.C.B., G.C.H. 21 March, 1837—page 322 :—

"Unfortunately in the act of forming square *an officer high in rank* came up to the 69th Regiment and asked what they were about. The reply was the directions they received from me, on which he said there was no chance of the Cavalry appearing, and ordered them to form column and deploy into *line*, which, of course, was complied with, and during this very movement the Cavalry did attack, rode through the 69th Regiment, but situated *as they were* the Enemy suffered a heavy loss. On *our* side the same took place, and, most extraordinary, one of the Colours of the Regiment never appeared after the breaking-up of the 69th Regiment by the charge. I can, I think, say *with truth*, although the Colour was never seen or heard of, that it did *not* fall into the enemy's hands,‡ which of course is satisfactory."

II.—Major Samuel Rudyard, Royal Artillery. 6 May, 1838—page 230. Rudyard was the 2nd Captain of Major W. J. Lloyd's battery, attached to the 3rd Infantry Division :—

"I was with two guns attached to the 69th, Lieut.-Colonel Morice, and placed myself on their right when I was directed to follow the four other guns of Major Lloyd's battery ordered into action in front of the farm of

---

† He was killed in this action.

* Ensign, 42nd, (or the Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot. 3 August, 1815.
Lieutenant do. do. 15 May, 1823.
Lieutenant, 33rd (or the 1st Yorkshire, W. Riding) Regiment of Foot. 14 August, 1828. Died in Jamaica, 23 September, 1831.

‡ *Note by Siborne.* This is an error. The Colour of the 69th was taken by Cuirassier Lami of the 8th Regiment.

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Quatre Bras, on the Charleroi road, to the support of the Duke of Brunswick. I had hardly quitted the 69th when the Cuirassiers charged from the wood, and before the 69th could get into square they were rode over, broken, and sad havoc made among them, their only Colour being taken, the other being 'in the Hospital of Invalides at Paris, taken at Bergen-op-Zoom.'"

III.—Lieut. F. H. Pattison, 33rd Regt. 6 December, 1842—p. 334:—

"As we advanced, the leading company of our Regiment reached a prominent part of the field and observed the French Cavalry advancing to the charge. Orders were then given to form square to receive the enemy. The enemy perceiving we were prepared for them, instead of advancing made a movement to the left, broke in upon the open columns of the 69th Regiment, which being on a low part of the field had not observed them. The havoc that then took place was very great, and one of their Colours, I think the Regimental Colour, was carried off in triumph."

In 1870 Pattison published, for private circulation, his *Personal Recollections of the Waterloo Campaign in a Series of Letters to his Grandchildren.* On Page 5 the following passage occurs:—

"Advancing in open column of companies a voice was heard calling aloud, 'Cavalry, cavalry, form square, form square.' The leading companies of the regiment (33rd) halted immediately, and we soon were in a position to receive them Having accomplished this important movement, we being then on an elevated part of the field, a large body of French Cuirassiers were seen approaching at great speed. Perceiving, however, that we were ready to receive them, and that the 69th, which was to our left, was still in open column of companies, they brought their left shoulders forward, and passing by us at full gallop, dashed in amongst them, when a terrible sabring ensued. One of the officers (Volunteer Clarke) who carried the Regimental Colour, was hacked and cut in a fearful manner. Notwithstanding this, he preserved the standard; but the other Colour was wrenched from the hands of the officer who bore it and carried off as a trophy of success."

And, lastly, evidence is found in the records in the French Ministry of War, taken from a report furnished to Maréchal Ney by the Comte de Valmy (Kellermann), Commander of the 3rd French Cavalry Corps, and is dated at Frasnes on 16 June, 1815—ten p.m.:—

"J'ai exécuté la charge que vous m'avez ordonnée; j'ai rencontré l'infanterie ennemie placée dans un vallon au dessous de ses pièces. A l'instant, sans laisser aux troupes le temps de réfléchir, je me suis précipité à la tête du 1er escadron du 8e * avec le général Guiton sur l'infanterie Anglo-Hanovrienne; malgré le feu le plus vif de front et de flanc, les deux lignes d'infanterie ont été culbutées. Le plus grand désordre était dans la ligne ennemie que nous avons traversée deux à trois fois . . . Nous avons pris un drapeau du 69e qui a été enlevé par les cuirassiers Valgayer et Nourain."

* Cuirassiers.

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The foregoing accounts were written by officers who fought at Quatre Bras, some of whom were eye-witnesses of the capture of the flag, and none of whom belonged to the 69th; they are marked by the invariable sign of good and independent evidence, namely, that while they differ about immaterial details they all agree on the essential points. No one who reads them will doubt for a moment that it is the flag which was lost by the 69th.

The loss of the colour reflects neither blame nor dishonour to the Regiment. The 69th was placed in an impossible position by the direct order of a superior Officer, and this is the end of the whole matter.

The 2nd Battalion of the 69th (or the South Lincolnshire) Regiment of Foot, was raised in July, 1803, and disbanded in 1816. It had only one battle honour—Waterloo—and this was, *ipso facto*, inherited by the 1st Battalion when the 2nd was disbanded.

In 1881 the 69th became the 2nd battalion of the Welch Regiment, which now bears "Waterloo" upon its colours, although neither of its battalions was present at the battle.

CAPTAIN J. W. G. P. JEFFCOCK, 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons.

Major Jeffcock—promoted to that rank on 5 October, 1914—died on 13 October, 1927, when the Colour passed into the possession of his only son, Mr. W. P. Jeffcock, of High House, Little Bealings, Suffolk.

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YEOMANRY CAVALRY.

BY COLONEL G. R. CODRINGTON, D.S.O., O.B.E., T.D.

There have been several references in recent numbers of *Journal*† to the early history of Yeomanry Regiments, with particular reference to the Rutland Yeomanry, and it may be of interest, therefore, to outline briefly something of the early history of Yeomanry in general, as illustrated in particular by that of the Leicestershire Yeomanry, of which the old Rutland Yeomanry now forms a part.

At the end of 1793 there was in progress a re-organisation of the Army of Revolutionary France, as a result of which, at the beginning of 1794, that army amounted to 600,000 effective men. The Government of that country realised that failure to achieve victory in the forthcoming campaign would mean the collapse of the Revolution.

Accordingly, Carnot, the French War Minister, laid his plans for striking at important points only, standing on the defensive elsewhere. Britain was France's most formidable enemy, and, therefore, among other plans he projected and prepared an invasion of England, with the co-operation of the fleet from Brest, intending on landing, to march on London.

To meet this threat the English Government of the day prepared schemes for augmenting the army, and several new regular regiments were raised towards the end of 1793.

In 1794, still under the threat of Carnot's invasion, coupled with the fear of revolution spreading to England, the Government decided also to increase the Auxiliary forces, and on 14 March a letter was sent to Lords Lieutenant asking them to raise, in their counties, Corps of Yeomanry Cavalry for the internal protection of the country and its defence against invasion.

Such Corps were to be raised, and were in fact raised, purely by local patriotic endeavour and supported by local subscription.

On 10 April, 1794, a "General Meeting of the County of Leicester" was held at the Three Crowns Inn, Lord Ferrers in the chair, at which it was resolved "that a number of men, not less than 100, be formed as Cavalry, agreeable to the 3rd article in the Secretary of State's recommendation dated Whitehall, 14 March, 1794, enclosed in the Lord Lieutenant's letter to the High Sheriff." A list of subscribers was opened which included George Moore, Sheriff, £100, Sir William Sheffington, £100, and J. F. Turner, £200.

From this meeting, therefore, the Leicestershire Yeomanry sprang.

Meanwhile, Rutland had started a few days earlier, for on 31 March a "General Meeting" was held at Oakham Castle at which a similar

† Vol. vii. 255; viii. 74, 145.

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resolution was passed and a subscription list opened. The two Corps were then quite distinct.

On 28 April the next step was taken at Leicester for on that day a further meeting was held at which more details were decided. At this "General Meeting of Subscribers" resolutions were passed, and, among others,

"That six troops be raised in the County of Leicester."

Both the Leicester and the Rutland units recruited by means of advertisements, often curiously worded, for instance the following in connection with the Rutland Regiment:—

"19 April. 1794. Rutland Light Dragoons. Not to be employed "out of Great Britain nor to be drafted. Such gentlemen as like a "pleasant ride this summer and are hearty tight fellows, for no bad "hands need apply, will do well to offer themselves to serve in the "Corps now going to be raised. . . ."

And again on 8 August, 1794:—

"Rutland Light Dragoons. A few clever young men to complete, "only to serve in Great Britain, will not be drafted. Apply Sergt. "Barker, at the Crown and Cushion, Church Gate, Leicester, where "they will receive everything to complete a gentleman soldier."

Both units filled up rapidly, and it is recorded in Fortescue's *History of the British Army* that the first of the Yeomanry to be accepted by the Government as complete, were Lord Winchelsea's three troops of "Gentlemen and Yeomanry" raised by the County of Rutland.* Leicester was not far behind, for the *Leicester Herald* of 14 June, 1794, records that "Major Sir W. S. Skeffington and Captain Curzon of the Leicestershire Independent Cavalry kissed the King's hand on Wednesday on having completed their complement of men."

On 11 July, a Committee Meeting was held at the Three Crowns, at which, among other business transacted, "George Bracebridge of Leicester was appointed Surgeon's mate" and a resolution was passed that "Bridles, bits, bridoons, with a black silk ribband in front, black reins and buckles be provided and fitted at the expense of the fund to the number of 280 by White & Walton, Henry Broome, and William Parnwell, sadlers, Leicester."

On 4 July the Loyal Leicestershire Volunteer Cavalry met on the race ground and were formed into six troops, the muster rolls being made by Mr. Payne the regimental clerk.

Two Standards were presented to the Regiment in August 1794. The *Leicester Herald* of 21 August mentions that:—

"The accomplished Miss Linwood of this town, so deservedly "celebrated for her matchless ingenuity in the performance of every "kind of elegant and curious needlework gratified their Majesties "last week by laying before them at Windsor the beautiful banner "which she has lately executed for a present to the Corps of "Leicestershire Cavalry."

* *History of the British Army*. Vol. IV. part I. p. 218. Secretary at War's Common Letter Book, 26 March, 1794, in Public Record Office.

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And again on 30 August :—

"Standards presented. Great day. The Colonel's Standard was "given, and presented by Lady Charlotte Curzon, attended by the "High Sheriff. The Provincial Standard (Miss Linwood's) was "presented in her name by Lady Skeffington, attended by Mr. Hunger-"ford and Mr. Mansfield, the Mayor. Colonel Sir W. Skeffington "made reply. The Rev. T. Greatley then preached, but fainted under "the exertion." The Cavalry were formed in a Square all the time . . . "they then marched to the Abbey Meadow where they performed evolutions." There was a ball in the evening, and after the ceremony the freedom of the Corporation was presented to Col. Sir W. Skeffington and his two senior officers.

The Rutland Regiment of Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry also had "Standards", as they were called at the time, but which were in fact Guidons, and these were presented in the same year (1794). These Guidons still exist, there being five in all, two embroidered, evidently the two Regimental "Standards", and three of painted silk, one for each of the three troops. The two former are in the possession of the Earl of Ancaster at Grimsthorpe Castle, Bourn, and the three troop Guidons have been given by him to the Leicestershire Yeomanry, at whose headquarters, at Leicester, they were preserved.

These Guidons were discovered quite by accident at the beginning of 1929, hanging on the wall of the village Hall at Empingham in Rutland, where they had been undisturbed for many years.

FIGURE A.

Illustrations of the troop Guidons are given, and it is possible that readers may be able to throw light on some interesting points

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in connection with them. The first—figure A—is of red silk and was evidently that of the first troop. Both sides are the same. The arms are those of George III. The letters " L.R. " are gold on white ground, and it would be interesting to know for what these letters stand. Possibly they mean " Loyal Rutland." The Horse is red—presumably an adaptation of the Badge of Hanover.

The second illustration—figure B—shews the Guidon of the 3rd Troop. Both sides are the same, and the Guidon of the 2nd Troop is identical, with the exception that the label suspended from the scroll is " 2 " instead of " 3 ". The Guidons measure 23 inches vertically, by 33½ inches, from pole to point of swallow-tail.

In these Guidons the horse is white, and it is interesting to note the same thing appears on the Guidon of the Blackheath Cavalry, illustrated in the April *Journal*—see *ante*, p. 126. It seems clear from this that the badge is not of local significance.

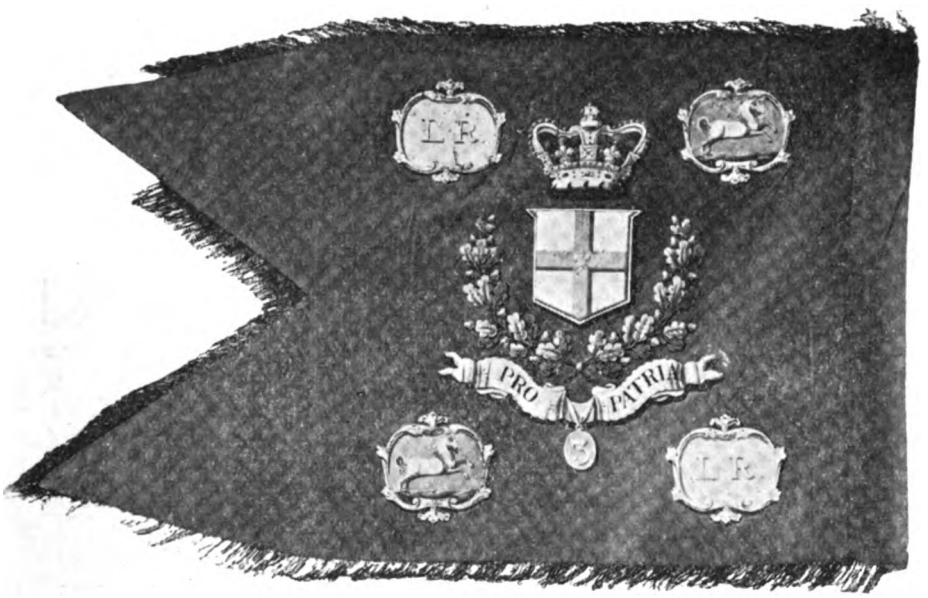

FIGURE B.

The most interesting point arising in the Guidon B lies in the coat of arms. This is not a Royal coat, yet is surmounted by the Imperial Crown which seems curious. It would be interesting to know the reason for this, and also to know what is the actual coat. The blazon is argent, a cross of St. George charged with a fleur-de-lis or. The only case of a cross of St. George thus charged that has so far been found in a Heraldic glossary is the arms of the City of Lincoln, but it is not clear whether there is any connection between the City of Lincoln and the County of Rutland.

The embroidered Guidons carry in one case the Royal Arms, and in the other the " Harrington Knot " or Frette, which is the badge of Rutland.

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Of the Leicestershire Yeomanry Standards there is now no trace. Evidently there were added others besides the two referred to above, for in the Leicester Museum there is a picture, here re-produced by Messrs. George Gibbons & Co., 49, King Street, Leicester (with the kind permission of the Museum and Libraries Committee) shewing the Regiment drawn up in line and with each Troop represented as carrying a standard. Any information which will lead to the tracing of these standards will be most gratefully received by the Regiment.

As already stated, the Yeomanry in those days could be called out in aid of the Civil power, and this frequently happened, usually effectively, but on at least one occasion this was not so, for in October, 1794, the Rutland Yeomanry were called out to quell a riot in Oakham "but in vain."

There were at this time also troops of Fencible Cavalry, which existed only for the preservation of law and order and were nothing to do with the defence of the country. They could not be called upon to act outside their own district.

In 1803 war was declared on France, and, meanwhile, as the Volunteer Acts passed by Pitt during the late war had lapsed, the Government thought it expedient in 1802, owing to the uncertainty then existing, to enable such Corps as were willing to do so, to continue their service. To do this was the purpose of the Volunteer Acts 1802.

The units had originally been raised on a curious basis (traces of which can be found for over a century). They were dependent mainly on private subscriptions, and governed by Committees of Subscribers who were not necessarily officers, and it was often doubtful whether they were commanded by their titular commanding officers of by their committees. Many Corps, too, owing to internal jealousy and self-importance, had organised themselves into small and insignificant units—separate troops—so that they might reserve to themselves greater independence. They were subject to no discipline except their own rules, which could only be enforced by public opinion.* They were thus under no control, and the degree of their utility was consequently variable. The following may be quoted as an instance of the working of such a system of discipline:—

> "27 Sept., 1794. A Court Martial was held on Thursday last "on the Race Ground on a Private in our new raised Corps of "Cavalry for damning the Colonel, the Captain, and the Troop for a "set of awkward Squads. It appearing that the words were uttered "when the person was inebriated the charge was voted frivolous."

The Volunteer Act of 1802, however, did not attempt to remedy any of these defects, but simply empowered the King to accept offers from Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps to prolong their service, and in return they were exempted from the Militia Ballot so long as they underwent five days' exercise annually.

Some units did not respond, and, therefore, as the prospects of war became more certain, on 31 March, 1803, the Government issued a circular

* An original copy of the *Rules and Regulations of the Loughborough Troop* are in the historical collection at the Regimental Headquarters of the Leicestershire Yeomanry.

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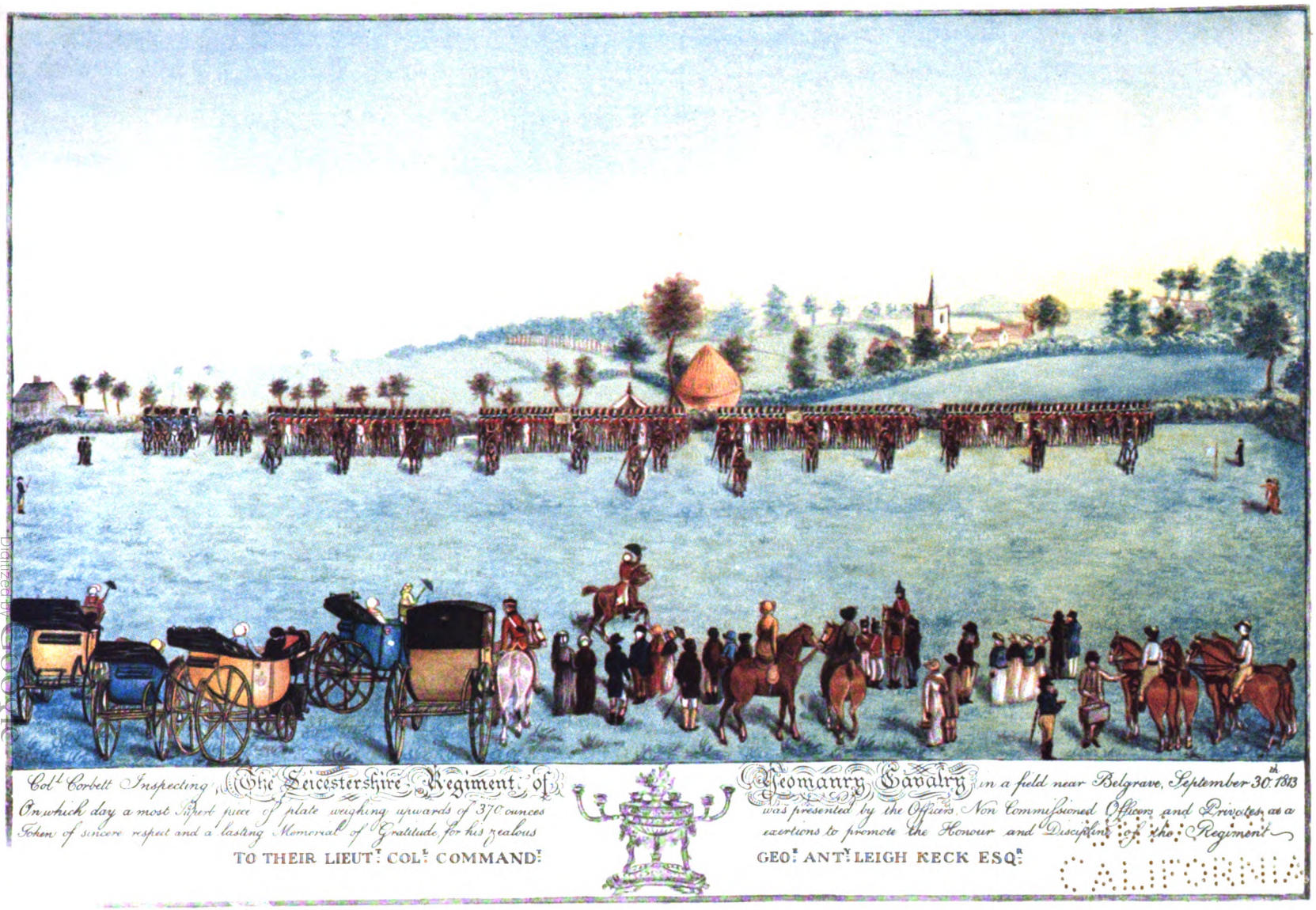

Col.[t] Corbett Inspecting the Leicestershire Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry in a field near Belgrave, September 30.[th] 1813

On which day a most Superb piece of plate weighing upwards of 370 ounces was presented by the Officers Non Commissioned Officers and Privates as a Token of sincere respect and a lasting Memorial of Gratitude for his zealous exertions to promote the Honour and Discipline of the Regiment

TO THEIR LIEUT.[t] COL.[l] COMMAND.[t]

GEO.[e] ANT.[y] LEIGH KECK ESQ.[r]

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calling for more Volunteers, and at the same time submitting a scale of allowances which they proposed to grant for their maintenance and encouragement. This code of allowances was approved and issued on 20 June, 1803, and known as the "June allowances."

This code offered pay for eighty-five days exercise in the year as well as salaries for a limited number of officers and for a permanent staff, requiring them in return to agree to serve in any part of their Military district, or anywhere in the country in the event of invasion.

On 6 July of the same year was passed the Additional Force Act, which provided for the raising of an Army Reserve, apportioned among the counties, the men being raised by Lords Lieutenants "by beat of drum." Members of Volunteer and Yeomanry Corps were exempted from service under this Act providing that they had accepted the June Allowances.

The expense of the June Allowances, however, frightened the Government, and on 3 August, 1803, a revised scale was published, which was known as the "August Allowances." Under this code no allowance for clothing and appointments was to be made in future to men entering Corps of Yeomanry, but under the Levy en Masse Act of 1803 men who appeared on horseback properly armed and accoutred at their own expense were excused service in the Infantry, and might either be attached to existing Corps of Yeomanry or formed into new Corps.

On 11 August 1803 was passed the Billetting Act which enabled Volunteers and Yeomen to be billetted on occasion, and incidentally this enactment for the first time submitted both Yeomanry and Volunteers to Military Law if called out to repel invasion, and transferred them on such an occasion from the control of Lords Lieutenant to that of the G.O.C. of their district.

It laid down the qualifications necessary to be an effective Yeoman as 12 days' exercise. These 12 days exempted a Yeoman from liability to serve in the Army Reserve, and five days exempted from the ballot for the Militia.

In June, 1804, Pitt passed the Volunteer Consolidation Act under which the Volunteer Act of 1802 and the Billetting Act of 1803 were repealed. Yeomen were now required to do four day's drill every quarter to earn exemption from the Militia Ballot; they were not subject to Military Law when assembled for drill. At the same time, no rules of any Corps in future were to be binding till approved by the King, and rules made in the past could be annulled by the King. Greater disciplinary powers were also granted to Commanding Officers.

Meanwhile, the general measures for the defence of the country were improving and in 1804 Yeomanry and Volunteers were formed into Brigades, and Brigadiers were duly appointed.

Sufficient has been noted about the early history of the Yeomanry to show how they came into being and the basis on which they were formed. The patriotism of the Yeomen, and the support of local enthusiasm, were

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the two original factors and these have been to the fore through all the subsequent stages of their military development.

It is of interest to note that in the Militia List of 1803 the title of the Leicestershire Yeomanry appears as "The Royal Leicestershire Regiment of Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry." The title "Royal" does not recur in other years, and it may be that some information may be forthcoming as to why this title was dropped.

On many occasions during the nineteenth century the Regiment was called out to quell riots and disturbances, and repeatedly there were published good reports by the Regular Officers who inspected them. On their first formation the Leicestershire Yeomanry were Light Dragoons, but some years later they were converted to Hussars which they have been ever since.

In the County of Rutland there was raised in 1794, the Rutland Fencible Cavalry, at the same time as the Rutland Yeomanry. The Fencible Cavalry were disbanded in 1801.

In the lists of 1805 there appears a unit called "The Rutland Legion," which consisted of three sections, namely, Cavalry, Volunteer Infantry, and Dismounted Riflemen. The officers shewn as belonging to the Cavalry portion of the Rutland Legion are the same as had hitherto been shewn as the Rutland Regiment of Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry, and the inference, therefore, is that the various volunteer units were in that year grouped together under one control. The Legion was disbanded in 1825, after which date Rutland names appear in the Roll of Leicestershire Officers, and since then the Leicestershire Regiment of Yeomanry has been the Cavalry unit of both counties. There is preserved at the Regimental Headquarters of the Leicestershire Yeomanry a Roll of every officer who has ever served in the Leicestershire and the Rutland Regiments of Yeomanry with full details of all their service.

This notice appeared in the *London Gazette* of 20 February, 1844:—

> "Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of the "Leicestershire Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry being designated by "the title of *The Prince Albert's Own.* 17 February, 1844."

This Gazette followed the provision of an escort for Her Majesty and the Prince Consort from Belvoir Castle to Leicester.

Various regulations were issued from time to time for the Government of Yeomanry and Volunteers, which in the main altered only details and kept the essentials of their constitution fundamentally the same. For instance, the following items, extracted from the *Regulations applicable to Corps of Yeomanry Cavalry* 1869 will give an idea of the functions and organisations of Yeomanry Regiments about the middle of the century.

Under the heading "Constitution" it is laid down that:—

> "In all cases of actual invasion, or appearance of an enemy in "force on the coast of Great Britain, Yeomanry Corps may be "assembled for actual service. They are also liable, upon a requisition "from the Magistrates, to be assembled in aid of the Civil Power, to "put down Riot or Insurrection, and to be employed on the duty of "escorting Her Majesty."

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The Section dealing with "Establishments" states that:—

"When troops are formed into a Corps or Regiment, the total "number of men shall be such that there shall not be less than an "average of 40, nor more than 60 Private men per Troop, including "Farriers."

A Squadron was to consist of two troops, a Corps of from three to five troops and a Regiment from six to ten troops.

In this is seen a stage in the gradual evolution from independent troops to formed regiments recruited to a fixed establishment such as now exists.

As regards discipline, this was still carried out by sets of Rules, the Rules of each Corps or Regiment needing the approval of Her Majesty. The Regulations contain in an Appendix a set of "Model Rules," which provide for the maintenance of discipline by the enforcement of fines.

Absence without leave or "arriving on the Parade after the Troops are told off" rendered the offender liable to the "full fine" which was, for a Troop drill, Officers 7*s*., N.C.O.'s 4*s*., Privates 2*s*.; these fines were increased to 10*s*., 6*s*., and 4*s*., respectively for a Regimental Parade, 20*s*., 8*s*., and 6*s*., for an Inspection, and £5, £2, and £1 "when called out in aid of Civil Power."

To appear on Parade "not in the Order of the Day, or with Clothes, Arms, Accoutrements or Horse Appointments dirty, incomplete, or improperly put on" rendered an offender liable to one half of the regulated fine. Talking in the ranks one fourth the regulated fine.

The standard for horses was to be "not less than 14½ hands."

"Drunkenness on Parade is a fault so degrading and disgraceful "to the whole Corps, that although a fine not exceeding 10*s*. for the "first offence may be accepted, a repetition of the offence should be "invariably punished by expulsion."

"Fines levied at Troop Drill will be appropriated to the use and "benefit of the Troop, all other fines to the use and benefit of the "Regiment."

An allowance was made "in aid of providing the Corps with Clothing and Appointments, Store Rooms. Repairs of Arms, and any other contingency" on a capitation basis, payable half yearly in advance to the Commanding Officer.

Yeomanry were "allowed" to assemble "on permanent pay and duty" for a period not exceeding six successive days in the year exclusive of the days of marching to and from the Place of Assembly. This "permanent duty" was quite distinct from "Assembly for Exercise under the Volunteer Act" for which different emoluments were granted.

For the former a consolidated rate of 7*s*. per man (all ranks) "in lieu of every other charge whatsoever" was paid, while in the latter case the pay was 2*s*. a day for each man and 1*s*. 4*d*. a day for each horse "but no other allowance whatever" for effective men and horses present at Exercise for a number of days not exceeding fourteen within the year "either consecutively or at intervals."

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By the end of the century the Yeomanry Cavalry were still fundamentally on the same sort of basis, but in every detail more in line with the possible requirements of the times.

The Leicestershire Yeomanry consisted of four Squadrons and mounted Band, and they paraded still in full dress. During the Crimean War the Regiment formed part of a big concentration of Yeomanry Cavalry at Cannock Chase, and in 1897 they sent a mounted party up to London to take part in the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

In 1899 the outbreak of the second South African War found the country with a small army and slender reserves, particularly of Cavalry. The Government decided to train a force of "Irregular Mounted Infantry," organised in battalions of four companies each.

A request was put forward to the War Office that Yeomanry Cavalry Regiments might be allowed to volunteer as such, but this offer was not accepted. An appeal was, however, made to Yeomanry Regiments for volunteers for "Imperial Yeomanry Companies." Those who volunteered were to receive arms and pay at Cavalry rates, but everything else, horses, saddlery, uniform, expenses of mobilisation, and even cost of sea transport to the Cape was met by private funds, raised by a Central Yeomanry Committee working through local committees. Thus, even as late as 1899, was repeated the support of the local lists of subscribers.

The Troops in the present Leicestershire Yeomanry have never been known either by numbers, or letters.

They are (arranged alphabetically) :—

Bosworth.	Loughborough.	Mountsorrel.
Forest.	Lutterworth.	Oakham.
Hinckley.	Market Harborough.	Rutland.
Leicester.	Melton Mowbray.	Soar Valley.

[An article on The Leicestershire Yeomanry Cavalry (Prince Albert's Own), with a full page coloured illustration by R. Simkin, appeared in *The Army and Navy Gazette* of 5 March, 1898.

It would be interesting to know which of the existing twelve Troops are the direct descendants of the original independent Troops, separately raised, before their co-ordination into one regiment.—ED.]

THE CENTRAL INDIA HORSE.

KING GEORGE'S OWN CENTRAL INDIA HORSE. The Story of a Local Corps. By Major-General W. A. Watson, C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., Honorary Colonel of the Regiment. With a chapter relative to the second Afghan War by Colonel Sir Neville Chamberlain, K.C.B. William Blackwood & Sons, Ltd. Edinburgh and London. 1930. Demy 8vo. pp. xii. 474. ports. *ill.* maps. Price 21*s.*

In writing the story of his regiment, General Watson has departed from the stereotyped form of regimental history, and has given us in its stead what he calls "a somewhat informal family record." Although, possibly, a few may miss some of the appendices usually associated with works of this nature; yet the result of his labours undoubtedly makes for lighter reading; and the provision of a full index should render his work

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no less useful to the historian of the future than those of a more solid and pretentious character.

The corps was formed in 1860 from Meade's, Beatson's and Mayne's Horse; and the services of these three regiments of "irregular" horse in the pursuit of Tantia Topi and other rebels in Central India during the years 1858 and 1859 are described in the opening chapters. After reorganisation into two regiments, the early years of its existence were spent in policing the jungle on both sides of the Grand Trunk Road between Gwalior and Indore.

A composite regiment of C.I.H. (250 sabres from each) saw service in the second Afghan War, 1879-80. Similarly, in the Tirah Campaign of 1897, both regiments provided two squadrons who fought for the most part dismounted.

From 1911-13, the 39th C.I.H.† was employed in Persia; and the record of its operations, under very difficult conditions, and its virtual imprisonment in Shiraz during most of the year 1912, provides by no means the least interesting chapter in the book.

The 38th reached Marseilles on 13 December, 1914, as part of the Mhow Brigade of the 2nd Indian Çavalry Division, and served on the Western Front until early in 1918, when the Regiment proceeded to Alexandria and eventually joined the 4th Cavalry Division of the Desert Mounted Corps. It was not until 2 February, 1921, that it embarked at Suez for return to India, after more than six years of active service overseas. From the narrative of its experiences in the Great War it will be seen that all ranks more than upheld the honourable tradition of the Indian Cavalry. Particulars of the extra-regimental services of officers, 1914-19, are set out in an appendix.

General Watson's chapter on the "Silladar"* system will prove of particular interest to those of the younger generation who know neither the joys nor the sorrows of that expedient for saving expense to the State. He has also touched on the lighter side of soldiering in India by the inclusion of short descriptions of sport—shikar, polo and pigsticking—enjoyed by both British and Indian members of the C.I.H.

Where so many names famous in the annals of India are to be found on the rolls of a regiment, it were possibly invidious to have singled any out for special mention; but, if there be any criticism to offer, it is that fuller biographical particulars of the three eponymous founders of the regiment, portraits of whom are reproduced, would be welcomed. That of Colonel Beatson shows him in the uniform, presumably, of a Brigadier in the Nizam's Cavalry; and it is on record that his appearance in this unfamiliar Oriental dress at a ball in Paris in 1852, when on furlough, quite decided the ladies of the French capital that here indeed must surely be either the Sultan, or the Grand Mogul himself.

The production of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

† The 1st and 2nd Central India Horse became the 38th and 39th C.I.H. in 1903.

* See *ante*, p. 124.

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By LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

[Previous articles have appeared in Vol. I. pp. 6, 56, and 142.
Vol. II. p. 164, and Vol. III. pp. 22, 85, and 166.
See also Notes—vol. iii. 53; iv. 49; v. 132; viii. 66, 78.]

The reprint of the Army List of 1740, undertaken by the Society, is now completed the final portion—pages 69 to 79—being issued to Members with this Number of *Journal*.

It is now proposed to collect material for Lists from 1741 to 1753 inclusive—twelve years—with a view to subsequent publication.

From 1754 onwards, printed Army Lists exist, in continuous and unbroken succession. One copy only is known of the List of 1754, which is in the Library of the War Office. If others are known, the Editor of *Journal* will feel greatly obliged if their existence, and resting place, whether in private or public hands, can be sent to him, for record.

A photostat (facsimile) copy of this List—106 pages—has been made, and positive copies—size slightly reduced—can be supplied of the complete book for £1, printed on one side of paper only. It is described in detail in vol. iii of *Journal*, p. 89.

A great amount of material is found in the Lists which were published by J. Millan from 1742 to 1749. The first of these Lists (1742) is fully described in vol. iii, pp. 85-8, and though they only give the names of Colonels of Regiments, with dates of commissions, from the dates on which Regiments were raised, they are progressive Lists, by which is meant that, the latest known List—1749—contains all the information, *ab origine*, as given in the previous Lists. If a man died, his name was not removed, but merely had a † placed against it, signifying "dead". This is due to the fact that the Lists are printed from engraved plates, and that the same plates are used for the various issues.

I possess four of these Lists—1742, 1744, 1748 and 1749. In the British Museum Library there are copies of the 1742 and 1745 Lists, and in the War Office Library copies of those of 1742 and 1749.

There is a curious List for 1748 printed by Millan from engraved plates, on 24 pages measuring 5.1″ × 3.4″.

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This List is not retrospective, but is an actual list of all General Officers, Colonels, Lieut.-Colonels and Majors for 1748, " Corrected to 9 Ap. 1748 ", as printed at the foot of page 1.

The headings of the several pages are :—

Page 1. General and Staff Officers in Great Britain. 1748.

Column 1 is headed ' Qualities ', i.e. nature of the post, or appointment, held.

Column 2 contains ' Names ', showing rank.

Column 3 gives rates of pay ' per day '.

Page 2. Column 1 is headed—' Generals &c. Flanders. 1748 '.

" 2 " ' Generals on the Irish Establishment '.

In this column there is also shown—' Major-General Mordaunt—to conduct the Russians to Turin '. It is not clear to what this refers.

Page 3. ' Land Forces. 1748 '. This and page 4 give a List of Regiments with the names of their Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel, and Major.

The Regiments are

Horse Guards	2	Horse	4§
Granadier Guards	2†	Dragoons	15
Horse	1*	Footguards	3
Dragoon Guards	3	Foot	56

Page 5. ' Marines '. 10 Regiments, numbered 1 to 10, with a Note " March 1746-7. Under the immediate and intire direction of the Lords of the Admiralty ".

Independent Companies in

England	25	Providence	1
New York	4	South Carolina	2
Bermudas	1	East Indies	12‡

' Agents '. A list of 27 names, with addresses.

Pages 6 and 7. ' General Officers '.

Dates of commissions as General, Lieut.-General, Major-General, Brigadier, and Colonel are given.

Page 8. ' Colonels ', with dates of commissions.

9. ' Lieut.-Colonels ', do.

13-6. Blank.

17-9. " Majors ', with dates of commissions.

20-3. Blank.

24. " Land Forces. 1747."

Summary showing where troops are serving, total cost per annum, and number of men.

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† Horse Grenadier Guards. * Royal Horse Guards (Blue).
§ Became later, the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Dragoon Guards.
‡ With Admiral Boscawen's expedition. See vol. iii. p. 213.

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This, as an Army List, is useful, even as a stop-gap, and to a limited extent carries on the Lists of C. Dalton, and the List of 1740. One other copy of this List is known, belonging to Major-General J. C. Dalton.

It may be mentioned that Beatson's *Political Index* in 3 volumes, 3rd edition, published in 1806, contains in volume ii, pp. 114 to 276, a great deal of most useful information about what is called the "Military Department"—practically an Army List.

Pages 115 to 149 contain "A complete list of General Officers, from the Revolution in 1688, to 1806", giving the dates of their commissions as Captain-General, Field-Marshal, General, Lieut.-General, Major-General and Brig.-General, with Christian names, which Millan's Lists do not give.

(*To be continued.*)

THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

The Colours of the following Regiments have already appeared :—

The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment)	Vol. vii.	p. 1
The Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey).	do.	p. 119
The Buffs (East Kent Regiment).	do.	p. 204
The Royal Scots Fusiliers.	do.	p. 184
The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster)	Vol. viii.	p. 32
The Northumberland Fusiliers.	do.	p. 127
The Royal Warwickshire Regiment.	do.	p. 191
The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment)	do.	p. 242
The King's Regiment (Liverpool).	Vol. ix.	p. 43
The 18th Regiment, or The Royal Irish.†	do.	p. 97

23RD REGIMENT, OR THE ROYAL WELCH FUZILEERS.

"In the Center of their Colours, the Device of the Prince of Wales, Viz^{t}. three Feathers Issuing out of the Prince's Coronet. In the three Corners of the Second Colour, the Badges of Edward the Black Prince, Viz^{t}. Rising Sun, Red Dragon, and the three Feathers in the Coronet. Motto, *Ich Dien.*"

The facings of the Regiment are described in the Royal Warrant as "Blue."

(*To be continued.*)

(*In the next Number* (*October*, 1930) *the Colours of The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers will be given.*)

† Disbanded on 31 July, 1922—Army Order, No. 78 of 1922.

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TWENTY-THIRD REGIMENT, Or, THE ROYAL WELCH FUZILEERS.

1751.

FIRST COLOUR.

SECOND COLOUR

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THE EARLIEST 'ESTABLISHMENT'—1661— OF THE BRITISH STANDING ARMY.

CONTRIBUTED BY COLONEL THE LORD COTTESLOE, C.B., V.D., T.D.,
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

In *The Times* of Friday, 1 February, 1901, the following letter appeared from Mr. Edward Almack, F.S.A., of 99, Gresham Street, London, headed "The Earliest Records of His Majesty's Guards".

Sir, * * * * * * * *

There has just lately come to light a book which is the foundation of the British Army. It is a folio manuscript of the finest vellum. It is beautifully written, and many of the capitals are heightened with gold.

On the outside of the cover, or first leaf, is written in capitals:—

"An Establishment for the new raised forces begun the xxvi. of January, 1660".

The dating is evidently under the old style, therefore this we should read as 1661.

The volume opens with the Sign Manual of Charles II. over a statement beginning:—

"Our will and pleasure is that the establishment of our Troope of Guards and Regiments hereafter expressed * * * * * ".

Then come the particulars [on the same page] of

"His Majesties owne Troope of Guards";

"His Highnes Royall the Duke of York his Troope of Guards";

"His Grace the Duke of Albemarle his Troope of Guards".

The foregoing are what we know as the Life Guards.

Next come

"Feild and Staffe Officers of a Regiment of Horse * * * * *".

This is the Royal Horse Guards, the Blues.

Then come

"Feild and Staffe Officers of His Majesties Foote Regiment of Guards Commanded by the Honble. Colonell John Russell."

This is the 1st Battalion of the Grenadier Guards.

After this comes the regiment which we know as the Coldstream Guards.

Then under a fresh signature of the King, and under the date xvii. of November, 1662, all particulars of the regiment known to us as the 2nd Battalion of the Grenadier Guards.

Then under a third signature of the King:—

"Our Will and Pleasure is that the severall orders following by us made * * * * *". [These orders—pp. 145-8—as will be seen, are a mixture of *Articles of War, King's Regulations for the Army*, and Royal Warrants connected with Pay and Allowances.]

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Then under the fourth and last Sign Manual is:—

"An Establishment of His Majesties Garrisons of England".

This ancient volume is the first forerunner of books known as Army establishment books. There are several of these in the Record Office, the earliest being dated 1685.

On 26 May, 1911, this book was sold by auction in London by Messrs. Sotheby and Co., of 34, New Bond Street. It was described in the sale catalogue in the following terms—

"The property of Edward Almack, Esq., F.S.A.

719. Army. An Establishment for the new raised forces begun the 26 January, 1660: Manuscript on vellum, 26 pp., large folio, elaborately and beautifully written, all the headings and capitals engrossed in black ink, heightened with gold, signed four times by King Charles II, in remarkably fine condition, bound in blue velvet."

It realised £710 0s. 0d., and was purchased by "Loraine"—a fictitious name. The present owner of the book is not known.

Quite recently, however, Lord Cottesloe has acquired what appears to be a copy of the MSS., but without the Sign Manual of His Majesty King Charles II.

It consists of 32 pages, of which 5 at the end are blank. The pages measure 16 by 10¾ inches. They are contained in a parchment-covered stiff cover, on the outside of which is engrossed:—"Anno xij. Regis," which would mean the year 1661, as the regnal years of Charles II. are reckoned from 1649, the year in which his father was executed by Cromwell and other regicides. The 13th regnal year commenced on 29 January, 1661. Below this date is engrossed:—

"An Establishment of His Majesties Army and Garrisons of England."

The book corresponds in every particular with the description given by Mr. Almack of his book, and having compared it with the description given in the sale catalogue of 26 May, 1911, I do not think that there can be any doubt on this point.

The contents of this copy are now reproduced in full, the first page being given in facsimile—half size—see p. 149.

The caligraphy, as will be seen, is highly ornate, and the name of the artist may, possibly, be identified by experts in this branch of writing.

In any case the document is of great historical value and interest.

It will be noticed that in the statements of pay the month is reckoned as a lunar month—28 days—and the year as being 364 days.

Pages 149 to 157, here following, are printed to correspond with pages 1 to 9 of the MSS.

Photostats of the complete book have been made—exact size—positive copies of which can be supplied by the Editor of *Journal* for ten shillings a set.

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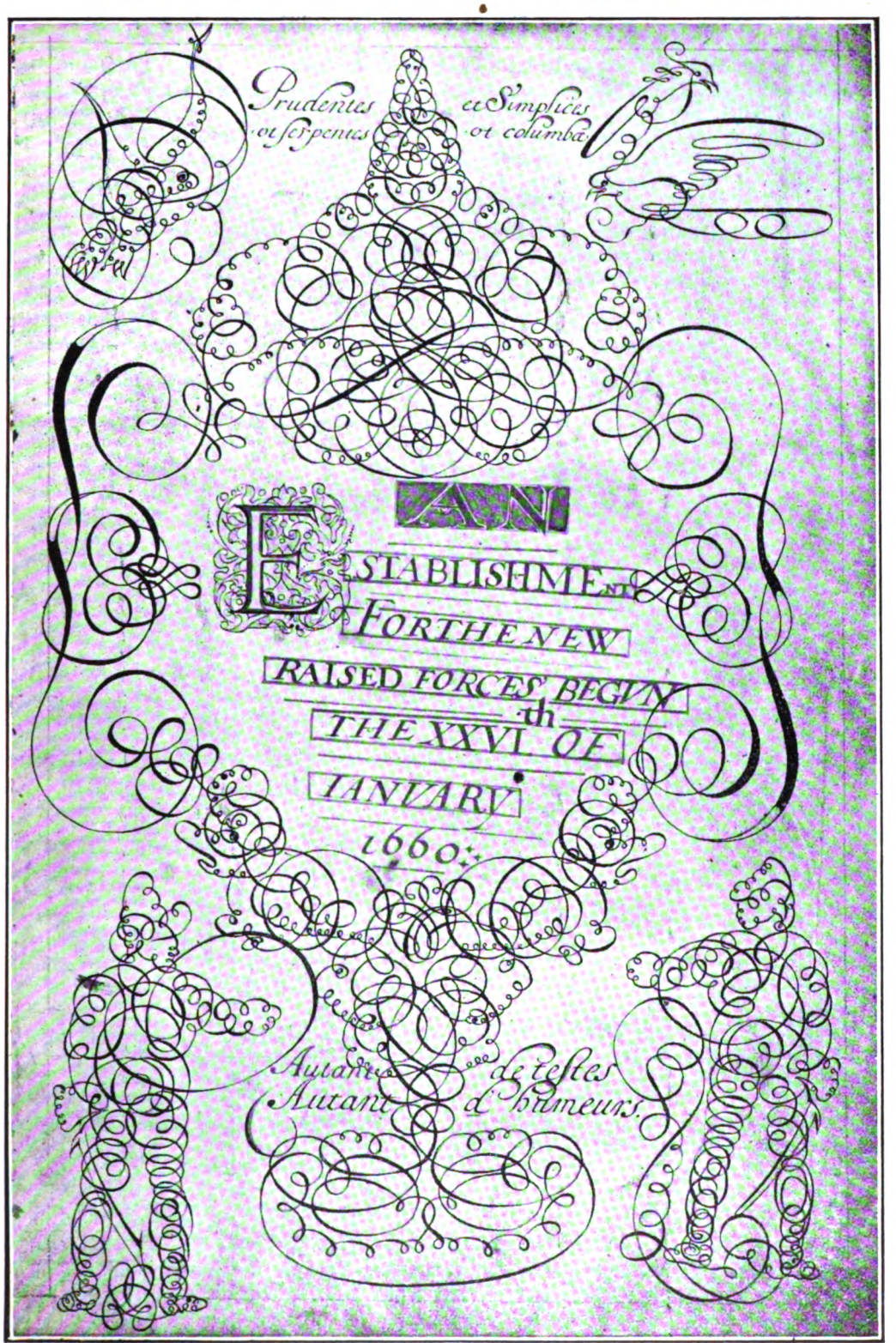

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Our Will and Pleasure is, / That the Establishment of Our Troope of Guards and Regiments / hereafter expressed with all other charges therein mentioned bee con / tinued, and nothing bee offered to vs for Our Signature for alteration / thereof but what shalbe first approued by Our Right Trusty and right / entirely beloved Cosens and Councellors Thomas Earle of Southampton / Our Treasurer, And George Duke of Albemarle Captaine Generall of our / Armies, and our Trusty and welbeloued S[r] William Morrice and S[r] Henry Bennett / Our Principall Secretaries of State or any two or more of them, whereof our Treasurer, or / Generall to bee one, to whome wee haue referred the Care and Consideration thereof.

His Ma[ties] owne Troope of Guards, viz[t].

	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
The Captaine	1	10	0	42	0	0	546	0	0
Fower Lievtenants each at xv[s]. per diem	3	0	0	84	0	0	1092	0	0
Cornet	0	14	0	19	12	0	254	16	0
Quarter Maister	0	9	0	12	12	0	163	16	0
Chaplaine....	0	6	8	9	6	8	121	6	8
A Chirurgeon vj[s]. per diem and one Horse to carry his Chest ij[s].	0	8	0	11	4	0	145	12	0
Fower Corporalls each at vij[s]. per diem	1	8	0	39	4	0	509	12	0
Fower Trumpeters each at v[s]. per diem	1	0	0	28	0	0	364	0	0
Two hundred Soldiers each at iiij[s].	40	0	0	1120	0	0	14560	0	0
One Kettle Drum at v[s]. per diem	0	5	0	7	0	0	91	0	0
Totall	49	0	8	1372	18	8	17848	2	8

His Highnes Royall the Duke of Yorke his Troope of Guards Viz.

	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
The Captaine	1	0	0	28	0	0	364	0	0
Lieutennant	0	15	0	21	0	0	273	0	0
Cornet	0	13	0	18	4	0	236	12	0
Quarter Maister	0	9	0	12	12	0	163	16	0
A Chaplaine	0	6	8	9	6	8	121	6	8
A Chirurgeon vi[t]. and one Horse to carry his Chest ij[s]. per diem	0	8	0	11	4	0	145	12	0
Fower Corporalls each at vi[s]. per diem	1	4	0	33	12	0	436	16	0
Fower Trumpeters each at v[s]. per diem	1	0	0	28	0	0	364	0	0
One Kettle Drum	0	5	0	7	0	0	91	0	0
One Hundred and Fifty Soldiers each at iiij[s]. per diem	30	0	0	840	0	0	10920	0	0
Totall	36	0	8	1008	18	8	13116	2	8

His Grace the Duke of Albemarle his Troope of Guards, Viz[t].
[Exactly the same as the Duke of Yorke's Troop.]

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Field and Staffe Officers of a Regiment of Horse consisting of Eight Troopes viz^{t}. one Troope of Eighty Soldiers besides Officers to bee his Ma^{ties} and seven Troopes of Sixty Soldiers besides Officers each.

	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
Colonell as Colonell	0	12	0	16	16	0	218	8	0
Maior as Maior	0	5	6	7	14	0	100	2	0
A Chaplaine	0	6	8	9	6	8	121	6	8
A Quarter Maister at v^{s}. per diem	0	5	0	7	0	0	91	0	0
A Chirurgeon iiij^{s}. and one Horse to carry his Chest ij^{s}.	0	6	0	8	8	0	109	4	0
Totall	1	15	2	49	4	8	640	0	8
His Ma^{ties}. Troope.									
The Captaine x^{s}. and two Horses each ij^{s}.	0	14	0	19	12	0	254	16	0
Lievtenant vi^{s}. and two Horses each ij^{s}.	0	10	0	14	0	0	182	0	0
Cornet v^{s}. and two Horses each at ij^{s}.	0	9	0	12	12	0	163	16	0
Quarter Master iiij^{s}. and one Horse ij^{s}.	0	6	0	8	8	0	109	4	0
One Kettle Drum at iij^{s}. per diem	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Three Trumpeters each at ij^{s}. viij^{d}.	0	8	0	11	4	0	145	12	0
Three Corporalls each at iij^{s}. per diem	0	9	0	12	12	0	163	16	0
And Eighty Soldiers each at ij^{s}. vi^{d}. per diem	10	0	0	280	0	0	3640	0	0
Totall	12	19	0	362	12	0	4713	16	0
The Colonells Troope.									
Colonell as Captaine x^{s}. and two Horses each at ij^{s}.	0	14	0	19	12	0	254	16	0
Lievtennant vj^{s}. and two Horses each at ij^{s}.	0	10	0	14	0	0	182	0	0
Cornet v^{s}. and two Horses each at ij^{s}.	0	9	0	12	12	0	163	16	0
Quarter Master iiij^{s}. and one Horse ij^{s}.	0	6	0	8	8	0	109	4	0
Three Corporalls each at iij^{s}.	0	9	0	12	12	0	163	16	0
Two Trumpeters each at ij^{s}. viij^{d}.	0	5	4	7	9	4	97	1	4
Sixty Soldiers each at ij^{s}. vj^{d}. per diem	7	10	0	210	0	0	2730	0	0
Totall	10	3	4	284	13	4	3700	13	4

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	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
The Pay of Six such Troopes more to compleate the said Regiment at the same rates and Numbers as are mentioned in the Colonells Troope amounts to....	61	0	0	1708	0	0	22204	0	0
In all for the said Regiment of Horse	85	17	6	2404	10	0	31258	10	0
Feild and Staffe Officers of His Ma[ties]. Foote Regiment of Guards Commanded by the Hono[ble]. Colonell John Russell.									
Colonell as Colonell	0	12	0	16	16	0	218	8	0
Lievten[t]. Collo[ll]. as Lievtennant Colonell	0	7	0	9	16	0	127	8	0
Maior as Maior	0	5	0	7	0	0	91	0	0
Chaplaine....	0	6	8	9	6	8	121	6	8
One Asistant at iiij[s]. per diem	0	4	0	5	12	0	72	16	0
Chirurgeon iiij[s]. and one Mate ij[s]. vi[d].	0	6	6	9	2	0	118	6	0
Quarter Maister and Marshall to bee executed by one person	0	4	0	5	12	0	72	16	0
Totall	2	5	2	63	4	8	822	0	8
His Ma[ties]. Companie.									
Captaine	0	8	0	11	4	0	145	12	0
Lievtennant	0	4	0	5	12	0	72	16	0
Ensigne	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Three Corporalls each at xij[d].	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Three Sargeants each at xviij[d].	0	4	6	6	6	0	81	18	0
One Drum Maior at xviij[d]. Three Drums and one Piper each at xij[d].	0	5	6	7	14	0	100	2	0
One Hundred and Twenty Soldiers each at x[d]. per diem whilst they Quarter in London, but to have but ix[d]. if they remoue	5	0	0	140	0	0	1820	0	0
Totall	6	8	0	179	4	0	2329	12	0

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	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
The Colonells Companie.									
Colonell as Captaine	0	8	0	11	4	0	145	12	0
Lievtennant	0	4	0	5	12	0	72	16	0
Ensigne	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Two Sargeants each at xviij^{d}.	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Three Corporalls each at xij^{d}.	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Two Drums each at xij^{d}.	0	2	0	2	16	0	36	8	0
One Hundred and Twenty Soldiers at x^{d}. per diem, whilst in London as above	5	0	0	140	0	0	1820	0	0
Totall	6	3	0	172	4	0	2238	12	0
The Pay of two Companies more to bee the Lievtenant Colonells and Maiors Companies, at the same rates and Numbers as are mentioned in the Colonells Company amounts to	12	6	0	344	8	0	4477	4	0
One other Companie.									
Captaine	0	8	0	11	4	0	145	12	0
Lievtennant	0	4	0	5	12	0	72	16	0
Ensigne	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Two Sargeants each at xviij^{d}.	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Three Corporalls each at xij^{d}.	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Two Drums each at xij^{d}.	0	2	0	2	16	0	36	8	0
And Ninety soldiers each at x^{d}. whilst they Quarter in London as above	3	15	0	105	0	0	1365	0	0
Totall	4	18	0	137	4	0	1783	12	0
The Pay of seaven Companies more to compleate the said Regiment at the same rates and Numbers as are mentioned in the last expressed Company amounts to	34	6	0	960	8	0	12485	4	0
In all for the said Regiment	66	6	2	1856	12	8	24136	4	8

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The Duke of Albemarle his Regiments of Foote consisting of 1000 Soldiers besides Officers.

	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
Feild and Staffe Officers of his Grace the Duke of Albemarle his Regiment of Foote Guards.									
Colonell as Colonell	0	12	0	16	16	0	218	8	0
Lievtennant Colo[ll]. as Lievten[t]. Colonell	0	7	0	9	16	0	127	8	0
Maior as Maior	0	5	0	7	0	0	91	0	0
Chaplaine....	0	6	8	9	6	8	121	6	8
One Adiutant at iiij[s]. per diem	0	4	0	5	12	0	72	16	0
A Chirurgeon iiij[s]. and one Mate ij[s]. vi[d].	0	6	6	9	2	0	118	6	0
Quarter Master and Marshall to bee executed by one person	0	4	0	5	12	0	72	16	0
Totall	2	5	2	63	4	8	822	0	8
A Companie of Foote.									
Captaine	0	8	0	11	4	0	145	12	0
Lievtennant	0	4	0	5	12	0	72	16	0
Ensigne	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Two Sargeants each at xviij[d].	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Three Corporalls each at xij	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Three Drums each at xij[d].	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
And one Hundred Soldiers each at x[d]. per diem whilst they Quarter in London but to haue but ix[d]. if they remoue	4	3	4	116	13	4	1516	13	4
Totall	5	7	4	150	5	4	1953	9	4
The Pay of nine such Companies to compleat the said Regiment of Foote consisting of 1000 Soldiers besides Officers, The said nine Companies only having two Drums each amounts to	47	17	0	1339	16	0	17417	8	0
In all for the last mentioned Regiment	55	9	6	1553	0	0	20192	18	0

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	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
His Grace the Duke of Albemarle Lord Generall.									
Paymaister to the Army w^th. assistants	1	1	11¾	30	15	4	400	0	0
Commissary Generall of the Musters xv^s.									
Fower Deputies for the Garrisons at v^s. each, xx^s.									
One Deputy for the Horse and Foote Guards and Regiment of Horse, v^s.	2	5	0	63	0	0	819	0	0
One Deputy for Guernsey and Jersey ij^s. vi^d.									
One Clarke .... ij^s. vj^d.									
Judge Advocate of the Army at xij^s. vj^d									
And one Clarke at ij^s. vj^d.	0	15	0	21	0	0	273	0	0
Secretary at Warre	0	10	0	14	0	0	182	0	0
Doctor Timothy Parke Phisitian	0	15	0	21	0	0	273	0	0
Richard Whittle Apothecary									
Contingences	4	2	5	115	7	8	1500	0	0
	9	9	4¾	265	3	0	3447	0	0
Totall	338	4	6	9470	7	8	123115	0	8

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An Establishment of his Ma^tics Foote Regiment of Guards Commanded by the Right Hono^ble Thomas Lord Wentworth that came from Dunkirke to begin from the xvij^th of November, 1662.

	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
Feild and Staffe Officers of the said Regiment.									
Colonell as Colonell	0	12	0	16	16	0	218	8	0
Lievtenant Colo^ll. as Lievtenant Colonell	0	7	0	9	16	0	127	8	0
Maior as Maior	0	5	0	7	0	0	91	0	0
Chaplaine....	0	6	8	9	6	8	121	6	8
Chirurgeon iiij^s. Mate ij^s. vj^d.	0	6	6	9	2	0	118	6	0
Quarter Master and Marshall to bee vnited	0	4	0	5	12	0	72	16	0
Adiutant to the said Regiment	0	4	0	5	12	0	72	16	0
Totall	2	5	2	63	4	8	822	0	8
His Ma^tics. Companie.									
Captaine	0	8	0	11	4	0	145	12	0
Lievtennant	0	4	0	5	12	0	72	16	0
Ensigne	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Two Sargeants each at xviij^d.	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Three Corporalls each at xij^d.	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Three Drums each at xij^d.	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
One Hundred private Soldiers each at x^d. per diem whilst in London, but ix^d. if they remoue	4	3	4	116	13	4	1516	16	8*
Totall	5	7	4	150	5	4	1953	9	4

* The shillings should read '13' and the pence '4'.

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	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
Lievtenant Colonell his Companie.									
Lievtennant Colonell as Captaine	0	8	0	11	4	0	145	12	0
Lievtennant	0	4	0	5	12	0	72	16	0
Ensigne	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Two Sargeants	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Three Corporalls each at xij^{d}.	0	3	0	4	4	0	54	12	0
Two Drums each xij^{d}.	0	2	0	2	16	0	36	8	0
One Hundred private Soldiers each at x^{d}. whilst in London	4	3	4	116	13	4	1516	13	4
Totall	5	6	4	148	17	4	1935	5	4
Pay of one Company more to bee the Maiors at the same rate and Numbers as are mentioned in the Lievten$^{t.}$ Colon$^{lls.}$ Companie amounts to	5	6	4	148	17	4	1935	5	4
Pay of nine Companies more to compleate the Regiment at the same rates and Numbers as are mentioned in the Lievten$^{t.}$ Colonells Companie amounts to	47	17	0	1339	16	0	17417	8	0
The Pay of the said .... Regiment in all amounts to	66	2	2	1851	0	8	24063	8	8

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[Here commences page 10 of the MSS.]

Our Will And Pleasure is / That the severall Order following by Us made by advice of Our / right Trustie and right entirely beloved Cosin and Councellor George Duke / of Albemarle Captaine Generall of Our Armies for the Mustering regulating and payment of our Established forces bee duly observed under the paines / and penalties therein expressed.

1. Noe Muster Master shall Muster any Comission Officer that is not comissioned / by Us or Our Generall on paine of being casheered, and to prevent excuse herein the / Commissary Generall of the Musters shall make entry of all Commissions / in a Booke fairly written to bee by him kept.
2. The Captaine or other Superior officer when Troopes or companies are / to bee Mustered upon notice to them given by the Comissary Generall of the / Musters, or some of the Deputy Muster Masters shall deliver to the Muster / Masters three Lists so Allphabitically written of the names and sirnames of / all the soldiers in each Troope or Company with the officers allso, One of which the / Muster Master shall keepe for a Record and an other shall be left with the Captaine / or officer in cheife of each Troope or Companie, and a Third shall bee delivered to / the Pay Master in Parchment, two of which Lists shall bee subscribed by all the Comission/officers present in each Troope or Companie, and noe list to bee subscribed by the officers shall / bee allowed but under the hands of two comission officers. And the third list is to bee delivered / to the Captaine or other Officer as aforesaid the Muster Master shall only subscribe.
3. Noe Muster Master shall presume to receive or accept of any Roll but as in the / precedent Article is directed on the penalty of the losse of his place.
4. None shall bee admitted to passe Muster that is unserviceable by want of limbs / but by order of the Generall, nor any person that is sicke except hee bee seene by the / Muster Master, or hee hand a sufficient attestation under the hand or hands of some / known credible person or persons to attest the same.
5. Noe officer or soldier shall bee absent from duty but by permission of Us or Our / Generall or some other cheife officer upon the place, and every officer or soldier that / stayes longer than his pass shall be respited[1] till his appearance and not bee / taken off but by order from Our Generall, and all passes shalbe entered with the / Comissary Generall of the Musters or one of his Deputies.
6. Noe Man shall be discontinued or put out of the Muster Roll of / any Troope or Company but by judgement of a Regimental Court/Marshall, Nor out of any of Our Troopes of Guards but by a court consisting of / all the officers of the Three Troopes or the major part of them, or by order from the / Generall, nor out of any Garrison but by a Court Marshall as the Generall shall / direct or by his order, and if the Muster Master transgresse herein, or allow of any / Roll otherwise

1. Suspended from pay.

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alltered hee shalbe casheered, And if any officer take money or other / reward to List a soldier in Our Guards, or in any other Troope or Company, such / officer and soldier shalbe both casheered upon proofe thereof made.

7. If any man shall present himselfe to the Muster Master by a counterfeit name / to misguide him hee shall be casheered, and all officers privy thereunto, or any other / wayes falsifying their musters shalbe displaced upon proofe thereof made.
8. No Muster Master shall knowingly muster a private soldier in any Troope or / Company that is marryed, or any that is a housekeeper in the usuall Quarters / of Our Guards of Horse or Foote or our other Regiments, or in any Garrison / Nor noe officer shall entertaine any such without Warrant from Our Generall / Neverthelesse if any soldier desires leave to Marry it shall not bee denied / him, but at the same time to bee discharged, and paid to the day of / his discharge, and another unmarryed to be entertained in his place / at the same Time.
9. Whosoever except Us or our Generall shall give a comision to constitute / any to bee an officer or soldier shalbe casheered, and hee that takes such / comission, shall be made unable of ever serving in our Armies.
10. Euery soldier shall appeare at Musters compleatly Armed with Armes / fixed or not to bee allowed off[2]. Each horsman to have for defensive Armes / Back[3], Brest[4], and Pott[5], and the Brest and Pott to bee Pistoll proofe, the / offensive to bee a sword, a case of Pistolls, the Barrells whereof to bee not / under fourteene inches length, and each Trooper of the Horse Guards / is allso to have a carbine. The Musquet of every Musquettere is to bee three / feete in length in the Barrell, And the Bore to bee for Bulletts of twelve / in the pound, and each Pikeman to have a Pike made of Ash not under / sixteene feete in length Head and Foote included.
11. The Pay Master of Our Forces shall issue and pay all such sume and sums of / money from time to time by him received for the pay and entertainment of / the officers and soldiers in this Our Establishment by Warrant from Our Gene / rall to bee accomptable therefore to Our Treasuere or to whome hee shall app / oint, and all officers that shall detaine any of the pay of the officers and soldiers of him / received without order and approbation of Our Generall shall be casheered.
12. Forasmuch as there are many fees due to the officers of Our Exchequer / upon payment of the severall sums of money by Us appointed for the pay / and entertainment of our said forces, which are to bee paid by Our Pay Master / before hee can receive the same, Wee order that to enable him to discharge / the said fees hee take to himselfe out of all monies from the Ninte day / of August last

2. Of.
3. Armour for protecting the back.
4. Armour for protecting the breast.
5. A small helmet made of iron or steel worn by horse-soldiers and supposed to be pistol-proof.

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to bee by him issued for pay of any Officer or soldier / by Us Established two pence in the pound to bee by him deducted out / of the pay of such officers or soldiers.

13. If any person or persons not being in Our pay having cause of action / of debt or other suite against any officer or soldier in Our Guards or any / other officer or soldier in Our Pay, and maketh oath thereof before the / Judge Advocate of the Army, if satisfaction and redresse bee not given / Within Twenty eight dayes after complaint or demand thereof made unto / or in the presence of the Commission officer in cheife upon the place, shewing / him the oath made as aforesaid, hee or they shall and may arrest, prosecute,/ sue and impleade any such officer or soldier, according to the knowne lawes / of the land, And if any officer or soldier shall doe any thing in opposition / thereunto hee or they shalbe immediatelie casheered.
14. And that all soldiers may bee ready upon Alarms the Corporall of / Hors, and Sargeants or Corporalls of Foote shalbe directed by theire / Superior officers every evening and morning to visit the Quarters of / soldiers and every one that is found absent without leave and not[6] upon duty / shall for the two first offences loose a dayes pay each time, and for the third / bee casheered, and the like punishment shalbe inflicted on the officers that / faile in giving orders herein, or in executing the orders given.
15. Noe Governour or officer in a Garrison shall bee from his charge with / out a Warrant from Us or Our Generall, and none shalbe absent above two / Months in a yeare, except hee bee a member of Parliament during the sitting / thereof. And to prevent deceit herein, All Warrants for absence shalbe / entred with the Comissary Generall of the Musters.
16. Noe officer, soldier, or clarke imployed by them shall take any money of any soldier / for advance of pay under paine of forfeiture of the money by them advanced.
17. Noe officer of Our Guards or of any Regiment Troope or Company in Our Pay / shall admitt any to ride or doe duty in a Troope or Company That is not listed / and Mustered in Our service on the Penalty of being casheered.
18. The Chaplaines to the Troopes of Guards and other Our Regiments shall / every day reade the Common prayers of the Church of England to the soldiers / respectively under their charge, and preach to them as often as with convenience / shall be thought fitt, and if hee neglect his duty herein to bee punished at / discretion, and every officer or soldier absent from Prayers shall for every absence / loose a dayes pay to his Ma^tie^.
19. Every Officer that shall profane the holy name of God by swearing, cursing / or any sinfull execration, or that shall bee drunke, shall for the first and second offence / bee fined or otherwise punished at the discretion of the Court Marshall, and for the / third offence bee

6. And not = unless.

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casheered, and if any Commission officer or soldier bee found drunk / upon the Guard hee shalbe casheered, and made ever uncapable of serving in any / of his Ma[ties] Armies or Garrisons.

20. Every private foote soldier that shall bee convicted of swearing or cursing shall / for the first offence loose a dayes pay to be disposed as the Court Marshall shall thinke / fitt, and for the second or third offence run the gantlope[7] and be casheer'd, and every / Trooper soe offending shalbe casheered.

21. And in regard [to] many outrages, offences, and disorders [which] are daily committed by the officers / and soldiers in Our Pay to the greivance and scandall of Our Good Subjects, which are not provided / against in these orders, Wee will that Our Generall from time to time issue out comissions / for Court Marshalls consisting of such a number of Comission Officers as hee shall thinke fitt, for / tryall of all offences against the Orders herein by Us constituted, and against all other lawes and / ordinances allready by Us established or to bee established, for all crymes and offences not / herein provided, as in the said orders and other lawes and Ordinances of Warr are lymitted[8] and directed / which shalbe in force till upon more mature deliberation We shall declare Our further pleasure therein.

And for the more true information and discovery of all offences and misdemeanours comitted by the said / officers and soldiers The Judge Advocate of the Army is hereby impowered to take informations and depositions upon / oath as occasion shall require in a[ll] matters tryable before the said Court Marshall, And if any officer or Muster / Master shall connive at any offences or misdemeanours and not complaine thereof they shalbe casheered.

Neuerthelesse We Will That in all causes wherein by the said lawes and ordinances of Warr any person / is to suffer the paines of death, noe tryall, execution, or proceeding be made thereupon, but according to the / knowne lawes of the Land, if the crimes are punishable thereby, or otherwise by speciall commission / under Our great Seale of England by advice of Our Judges, and other Councell learned in the Lawes.

And Whereas Wee have Established a Phisitian to take care of the deseased soldiers in our Pay / or entertainment, Wee Will that hee ordaine or prescribe noe Medicaments to any Comission Officer but at theire / owne expense, Nor to any private soldiers who have by vitious practises contracted their sicknes. And that hee / carefully examine the accompt of the Apothecary of all Medicaments by him prescribed, which are not to be paid / till they are attested by the said Phisitian, and allowed by Our Generall, And the Phisitian is to bee / subiect to all orders and rules Military and punishable for his omission and negligence of duty according / to such rules and orders, and the Orders of Us or Our Generall as all other Our Established officers / are and ought to bee.

[The "Establishment" of the Garrisons will follow in No. 38 of *Journal*—October, 1930.]

7. A form of punishment known later as "running the gauntlet." See *Journal*, vol. ii. 151.

8. Specified, or laid down.

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TWO PRIVATE LETTERS FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN MOORE, K.B.

WITH NOTES, BY MAJOR-GENERAL J. F. C. FULLER, C.B.E., D.S.O.

The following letters, written by Sir John Moore in 1803 (then in his 42nd year) and 1805, are of interest, for among other things they show his indebtedness to Colonel de Rottenburg's *Regulations for the Exercise of Riflemen and Light Infantry* in his system of training at the Shorncliffe Camp. I have dealt with this question in my *British Light Infantry in the Eighteenth Century*, and *Sir John Moore's System of Training*.

TO COLONEL [HARRY] CALVERT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

Sandgate, 4 September, 1803.

MY DEAR COLONEL,

The only deviation from the General Regulations,* which I at present recollect, is that of the sergeants moving up to mark the alignment in the deployment from close column.

The mode in practice is this: Suppose a Battalion column of companies, the right in front, is to deploy upon its first company, a point is given beyond the flank of the 1st Company. The sergeant of that company steps out and faces it, taking care to be so close to the front rank of his company that the outside of his arm nearly rubs the breast of the front rank men. This sergeant and the distant point are the two objects for the other sergeants to cover. The other companies face to the left, and file. When at the proper distance each receives the words to *Halt—Front—Dress*, from its respective officer. The sergeant who hitherto has been upon the left and leading the company, then moves briskly up, faces to the right, and covers correctly in the alignment. The companies move up, are halted, and dressed upon the inward arm and shoulder of the sergeants who do not front, but continue faced and covering, as in open column, until the companies are completely dressed. They then fall in in their proper places in the rear of their officers.

(When the sergeants quit the flank of their companies to move up and mark the alignment, their place on the flank must be filled up by another sergeant or man from the rear rank.)

The advantage of keeping the sergeants faced, and of dressing upon their inward shoulder is that it is immaterial whether they judge or not the distance; if they cover correctly, it is sufficient; and thus having but one object (the covering) to attend to, there is the greater chance of being correct in it.

I tried the mode pointed out by H.R.H. for directing the march in line. The objection to trust so important a charge as the direction of the march in line to the Ensigns, is that in our service they are the youngest, least experienced, and most giddy officers of the Regiment; and our Colours

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* *The Rules and Regulations* of General Sir David Dundas.

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are so large and unwieldy that it is next to impossible to carry them upright or steady.

The mode you propose of dwelling upon the *present* after firing has, upon trial, been found to answer, substituting the word *Load* instead of *Half-Cock.*

The 52nd find also, upon trial, that the aim is more certain and takes more readily by coming, upon the word *Make Ready,* to the priming position, cocking and bringing the piece up to the *present*—instead of recovering, cocking, and bringing down the piece to the *present.*† In the deployment, instead of one sergeant stepping out from the company upon which the deployment is to be made, it will be better that the two step out, one from each flank, and face covering one another, leaving a trifling interval between their arm and the front rank of the company, so that the officer, in dressing, may be able to see between them. This interval should be the least possible.

I received yesterday your letter with the Bugle sounds of the Light Cavalry. As the Light troops, cavalry and infantry, will frequently act together, there may be a propriety in their sounds being similiar, as far as the two services will admit of. But all this I shall consider of in conjunction with the Commanding Officers of the Light Corps, and shall endeavour to make out what our experience points out as the best. The sounds at present used by the 52nd and 95th are de Rottenburg's‡—which are the sounds I believe most generally used by the Light Companies of Regiments. Attention shall be paid, in whatever is proposed, to alter as little as possible. At present Buglers are not allowed upon the establishment of regiments, so the Light Companies have drums, the same as the battalion. The Buglers, which many have, are by sufferance, not by Order. Should not the establishment be so far altered, and each regiment be directed to have eighteen drummers, two fifers, and two buglers, the latter to belong to the Light Companies exclusively?

I remain, my dear Colonel,

Very faithfully, JOHN MOORE.

I had hopes, from the pains I have taken, and the mode I directed to be followed in the instructions of the Regiments of my Brigade, to have made much progress, and that if honoured with another visit from H.R.H. to have shown him something tolerably perfect, but except in the 52nd the progress has been trifling. The other Commanding Officers,§ though many of them good enough men, have not military heads, and seem incapable of acting from general instruction. I am satisfied that to have

† This method is given in detail on pp. 50-56 of Captain John Crosse's *A System of Drill and Manœuvres as Practised in the 52nd Light Infantry*, 1823—but was used at Shorncliffe in 1803.

‡ Baron Francis de Rottenburg, an Austrian light infantry officer, who, on 30 December, 1797, was gazetted Colonel of the 5th Battalion of the 60th (or Royal American) regiment of foot, which was then formed from the debris of several foreign light corps. The bugle sounds are given on pp. 166-7.

§ In 1803 Moore's Brigade consisted of the 4th Foot, 52nd Light Infantry, 59th Foot, 70th Foot and 95th (Rifle) Regiment.

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a tolerable army it will be necessary for H.R.H. to take some strong measures. Some commanding officers, the state of whose regiments justify it, must be told to retire from a profession the duties of which they are unequal to. The command must not be allowed to devolve upon their successor, who may be equally incapable, but be given to officers of approved talent—one or two measures of this sort generally known would excite an exertion which at present is much wanted. Adieu.

To LIEUT.-COLONEL KENNETH MCKENZIE.*

Sandgate, 30 August, 1805.

MY DEAR MCKENZIE,

Our Review passed off tolerably well, the 43rd and 52nd 1st Battns had from 6 to 700 firelocks each in the Field. The Volunteers, not sufficiently advanced to act in Battn fell in, and were seen in the rear with the 2nd Battns† imperfect, and the 78th in the same state—it would have been folly to have attempted much movement; we therefore passed in slow, and quick time, closed to close Columns and deployed and fired—after which we took a position to defend a landing, from the Canal on our right, to the height above Sandgate, on our left; then with our guns and musketry we kept up a most tremendous fire for a few minutes and then gave our General Salute from our position—all this had a good enough effect, and we really were equal to no more—but if we had, Shorncliffe admitted of no movement to so large a body, and the corn still standing—we had no choice of other ground.

The 43rd,‡ except to appearance standing, are rather worst than they were when you left us.

The appearance and movement of the 52nd were both exceedingly good—Stewart§ since the last brush has paid much attention.

The day following the Review the Duke desired to see the two Regts by themselves. As long as we confined ourselves to quick movements as Infantry, we acquitted ourselves well. I had told the Duke that the forming the Volunteers had impeded the Instruction of Light Troops and Sharpshooters, and that neither Corps had it; the 52nd had it a little better than the 43rd, but both were very imperfect. He however desired

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* "Lieut.-Colonel Kenneth Mackenzie was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the 52nd on 24 February, 1803, from the 44th Foot.

"He commenced with the 52nd a plan of movement and exercise, in which Sir John Moore at first acquiesced with reluctance, the style of drill, march, and platoon exercise, being entirely new; but when he saw the effect of the whole, in a more advanced stage, he was not only highly pleased, but became its warmest supporter. The other light corps were ordered to be formed on the same plan, and the 43rd and 95th regiments were moved to Shorn-Cliff camp, to be with the 52nd. Letters from Sir John Moore are now extant, which corroborate the assertion, that the improved system of marching, platoon exercise and drill, were entirely Major-General Mackenzie's. At the conclusion of the encampment there, Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie got a very severe concussion of the brain, by a fall from his horse; and in consequence of repeated relapses occurring when he returned to his duty, he was obliged to retire on half-pay."

The Royal Military Calendar. 3rd edition, 1820. vol. iii. pp. 184-5.

† The 2nd Battalions of the 43rd and 52nd were raised in the autumn of 1804.

‡ Joined Moore's Brigade in June, 1804.

§ Major John Stewart, commanding in Mackenzie's absence. In 1806 he was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the 9th Foot, and was killed on 17 August, 1808.

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to see it and unfortunately it fell to the lot of the 43rd to be in front and they bungled, tho' I called their Officers together and explained as well as a few minutes would admit, what I wished them to do. I know not what Gifford** may be able to do, Stewart†† has certainly shewn but little talent in his command of the 43rd. I have allowed a new proportion of all the Reg^ts. to go to harvest—a little relaxation, if managed, will do no harm. I have spoken to Stewart about some Light practice for the 52nd. One Company is to practice firing ball at a target daily, and the Company to be instructed as L^t. Troops. At this I shall be present. What is wanted at first is a method; hitherto our practice has been too desultory, I mean therefore to make de Rottenburg‡‡ the ground work, noting in the margin whatever changes we make from him, but on reading over his book attentively I perceive much good in it; it only requires to be properly applied; at this I shall endeavour, and you shall know our progress. I shall take care that our other movement* is not lost; the afternoon shall always be slow movement, besides occasional morning Field days, but really after three years we can defer no longer to try what can be done in the instruction of every thing that can be expected from any kind of Infantry—at present, if scattered, we should be very soon in confusion.

I have been under the necessity of desiring Lt. Gibbons to quit the Reg^t. with the exterior of what is reckoned a Gentleman—he was an incorrigible gambler and he has become also a Bully, a character much connected with that of Gambler. I cannot detail all the reasons I had to disapprove of him. He had of late been engaged in no less than four disputes with different Officers, which came the length of challenges—the last with Lt. Thomas McKenzie† of the 43rd, whom he insulted, fought and wounded; instead of then offering an apology he employed that blockhead Warre‡, who was his second, to go up to McKenzie and ask him to make him an apology—which McKenzie very properly would not do—they then each advanced one step nearer, and fired, when McKenzie received a second wound in his thigh, of which he is dangerously ill. I have taken this opportunity to get rid of Gibbons and have explained my motives to the Officers. Stewart and I have lectured Warre, but there can be no hope of improving such a blathering goose, who erred, as he always will do, from no bad design, but from want of brains—in other respects we are going on well. My best wishes to Mrs. McKenzie—let me hear from you, if you have anything to say on the subject of this Light practice, but do not bother your head much with that or anything else. God bless you and believe me always

Affect^y., JOHN MOORE.

** William Gifford, 43rd Foot.

†† Richard Stewart commanded the 1st Battalion, 43rd Foot, from 1800 to 1807.

‡‡ The author of *Regulations for the Exercise of Riflemen and Light Infantry*, published in German in 1797; first English edition, 1798; second, 1803. This book was largely used by Colonel Neil Campbell in his *Instructions for Light Infantry and Riflemen*, which, though published in 1809, was used at Shorncliffe in manuscript form.

* Probably John Crosse's 52nd 'Drill'.

† Ensign, 43rd Foot, June, 1804. Died in 1812

‡ Entered the 52nd in 1803. Afterwards Lieut.-General Sir William Warre, K.C.H., Colonel of the 49th Regiment.

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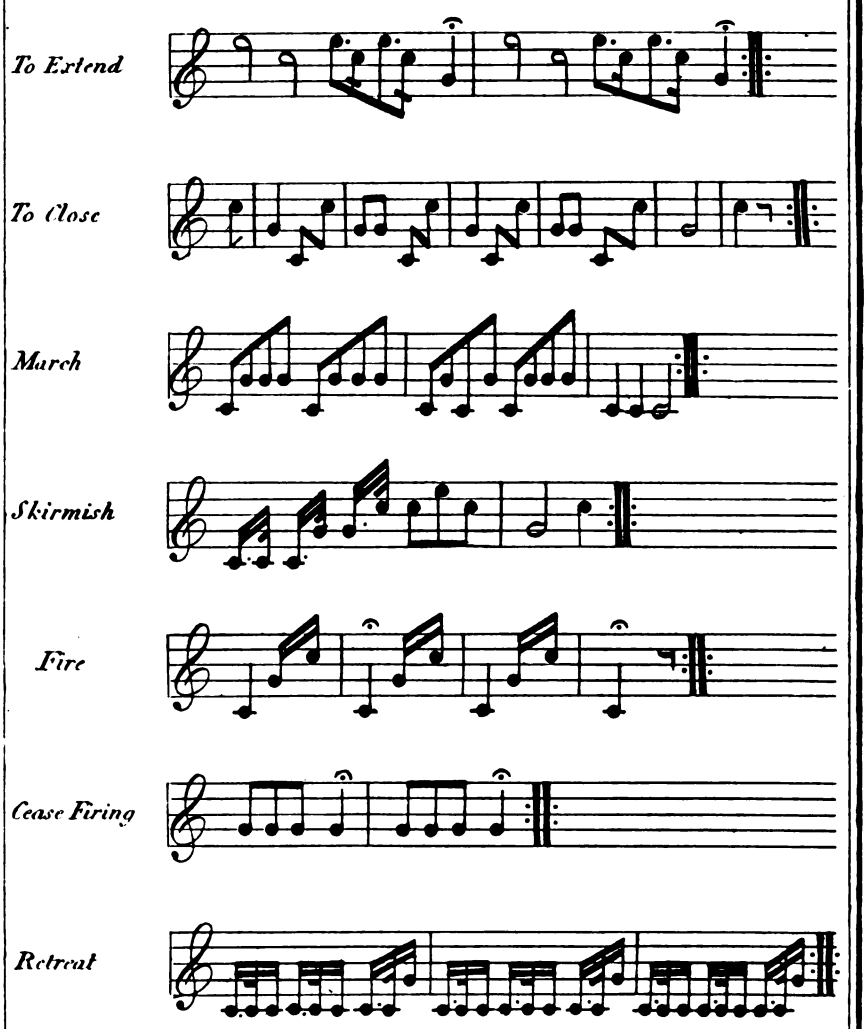
Plate 7

Signals of the Bugle Horn in the Movements of Light Troops.



From *Regulations for the Exercise of Riflemen and Light Infantry and Instructions for their conduct in the Field*. London. Printed for the War-Office, by T. Egerton, at the Military Library, near Whitehall. 1799.

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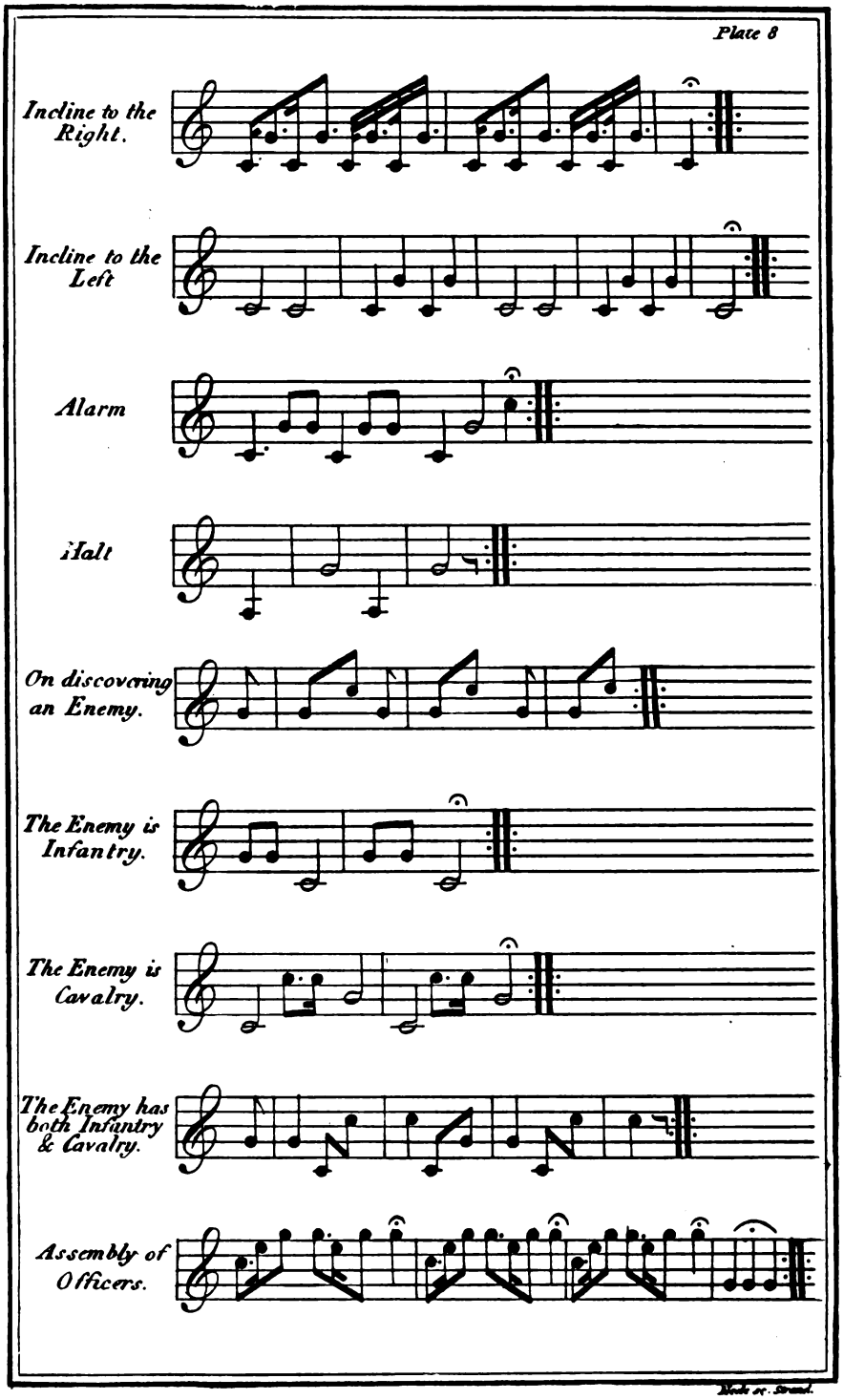
From *Regulations for the Exercise of Riflemen and Light Infantry and Instructions for their conduct in the Field*. London. Printed for the War-Office, by T. Egerton, at the Military Library, near Whitehall. 1799.

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NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, and REPLIES TO QUESTIONS will be greatly appreciated by the Hon. Editor, whose name and address are :—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE, 8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

NOTES.

216. A 'CRAMMER'S' ESTABLISHMENT OF **1806**. In the *Monthly Army List*, of May, **1806**—an unofficial publication at that time—see Reply No. **315**, page **190**—the following Advertisement appeared on the two inside pages of the cover.

This is an example of what a "crammer's" establishment was **120** years ago. Mr. John Bonnycastle, the 'Head', was Mathematical Master at The Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, for nearly **40** years—**1782** to **1821**—see 'D. N. B.'

The Rules and Regulations are most illuminating in regard to manners and customs of the student of **1806**.

MILITARY INSTITUTION, CHARLTON, KENT, *near* WOOLWICH COMMON*.

MR. BONNYCASTLE, Mathematical Master of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and MR. HOMMEY, continue, with proper Assistants, to instruct young Gentlemen, designed for the Army, and for the Service of the Honourable East India Company, in the various Branches of a Military Education.

The plan of Studies consists of all such Parts of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, as are connected with a Military Profession: Also Geography, Fortification, Artillery, Tactics, Plan Drawing, Surveying, Levelling, Reconnoitering, with the Method of Tracing Works on the Ground, and the Principles and Practice of the French Language.

DIVISION OF TIME FOR THE SUMMER.

From the 1st of April to the 30th of September, the Gentlemen are to rise at half past 7 o'clock; breakfast at 8; dine at 2; drink tea at 6; and sup at a quarter past 9 o'clock.

DIVISION OF TIME FOR THE WINTER.

From the 1st of October to the 31st of March, the Gentlemen are to rise at 8 o'clock; breakfast at half past 8; dine at 2; drink tea at 6; and sup at 9 o'clock.

HOURS OF STUDY, &c.

MONDAY.

From
9 to 12 Mathematics
3 to 5 French [my.
8 to Supper time, Astrono-
Out of the hours of Study, the Fencing Master attends.

TUESDAY.

From
9 to 12 Mathematics.
3 to 5 Mathematics [phy.
8 to Supper time, Geogra-
Out of the hours of Study, Military Exercise, Officers Duty, and Landscape Drawing.

From WEDNESDAY.

9 to 12 } Fortification, Plan
3 to 5 } Drawing, &c.
8 to Supper time, History.
Out of the hours of Study, the German and Music Masters attend, and also Broad Sword Exercise.

From THURSDAY.

9 to 12 French [Exercise
In the afternoon broad sword
8 to Supper time, Natural Philosophy.
Out of the hours of Study, Military Exercise, Officers Duty and Landscape Drawing.

From FRIDAY.

9 to 12 Mathematics
3 to 5 French
8 to Supper time, Geography.
Out of the hours of Study, the German and Music Masters attend.

From SATURDAY.

9 to 12 Mathematics
3 to 5 Mathematics
8 to Supper time, History
Out of the hours of Study, the German Master attends, and Broad Sword Exercise.

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SUNDAY.—Church in the Forenoon, and Dinner at ½ past two.

* *This Establishment, which has subsisted in its present form for several years, is in the immediate neighbourhood of the Warren and Dock-yard, and near the spot where Artillery Practice and other Military Exercises are daily performed.*

The premises are extensive, and the situation is remarkably healthy; the house commanding one of the most beautiful prospects in the kingdom. A few Pupils may be accommodated with private rooms, by paying £.5. 5s. extra.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

I. No Gentleman to be permitted, on any pretence whatever, to go without the walls and bounds surrounding the premises, without leave from the Masters, except at the hours of recreation, nor to be allowed to go to London, or to pay any visits, except by a direct application.

II. No one can be allowed to keep dogs, to have fire arms, or any other offensive weapons, gunpowder or fire works, to drink wine or spirits, to go into the kitchen, or any apartments belonging to the servants.

III. Anything broken or destroyed is to be paid for immediately, out of their weekly allowance, which it is recommended should be as small as possible, as, in this Institution, Gentlemen can have no proper pretence for expences, which, under the head of pocket money, always promote disorder and idleness.

IV. No Gentleman to be allowed to go into his bedroom, from the time he is up in the morning, till after twelve o'clock, in order that the servants may not be interrupted in making the beds and cleaning the apartments; the same prohibition extending to all the hours in which they are engaged in their studies.

V. No Gentleman will be suffered to contract any debts, to play at any game for money, or to behave with ill manners at table, or among each other, or to whistle or sing in the house; a proper degree of good breeding being undoubtedly one of the most essential articles of a well regulated education.

VI. Habitual swearing, and indecent expressions, are so abhorrent and unworthy the character of a Gentleman, that it is expected, and earnestly insisted upon, that no one belonging to this Institution will be guilty of such conduct.

VII. The young Gentlemen are to observe the strictest obedience to all the Masters, whether in or out of the hours of business; and as nothing can or will be required of them, but what is for their own advantage, a cheerful and ready compliance is expected of them.

VIII. In getting up, and going to bed, they are not to go from one room to another, but to conduct themselves without noise or disorder, and to be in bed, with their candles ready to be removed, a quarter of an hour after they have retired, leaving their doors always unfastened.

IX. On joining the Institution, every Gentleman is required to give an exact account of his Linen to the Housekeeper, who will take upon her the management of it, so as to give it to the Washerwomen appointed by the house, and not by the Gentlemen themselves, in order to prevent confusion and the loss of their things.

X. After receiving their lessons of the Fencing and Drill-master, on the days of their attendance, the foils and firelocks are to be secured in a proper place, and not taken out again upon any other occasion.

XI. At the times when the Gentlemen are allowed to take their recreation, no one is to go any where on horseback, or in a carriage, or to visit, under any pretence, any public house whatever, or any cottage or other place in the neighbourhood, where they may be liable to be drawn into expences, or form improper connections.

XII. All transgressions whatever, to the prejudice of good order and discipline (though not mentioned in the foregoing articles) shall be taken proper cognizance of, at the discretion of the Masters, and punished according to the nature of the offence: expulsion from the Institution being the last step, as soon as it is found that proper admonition has failed to produce the desired effect.

The TERMS for BOARD and INSTRUCTION in the various Branches mentioned above, are 125 Guineas *per annum*, Washing exclusive:—Entrance Five Guineas.

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No charge for Board, Education, &c. will be made for less than a Quarter of a Year.

N. B. Two vacations in the year, of a month each; one at Christmas, and the other at Midsummer. For such Gentlemen, however, as may find it convenient to remain at the Academy during the said Vacations, a Mathematical Master, residing in the house, will attend them daily, and the other Masters occasionally. The extra charge for each vacation is Sir Guineas.

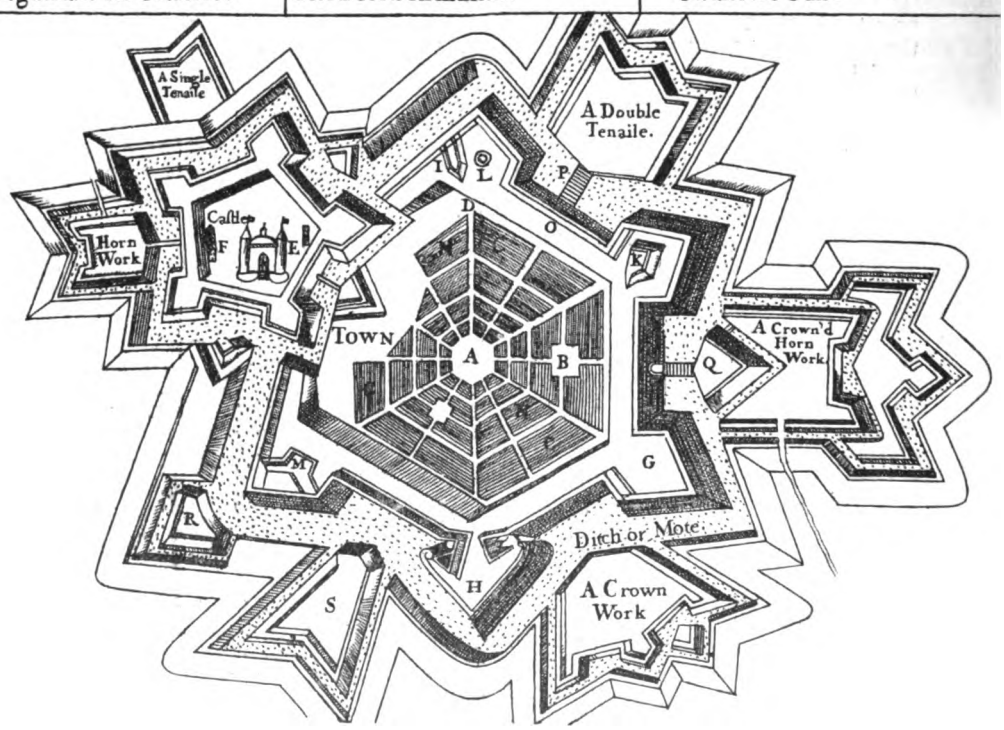
217. OBSOLETE MILITARY WORDS—FORTIFICATION. In vol. viii, pages 253-5, various obsolete military terms were explained in relation to 'utensils',

The illustration given below is taken from *A Military Dictionary explaining all difficult terms in martial discipline, fortification, and Gunnery. Useful [for all Persons that Read the Public News, or serve in the Armies, or Militia]*, etc., etc. 2nd edition. Printed for J. Nutt, near Stationers' Hall, London. 1704.

It applies, as will be seen, to terms used in Fortification only. NEUX.

A Generall VIEW and DESCRIPTION of the ſeveral Parts of FORTIFICATION.

A. Magazine, Storehouſe or Place of Rendezvous.	G. A Baſtion or Bulwark.	N. Churches.
B. The Market-Place.	H. A Baſtion with Cazemates, Port-holes or Embrazures.	O. The Rampire w.th its Parapets &c.
C. Ground-plots of Houſes.	I. A Platform.	P. A Bridge
D. Streets.	K. A Cavalier	Q. A Ravelin.
E. The Governor's Houſe.	L. A Contramine	R. A Half-Moon.
F. Lodgements for Soldiers.	M. A Retrenchment.	S. A Work made in the form of a Swallows Tail.



218. WAR CRIES. (vol. i. 224.) In *Military Reminiscenses*, being extracts from a journal of nearly forty years' active service in the East Indies, by Colonel James

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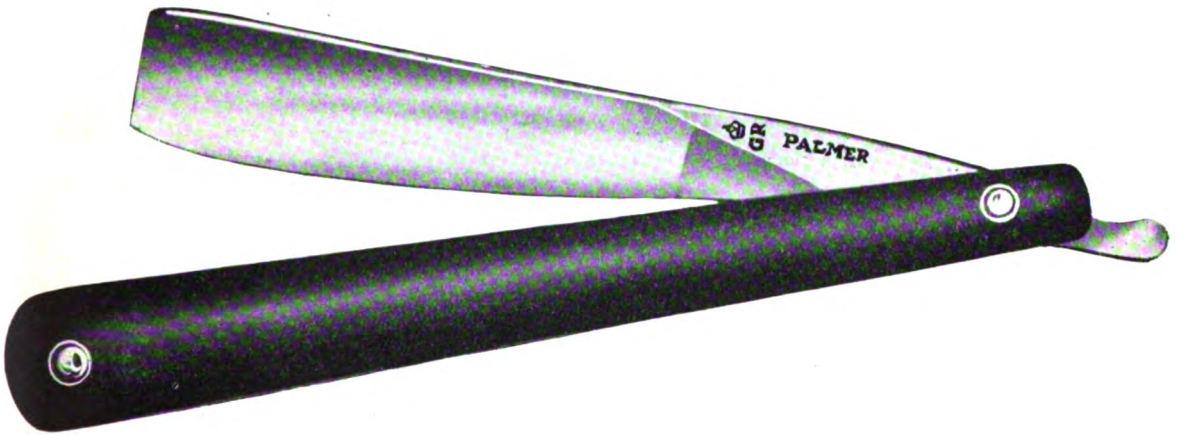
Welsh, of the Madras establishment, published in 1833—2 vols.—the following passage occurs, vol. i, p. 61, referring to an incident in 1801 : —

"When our Cavalry had got within a few hundred yards, Lieutenant Grant gave the order 'St. George, and charge!' ".

James Grant was in command of two troops of Native Cavalry, one of them being a troop of the Governor's body-guard.

As a war-cry it cannot have conveyed much meaning to Madras troopers, but the survival of the battle cry 'St. George' as late as 1801 is interesting. NEUX.

219. AN HISTORIC RAZOR. The illustration here given is of a razor—full size—which once belonged to Major-General Sir John Moore.



Its story, which is curious and interesting, is related by Lieut.-Colonel Henry Buckley Jenner Wynyard, Town Major, Dublin, in the following Memorandum in his own hand-writing : —

At the death of my father, the Rev. Montague John Wynyard (formerly a Lieut.-Colonel in the Coldstream Guards), 14th December, 1857, there came into my possession the accompanying Razor and the slip of paper "A".

[Note "A".—Lieut.-General Sir John Moore's razor. Given by him to Lieut.-Colonel M. Wynyard, at Salamanca, December, 1808.]

On 15th October, 1859, I was dining with Lord Seaton (Colborne of 52nd in Peninsula), commanding the Forces in Ireland, and mentioned that I had the Razor, &c

To my astonishment he told me he remembered the occasion on which it had been given, and described it—and a day or two later he sent me the Note and Memorandum on the subject.

These are trifles perhaps—but they are characteristic of the individuals named and I keep them in memory of three *good* men. (sd.) H. WYNYARD.

Colonel Wynyard sent the razor to Lord Seaton the next day. It was returned to him with a letter from Lord Seaton, here given in facsimile, facing this page, and accompanied by the following : —

Note "C", in the hand-writing of Field-Marshal Lord Seaton, addressed to "Lt.-Colonel Wynyard, Royal Barracks, Dublin." The envelope is signed 'Seaton' : —

THE RAZOR.

I recollect perfectly the occasion on which the Razor which you have allowed me to inspect was given to your Father by Sir John Moore.

Colonel Wynyard dined with Sir John Moore at Salamanca in December, 1808, a few days before the British Army moved against Soult, and while sitting next to Sir John Moore, mentioned to an officer with whom he was conversing that his Razors were bad, and that he found it difficult to shave. Sir John Moore, having heard this

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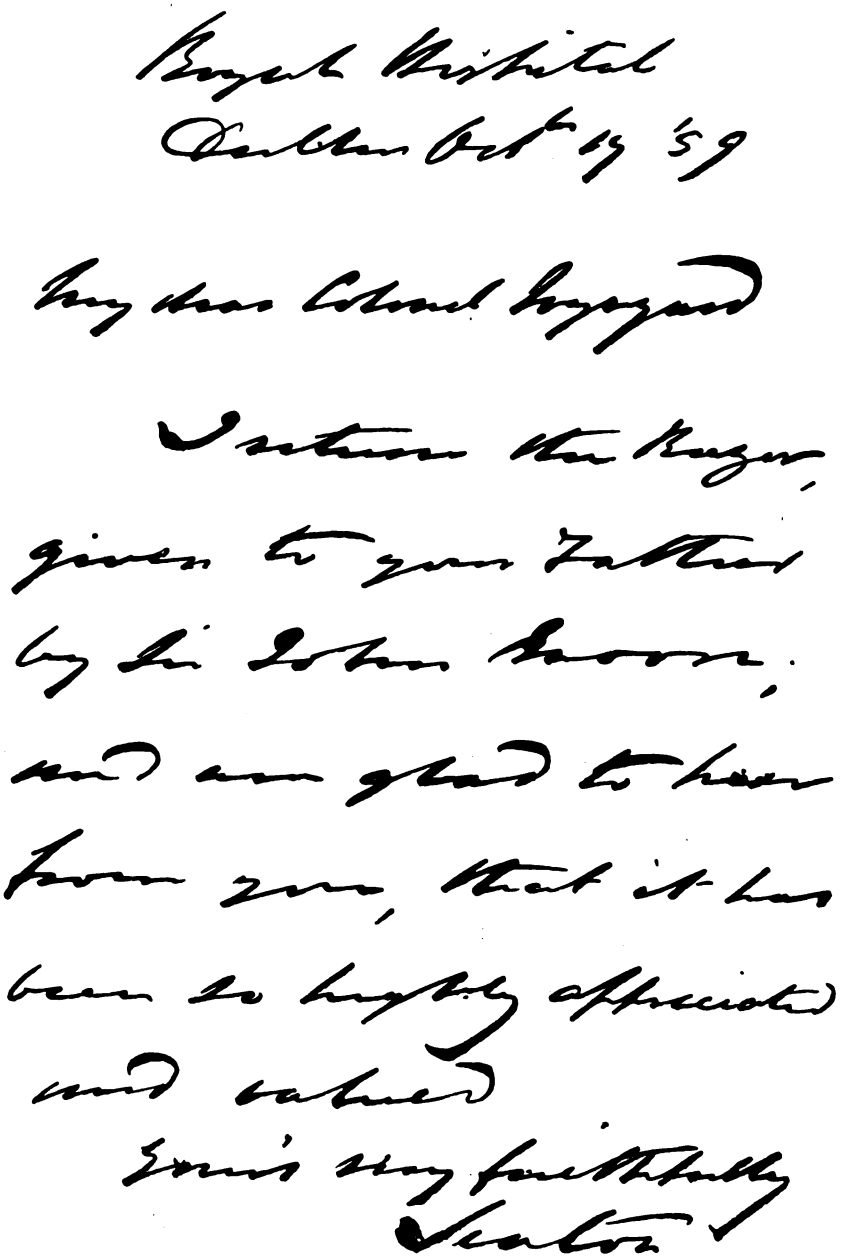

Royal Hibernian
Dublin Oct 17 '59

My dear Colonel Wynyard

I return the Razor,
given to you Father
by Sir John Moore,
and am glad to have
been
from you, that it has
been so highly appreciated
and valued
Yours very faithfully
Seaton

remark said to Col. Wynward, I will send you one of mine, and performed his promise the following morning.

I was opposite to Col. Wynyard when this conversation took place.

DUBLIN, October 17th, 1859.

The Razor, and the documents above quoted, are the property of Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, C.B.E., D.S.O., and were purchased by his Father at a sale in London about twenty-five years ago.

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220. CANADA AND ITS HISTORIC SITES. (See *The Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association*, held in the City of Toronto on May 27-28, 1927. Published by the Department of Public Archives, Ottawa.)

The acquisition, preservation, and marking of sites, or events, of a national character, and the commemoration of the public services of outstanding personages, prominent in the early history of the Dominion, are under the charge of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board—Department of the Interior.

"Since the inception of this national work in 1919, it may be of interest to know that from the various sites or events reviewed, two hundred and twenty-one have

been selected by the board for commemoration. One hundred and fifty-four of these have to date been acquired by deed of gift, transfer, purchase or licence of occupation, and one hundred and twenty-nine memorials erected." (p. 127 of The Report of 1929.)

A bronze tablet is used to mark these sites, which bears on it historic data in brief but educational form. Where no remains, or building, exist on the site, a standard in the form of a monolith, rubble-stone cairn, or large boulder, is erected to carry this tablet. Public interest in the history of Canada is greater to-day amongst its own people than at any former period.

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Illustrations of some of these monuments from photographs which have been kindly supplied by Mr. Norman Fee, Dominion Archives, Ottawa, will be given in *Journal* from time to time, those selected being especially connected with Regiments which have played a part in the history of the Dominion.

HISTORIC SITES
AND MONUMENTS
BOARD OF CANADA
THE RIDEAU CANAL.
THIS TABLET COMMEMORATES THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BEGINNING OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE RIDEAU CANAL IN SEPTEMBER, 1826, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN BY, R.E., CONNECTING THE OTTAWA RIVER WITH LAKE ONTARIO FOR SHIP NAVIGATION, THEREBY LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF OTTAWA AND ADVANCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF EASTERN ONTARIO.
ERECTED 1926.

THE RIDEAU CANAL—OTTAWA.

(See *ante*, p. 127.)

A tablet was affixed to the central pillar of the bridge over the canal on the north side of Connaught Place, to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of its construction, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel John By, Royal Engineers, in September, 1826. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on August 19 [1926] under the auspices of the Ottawa Women's Canadian Historical Society. (p. 104 of The Report of 1927.) EDITOR.

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221. FISHGUARD, PEMBROKESHIRE—1797. (vol. vi. 248). In vol. 158 (July-December, 1929) of *Notes and Queries*, pp. 166, 224, and 408, is given a very full list of books, pamphlets, etc., referring to the landing of a French armed force at Fishguard in 1797. J. H. L.

222. THE BROAD ARROW. (vol. 225: iv. 134.) The following extracts (spelling modernised) from State Papers in the Public Record Office, prove clearly that what we call a Broad Arrow was in use as a Government mark as early as 1554, and was at that time called a 'brode arrowe'.

These completely demolish the fiction, still so constantly repeated, that the mark was introduced by Henry Sidney—a pheon, from his coat of arms—in 1693-1702, when he held the office of 'Master-General of Our Ordnance'. He was created Earl of Romney in 1694.

a. Public Record Office. State Papers. Foreign. 69/3. No. 146.

Letter from Thomas Gresham. Antwerp, 17 February, 1553-4.

To The Right Honourable my Lords of the Queen's Majesty's Privy Council.

The following passage occurs:—

"Giving your Lordships to understand that as this day I have received xxxvj barrels of gun powder the complement that was lent to the Regent, which I have shipped in an English Crayer, under this mark in the margin."

b. Public Record Office. State Papers. Foreign. 69/5. No. 297.

Letter from Thomas Gresham. Seville—in Spain—30 November, 1554.

To My Lords of the Queen's Majesty's Privy Council.

The following passage occurs, referring to the shipment of certain cases containing treasure:—

"There is fifty cases marked with the broad arrow & to be numbered No 1 to No. 50."

The marks, as shown are exact photographic reproductions of the originals.

Photostat copies of the two letters are available should anyone wish to have them for reference.

The 'Broad Arrow' fiction is almost as wicked as the fable as to the origin of 'Thomas Atkins', invented by the late Lieut.-Colonel N. Newnham Davis for a Christmas effort called *Printers' Pie*—1908.

A quite new one has recently been discovered in an inscription on the gravestone of Lieut.-General Baron Francis de Rottenburg, K.H., in the yard of the Royal Garrison Church, Portsmouth, which informs us that he raised the 1st Battalion of the King's Royal Rifles in 1798. As a fact he was the first Lieut.-Colonel of the 5th Battalion—'Rifles'—of the 60th (or Royal American) Regiment of Foot, formed in 1798 and disbanded in 1818.

This novelty is the contribution of a lady. NEUX.

223. REGIMENTAL HISTORY—MATERIALS FOR. 1738.

CAVALRY.	3rd The King's Own Hussars.
	4th Queen's Own Hussars.
INFANTRY.	The Buffs (East Kent Regiment).
	The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster).
	The Devonshire Regiment.
	The Suffolk Regiment.
	The Somerset Light Infantry (Prince Albert's).
	The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders).

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In the Library of the Junior United Service Club, London, there is a bound volume, lettered 'Miscellaneous Letters. MS.', which contains a small 4to. book, described on the outside of its cover as

"Review of five Regiments of Foot, two Regiments of Dragoons, with the Garrisons and Highland Companys in North Britain. 1738".

The contents cover 9 pages of the book and are what would to-day be called 'Parade States'.

They are useful in the way of filling gaps in regimental history in regard to Officers' names, establishment, stations, etc., at the time.

The Cavalry regiments consisted of six Troops, each 50 strong—2 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 46 corporals and dragoons, with 54 horses.

Officers are not shown, except those who are in command of Troops, or are on leave.

Their initials, or Christian names, are not given, but are now added in square brackets.

State of the King's own Regiment of Dragoons commanded by Lieut.-General [Philip] Honywood, as review'd at Mussleburgh the 26th day of September, 1738.

[This Regiment became the 3rd (King's Own) Dragoons in 1751, and in 1930 is the 3rd The King's Own Hussars.]

Troops.	Numbers Mounted.			Absent on Command or Sick.		Effective Corporals and Men.		Wanting to Compleat.		Officers and Dragoons who have serv'd in the Armys and Garrisons abroad.	
	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Corporals & Dragoons.	Men.	Horses.	Corporals & Dragoons.	Horses.	Men.	Horses.		
General [Philip] Honywood	2	2	40	6	3	46	52	4	3	Field Officers	2
Brig.-Genl. [Joshua] Guest	2	2	46	2	2	48	52	2	2	Captains	2
Lieut.-Col. [Samuel] Foley	2	2	44	4	2	48	52	2	2	Lieuts. & Cornets	2
Captain [Alexander] Mullen	2	2	46	2	1	48	51	2	3	Quarter-Masters	2
Captain [Thomas] Brown	2	2	46	1	1	47	52	3	2	Serjeants	3
Captain [William] Ogle	2	2	46	2	1	48	52	2	2	Corporals & Dragoons	12
Totals	12	12	268	17	10	285	311	15	13	Total	23

Officers absent at the time of the Review.

Lieutenant [Henry] Whitley.
Lieutenant [John] Parsons.
Cornet [George] Fage.
Cornet [*Hon.* Josiah] Child.
Chaplain Gore.
Surgeon [William] Duncan.

Cloathing and Accoutrements Compleat.

The Arms much worn. No Tents or Camp Equipage.

The other Cavalry Regiment was Sir Robert Rich's Regiment of Dragoons, which in 1930 is the 4th Queen's Own Hussars. It was review'd at Mussleburgh on the same day as General Honywood's regiment.

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The Officers commanding Troops were:—

Sir Robert Rich, *Bart.*
Lieut. Colonel [Daniel] Leighton.
Major [Thomas] Gery.
Captain [Richard] Hartshorne.
Captain [George] Macartney.
Captain [Francis] Boggest.

Other Officers mentioned are:—

Lieutenant [Matthew] Sewell.
Cornets [Ralph] Scurrah and [Charles] Rich.

"Cloathing and Accoutrements Compleat. The Arms much worn."
"Tents and Camp Equipage Wanting."

The totals, as given, are:—

Number Mounted.	Serjeants	12
	Drummers	12
	Corporals and Dragoons	265
Absent on command or sick.	Men	19
	Horses	17
Effective Corporals and Men	... ...	284
do. Horses	... ...	310
Wanting to Compleat.	Men	16
do.	Horses	14
Officers and Dragoons who have serv'd abroad	...	16

The 'State' of the first of the five Infantry regiments—that of Colonel the *Hon.* Stephen Cornwallis—which is to-day The Devonshire Regiment—is given in facsimile, exact size, on the next page.

The Officers in command of Companys are:—

Colonel [the *Hon.* Stephen] Cornwallis.
Lieut.-Colonel [Robinson] Sowle.
Major [Edward] Montague.
Captain [John] Edwards.
Captain [Richard] Scott.
Captain Gregg.
Captain [Charles] Greenwood.
Captain [Arnold] Tulikens.
Captain Harvey.
Captain [William] Mackintosh.

Others, absent on leave, are given:—

Lieutenant [William] Horneck.
do. [John Henry] Bastead [or Bastide].
do. [Lancelot] Storey.
do. [John] Reed.
Ensign [Charles] Lawrence.
do. [John] Elde.
Chaplain Eyres.
Quarter-Master Dodd.

The Establishment of a regiment (10 Companies) appears to have been:—

Serjeants	30
Drummers	20
Corporals and Private Centinells ...	620

Brigadier-General Thomas Howard's Regiment of Foot, which in 1930 is The Buffs (East Kent Regiment), was reviewed at Fort Augustus, Invernesshire, at the latter end of August, 1738.

The Officers in command of Companies were:—

Brig-General [Thomas] Howard.
Lieut.-Colonel [ ] Douglas.
Major [Thomas] White.
Captain [John] Horseman.
Captain [Gerald] Elrington.
Captain [George] Malcolm.
do. [ ] Robertson.
do. [Marmaduke] Sowle.
do. [Charles Henry] Collins.
do. [Charles] Barnes.

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State of Colonel Cornwallis's ——— Regiment of Foot, as Reviewed at Musselburgh the 11th of August 1738

Companys.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Sick.	On Duty.	Effective Corporals.	Wanting to Compleat.	Officers and Soldiers who have Served in the Armys and Garrisons abroad.	
Brigadier's	3	2	56	1	·	57	5	Colonel	1
Lieut. Col. Sowles	3	2	58	1	·	59	3	Lieutenant Colonel	1
Major Montague	3	2	56	3	·	59	3	Major	———
Capt. Edwards	3	2	58	2	·	60	2	Captains	5
Capt. Stotts	3	2	55	2	·	57	5	Lieutenants	7
Capt. Gregg	3	2	55	3	·	58	4	Ensigns	———
Capt. Greenwoods	3	2	57	1	·	58	4	Staff Officers	2
Capt. Dickens	3	2	56	2	·	58	4	Serjeants	5
Capt. Mervays	3	2	55	3	·	58	4	Drummers	———
Capt. Mackintosh	3	2	58	1	·	59	3	Corporals & Private Men	17
Totals	30.	20.	564.	19.	·	583.	37.	Total	38

Officers Absent at the time of the Review.

Lieut. Col. Cook. } Soldiers
Capt. Greenwood — By Lieut. Col. Sowles Leave
Capt. Hervey — By Gen. Wades Leave
Capt. Mackintosh — By His Majesty's Leave
Lieut. Honeck } Engineers on the Establishment
Lieut. Bastead }
Lieut. Jory — By Lieut. Col. Sowles Leave
Lieut. Veco — By His Majesty's Leave.
Ensign Laurence — By Lieut. Col. Sowles Leave
Ensign Eld — By the same.
Chaplain Eyres } By Col. Sowles Leave.
Sulster Master }

The Cloathing and Accoutrements Compleat, The Arms almost unserviceable, The Camp Equipage quite worn out

Dead

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Other Officers mentioned are:—

Lieutenant [Charles] Fielding.
Ensign [ ] Brown.
do. [ ] Brodie.
Ensign [Cyrus] Trapaud.
do. [Charles] Tatton.
Chaplain Ferribie.

The 'State' shows:—

Serjeants	30	On Party	80
Drummers	20	Effective with Corporals	569
Rank and File	476	Wanting to Compleat	51
Sick	13		

"Cloathing, Accoutrements and Camp Equipage Compleat."
"The Arms worn out and unfit for service."
"Dead since the 29th March—eight. Deserted—one."

The King's Own Regiment of Foot, commanded by Major-General William Barrell, was reviewed at Stirling on 18 August, 1738.
In 1930 this Regiment is The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster).

The Officers in command of Companies were:—

Major-General [William] Barrell.
Lieut.-Colonel [John] Lee.
Major [George] Walsh.
Captain [Thomas] Shrimpton.
do. [Henry] Jefferies.
Captain [John] Knowles.
do. [John] Carney.
do. [Richard] Coren.
do. [Henry] de la Bene.
do. [John] Nutt.

Other Officers mentioned are:—

Lieutenant [William] Williams.
do. [ ] Burrows.
Ensign [Thomas] Lee.
do. [ ] Colston.

"Cloathing and Accoutrements Compleat."
"The Arms almost unserviceable."
"Camp Equipage quite worn out."
"Dead since the 24th of March—nine. Deserted—three."

The 'State' shows:—

Serjeants	30	On Party	41
Drummers	20	Effective with Corporals	574
Rank and File	517	Wanting to Compleat	46
Sick	16		

Brigadier John Middleton's Regiment of Foot, which in 1930 is The Somerset Light Infantry (Prince Albert's), was reviewed at Mussleburgh on 11 August, 1738.

The Officers in command of Companies were:—

Brig.-General [John] Middleton.
Lieut.-Colonel [Moses] Moreau.
Major [James] Cunningham.
Captain [James] Stewart.
do. [Charles] Walker.
Captain [John] Quinchant.
do. [James] Charlton.
do. [Thomas] Cockayne.
do. [Robert] Bullman.
do. [ ] Maul.

Other Officers mentioned are:—

Lieutenant [Daniel] Nicholas.
do. [David] Robert de la Jonquiere.
do. [John] Hadzor.
Ensign [William] Jones.
Chaplain Spaitman.

"Cloathing, Arms, and Accoutrements Compleat."
"Camp Equipage worn out."

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The 'State' shows:—

Serjeants	30	On Party	69
Drummers	20	Effective with Corporals	598
Rank and File	513	Wanting to Compleat	22
Sick	16		

Lieutenant-General Thomas Whetham's regiment, which in 1930 is The Suffolk Regiment, was review'd at Mussleburgh on the same day.

The Officers commanding Companies were:

Lieut.-General Thomas Whetham.	Captain [John] Cossley.
Lieut.-Colonel [Scipio] Duroure	do. [Nicholas] Masterson.
Major [ ] Hayes.	do. [ ] Erskine.
Captain [William] Whitmore.	do. [Charles] Rainsford.
do. [Edward] Phillips.	do. [ ] Owen.

Other Officers mentioned are:—

Lieutenant [Henry] Powell.	Chaplain Key.
Ensign [Richard] Field.	Quarter-Master Wiseman.
do. [Edmund] Strudwick.	Surgeon's Mate Burnet.

"The Cloathing, Arms and Accoutrements Compleat, but no Camp Equipage.

"Six Centinells deserted and twelve dead since the 24 of March."

The 'State' of the regiment was:—

Serjeants	30	On Party	21
Drummers	20	Effective with Corporals	590
Rank and File	560	Wanting to Compleat	30
Sick	9		

State of the Six Highland Companys, Review'd in August and September, 1738, at Tay Bridge, Fort Augustus [Invernesshire] and Ruthven [Perthshire].

COMPANYS.	Serjeants	Dru m'rs	Rank and File	Sick	On Party	Effective with Corporals	Wanting to Compleat
Lord Lovat's	4	2	84	—	—	84	—
Captain [George] Grant's ...	4	2	77	2	2	81	3
Sir Duncan Campbell's ...	4	2	83	1	—	84	—
Capt.-Lieut. John Campbell's	3	2	47	1	3	51	—
Do. Colin Campbell's	3	2	50	1	—	51	—
Do. [George] Munro's	3	2	51	—	—	51	—
TOTALS	21	12	392	5	5	402	3

[These are six of the ten Independent Companies which were formed into a regiment —The Black Watch—in 1740.

A Short History of the Black Watch (Royal Highlanders), published by William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, in 1907, contains (pp. 4-5) the following paragraphs:—

"In 1725 four independent companies of Highlanders were raised, and the system proving an unqualified success, by 1729 two more companies had been embodied. From these companies the succession is unbroken to their formation in 1740 into a regular regiment of the line * * * * * * *".

"Three of the Companies consisted of 110 men each, three smaller of 70 men each. The three large companies were commanded by Lord Lovat, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, and Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch."

"The Government in 1739 increased their numbers by four additional companies, and formed them into a regiment of the line, with the Earl of Crawford as colonel."]

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[*The Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'party', in this sense, as "A detachment. or small body, of troops selected for a particular service or duty". The phrase 'Upon party' is defined as "On the service upon which such a detachment is sent", with a quotation of 1756—"Complaint that the officers and soldiers upon party, take up the strays they find in the woods".]

State of the Castle Companys, Review'd in August, 1738.

COMPANYS.	Serjeants.	Drummers	Rank & File.	Sick.	Effective with corporals.	Wanting to compleat.
Edinburgh Castle	4	2	103	—	103	1
Sterling Castle ...	4	2	101	2	103	1
Dunbarton Castle	2	2	50	1	51	2
Blackness Castle	1	1	17	—	17	—
TOTALS ...	11	7	271	3	274	4

QUESTIONS.

328. DOUBLE-SHOT CANNON. In a book entitled *A Description of Double-Shot Fire-Arms*, by John Aitken, M.D., published in 1781, no place of publication given, the following Advertisement appears at the end:—

"Double-Shot Cannon are made by the CARRON COMPANY."

Is anything known as to the construction of these guns? Were they ever taken into use either for land or sea service? NEUX.

329. THE SASH AS AN ARTICLE OF UNIFORM DRESS. Information is desired on the following points. The "popular" answers to the questions are well known, but the official "authority," in the form of a General, or Army Order, a *London Gazette* Notice, or official letter, would be much appreciated, if they are available.

a. What is the origin of the wearing of the sash by officers?
b. Why was it worn round the waist originally, except in Highland regiments?
c. Why did officers of Highland regiments wear it over the left shoulder?
d. When was the sash introduced for Serjeants, and why?
e. Why do Serjeants—the Somerset Light Infantry excepted—wear the sash over the right shoulder?
f. Why do Serjeants of the Somerset Light Infantry wear it over the left shoulder? This is *supposed* to be in commemoration of Culloden, 1746. If so, what did the Serjeants of the regiment (Colonel Scipio Duroure's) do at Culloden to earn this unique distinction? T. J. E.

330. THE 2ND ROYAL TYRONE REGIMENT (MILITIA). Information is desired as to where the Drum-Major's Staff of this Regiment now is—period 1793-1830.

A. S. O.

331. THE "IRISH ESTABLISHMENT" OF THE ARMY. In Lieut.-Colonel Cooper King's *Story of the British Army*, published in 1897, the following paragraph occurs (p. 58):—

"In these early days [circa 1700], the regiments first paid nominally by the sovereign were, as time went on, borne on the strength of three "establishments," Irish, Scotch, and English, a method of distributing their cost over the sum granted for the administration respectively of each of these sections of the State."

Where are these so-called "Establishments" laid down? Q. F.

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332. LYING-IN-STATE CEREMONY. In *The Order of Proceedings and Ceremonies observed in The Public Funeral* of the Duke of Wellington, in 1852, it is recorded on 11 November at the Lying in State in the Great Hall of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, that "The Officers of the Guard, and of the Lord Chamberlain's Department, were seated as Mourners about the Coffin."

From Saturday, 13 November, to Wednesday, 17 November, the public were admitted, the Guards being furnished from battalions of Foot Guards then in London, "The Officers in command of each detachment, ... being seated alternately at the head of the Coffin, whilst other Officers of the Guards, with those of the Lord Chamberlain, sat on either side, being relieved every two hours."

Was it usual on the occasion of Lying in State, for the Officers of the Guard to be seated? A. H. S.

333. EARLY ARTICLES OF WAR (vol. iv. 166; v. 111, 202; vi. 56, 188; vii. 222; viii. 57). In *History of the British Standing Army*—1660 to 1700, by Colonel Clifford Walton, published in 1894, mention is made of two codes of "Articles of War" as here shown:—

a. 1674 (p. 818). A Royal Warrant dated at Windsor Castle, 3 August, 1674, which, according to Walton, "is really a brief code of Articles of War."

b. 1677 (pp. 809 and 818). "Given at His Majestie's Castle of Dublin, 14 January, 1677; (Signed W. Ellis)."

Neither of these is in the Library of the British Museum. Are any copies known to exist? If so, where are they located? NEUX.

334. 'MAJOR MONSOON.' In *Camp and Barrack Room; or The British Army as it is*, by a late Staff-Sergeant of the 13th Light Infantry, published in 1845, the following passage occurs:—

"He [a recruit] being altogether ignorant of what he is entitled to, and therefore obnoxious [*sic*] to every extortion, is plundered by those military blacklegs—those Majors Monsoon of the present period—with the greatest ease, and the least possible compunction."—p. 24.

What is the allusion to 'Major Monsoon'?

W.H.Y.

335. THE SETTING UP OF THE KING'S STANDARD. What is the ceremony of this so-called 'Setting up'? NEUX.

336. DOCK YARD VOLUNTEERS. On 1 June, 1848, a Corps was formed bearing the title "Dock Yard Volunteers".

It appears for the first time in the monthly Army List of August, 1848—pp. 93-4.

It was composed of the following Brigades, etc:—

1. Portsmouth Brigade.
2. Devonport Brigade.
3. Breakwater Battalion.
4. Sheerness Brigade.
5. Chatham Brigade.
6. Woolwich Brigade.
7. Deptford Brigade.
8. Pembroke Brigade.
9. Royal Clarence Battalion.
10. Royal William Battalion.

Uniform: Blue, facings red.

It does not appear in the Annual Army Lists.
What was its constitution and for what purpose was it formed?
What were Nos. 3, 9 and 10 in the list?
When did this Corps cease to exist? NEUX.

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337. BUILDERS OF FORT WILLIAM, CALCUTTA. In connection with the history of military engineering in India, is there any record of the names of the engineers who began the building of Old Fort William in Calcutta between 1695 and 1720? In a general letter from Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 18 February, 1709, paras 23-25, Coast and Bay Abstracts of Letters received, K. 77, the following appears:—

"The Government [native] will suffer no more fortifications, the ffrench Engineer dead".

Who was this French Engineer employed by the English to build Old Fort William?

E. W. C. S.

338. THE SALTER'S YEOMANRY. Under the heading of "Authentic Army Incidents" on page 81-2 of The Monthly Army List for February, 1798—an unofficial publication—a paragraph states that a Court Martial is sitting to try a prisoner "on charges brought forward by Captain T. Paterson, of the Salter's Yeomanry".

What was this Regiment? Q. F.

REPLIES.

311. FIELD MARKS and FIELD WORDS. (vol. iv. 10, 60, 222; v. 137, 141, 210,; vi. 259; vii. 198.) In *A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scottish Army*, from the 12 of March instant to the 25, 1644, . . . [Dated from his Excellency the Lord Generall Lesley's Quarters neare Sunderland, Mar. 25. 1644. London. Printed for Robert Bostock and Samuel Gellibrand, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard, 1644.] the following sentence occurs at foot of page 5:—

"The words given out on both parts were these,
On ours
The Lord of Hosts is with us.
On theirs
Now or Never." NEUX.

312. HARQUEBUSER—A MILITARY PUNISHMENT. (vol. ix. 127.) In Harleian MSS. No. 7001, folio 107, there is a letter, dated 28 August, 1648, describing the capture of Colchester in which the following passage occurs:—

"Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were both harquebusierd this afternoon." Actually they were shot, so that this can be the only meaning of 'harquebusierd'. Littré's *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française* (Paris. 1863.) gives:—

ARQUEBUSER (ar-ke-bu-zé), *v. a.* Tuer à coups d'arquebuse. Il y avait peu de jours où un prêtre corse n'allât arquebuser son ennemi, Volt. *Phil* II. 420. Leurs camarades [de ceux qui avaient fui] les arquebusèrent pour joindre la honte au supplice, Id. *Russie*, I. 12. On les condamna à la corde, et par grâce on les arquebusa, ce qui est, dit-on, plus honorable, Id. *S. de Louis XV.*, 35.

Hist XVIe. S. Un jeune garcon harquebusé, D'aub. *Hist.* I. 74.

J. H. L.

313. FLAG OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY. (vol. ix. 69.) It appears that, although from between 1660-85 and 1828 all the Company's ships flew the striped flag of the East India Company as an Ensign, they were never legally entitled to do so. At sea ships are only allowed "by right" to fly a certain Ensign by a warrant from the Crown or Admiralty, and there is no record of any warrant having been issued for the wearing of the striped Ensign at sea. In fact there was a distinct order against it in a letter from the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Melville in 1824 which states "that he cannot propose to the Board of Admiralty to issue a warrant authorising the Company's ships to use, as their distinguishing colours, the Ensign which has been in use in the Forts, etc., in India, but that he apprehends that it may be worn as a "Jack" or signal flag without any warrant or authority from the King or from the Board of Admiralty."

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This was followed by a definite order to the Captains of the ships of the Company's service that the flag was not to be worn as an Ensign.

It appears, however, from old records and pictures that the war ships of the Company continued to use the striped Ensign when in Eastern waters until 1828, when they adopted special flags which had been authorised by an Admiralty warrant in June, 1827. These special flags were a Red Ensign, a Union Jack at the bow, and a long pennant for the mainmast head, having the St. George's Cross on a white field in the upper part next to the mast with a red fly.

The striped Ensign was inaugurated by the East India Company probably between 1660-1685. It was a red and white striped flag with the St. George's Cross in the upper left hand canton. The stripes numbered according to various authorities from 10 to 13. From April 17th, 1707, to January 1st, 1801, the Ensign flown by the Company's ships was the Union, being probably adopted after Queen Anne's proclamation in 1707.

This striped Ensign of the East India Company was at first only flown after leaving St. Helena on the outward voyage and up to that island on the homeward, and later the armed ships of the Company only flew the flag in Eastern waters; there is no evidence that it was ever flown in home waters. As the authority for its use was the Court of Directors of the East India Company, objection would, of course, be taken to its use outside the jurisdiction of the Company. In 1824, as I have before mentioned, definite objection was taken, which is perhaps natural, as this striped Ensign, which was usually known at the "Gridiron Ensign," cannot be looked upon as a national flag, which the Ensign worn by a ship must always be; nor was the Court of Directors entitled to warrant the flying of a particular Ensign at sea, the authority for which is vested only in the Crown and the Board of Admiralty.

EDMUND HEADLAM.

314. ARMS (HERALDIC) BEARING NAMES OF BATTLES (vol. viii, 206, 262; ix. 71).

Figure A. The arms of Major-General the Rt. Hon. Sir John Byng (1772-1860), G.C.B., G.C.H., created Earl of Strafford on 12 May, 1835; Colonel of the Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards, 15 August, 1850; Field Marshal, 2 October, 1855. See 'D.N.B.'

The Blazon is:—

Arms: Quarterly, sable and argent, in the first quarter, a lion rampant of the second over all in bend sinister a Representation of the colours of His Majesty's Thirty First Regiment of Foot, displayed proper.

Crests: 1. Out of a mural crown or a dexter arm embowed vested gules cuff azure the hand grasping the Colour of the aforesaid Regiment displayed proper and pendant from the Wrist by a Ribband gules a Representation of the Gold Cross presented to him by His Majesty's Command as a Mark of the Royal Approbation of his distinguished Services. And in an Escroll above "MOUGUERRE".

[The high-flown heraldic description of the Gold Cross actually means the so-called General Service Gold Cross which was awarded to many officers under the terms of Horse Guards letter of 7 October, 1813, published in *The London Gazette* of 9 October, 1813, p. 1985. Byng was awarded the Cross (4 battles) and 1 clasp (1 battle) for Vitoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, and Orthes. Mouguerre is a village about 4 miles S.E. from Bayonne, where Byng's brigade, in which was the 31st Foot, was engaged against the French on 13 December, 1813.]

2. An heraldic antelope statant ermine attired or.

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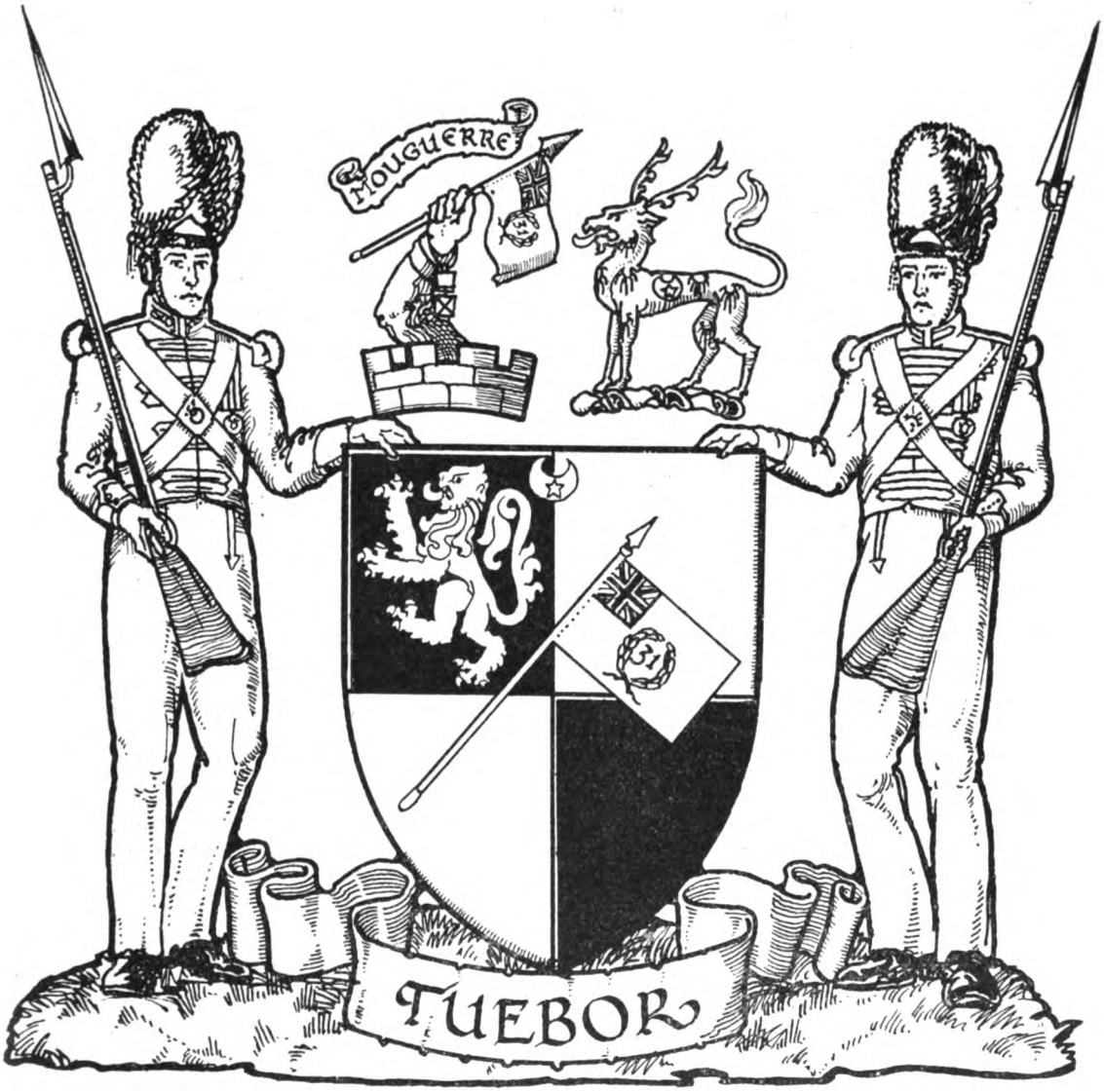

FIGURE A.

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Supporters: On the dexter side a Grenadier of the Coldstream regiment of foot Guards habited armed with his side Arms and decorated with the Waterloo Medal holding in the exterior hand his Musket with Bayonet fixed all proper. And on the sinister side a Grenadier of the third Regiment of foot Guards habited armed with his side Arms and decorated with the Waterloo Medal holding in the exterior hand his Musket with Bayonet fixed in bend sinister all proper.

Motto: TUEBOR (I will defend).

A War Office Memorandum, dated at Whitehall, 7, July, 1815, conveyed the Prince Regent's "royal approbation of the signal intrepidity and heroic valour displayed by him [Byng] in the action fought at Mouguerre near Bayonne, on 13 December, 1813, wherein he led his troops, under a most galling fire, to the assault of a strong height occupied in great force by the enemy, and having himself ascended the hill first, with the colour of the regiment of foot in his hand, he planted the colour upon the summit and drove the enemy (far superior in numbers) down the ridge to the suburb of St. Pierre," etc. [*The Royal Military Calendar.* 1816 vol. iii. pp. 55-6.]

This must have been an inspiring sight—Sir John Byng, in command of a brigade, carrying a regimental colour up the hill—and would have come out well as a film.

Figure B. The Arms of General Sir Thomas Willshire, Bart., (1789-1862), G.C.B., Colonel of the 51st Regiment of Foot, 26 June, 1849. See 'D.N.B.'

The Blazon is:—

Arms: Per Chevron Azure and Argent in Chief six Crosses patee four and two Or and in base on a mount Vert a Bay Horse caparisoned thereon mounted a Belooche soldier habited and armed brandishing his sword all proper, A Chief of the second thereon a representation of the Fortress of Khelat proper, A canton Gules charged with a representation of the Badge of the First Class of the Order of the Dooranee Empire also proper bestowed upon Sir Thomas Willshire by His Majesty the King of Affghanistan.

Crest: On a Wreath of the Colours A Caffre holding in the dexter hand an Hassagai in bend sinister point downwards and supporting with the sinister three Hassagais points upwards all proper.

Supporters: On the dexter side A Soldier of Her Majesty's 38th (1st Staffordshire) Regiment of Foot and on the Sinister side A Soldier of Her Majesty's 2nd (The Queen's Royal) Regiment of Foot both habited and armed and each holding in his exterior hand a Musket all proper.

315. PORTSMOUTH, A MILITARY ACADEMY AT. 1722. (vol. viii. 261). This so-called 'Military Academy at Portsmouth' turns out to have been an Institution of the Royal Navy. It is described in J. Millan's List—plate ix, page 35—of 1748—'The Succession of Colonels to all His Majesty's Land Forces', etc., as

"ROYAL ACADEMY AT PORTSMOUTH, For educating Young Gentlemen for Sea, Established by King in Council, 21 February, 1729, & an Order, Lords of Admiralty, of 26 October, 1733." NEUX.

316. POISON GAS IN WAR. (vol. viii. 67, 146.) *The Art of War in Ancient India.* By Govind Tryambak Date, M.A. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. London. 1929. Demy 8vo. *maps, plans.*

In this book the following passage occurs—p. 49:—

"But ordinary lower classes of fighters rode upon them [elephants] and threw down balls of hot iron, sand, oil, poison and snakes upon the enemy below."

Though not actually referring to Poison Gas, the passage reveals fine ingenuity in the use of poisonous snakes against an enemy in battle. No details are given as to how the balls of iron were heated.

The writer quotes from *Mahabharata*, one of the two great Epic poems on Indian wars. NEUX.

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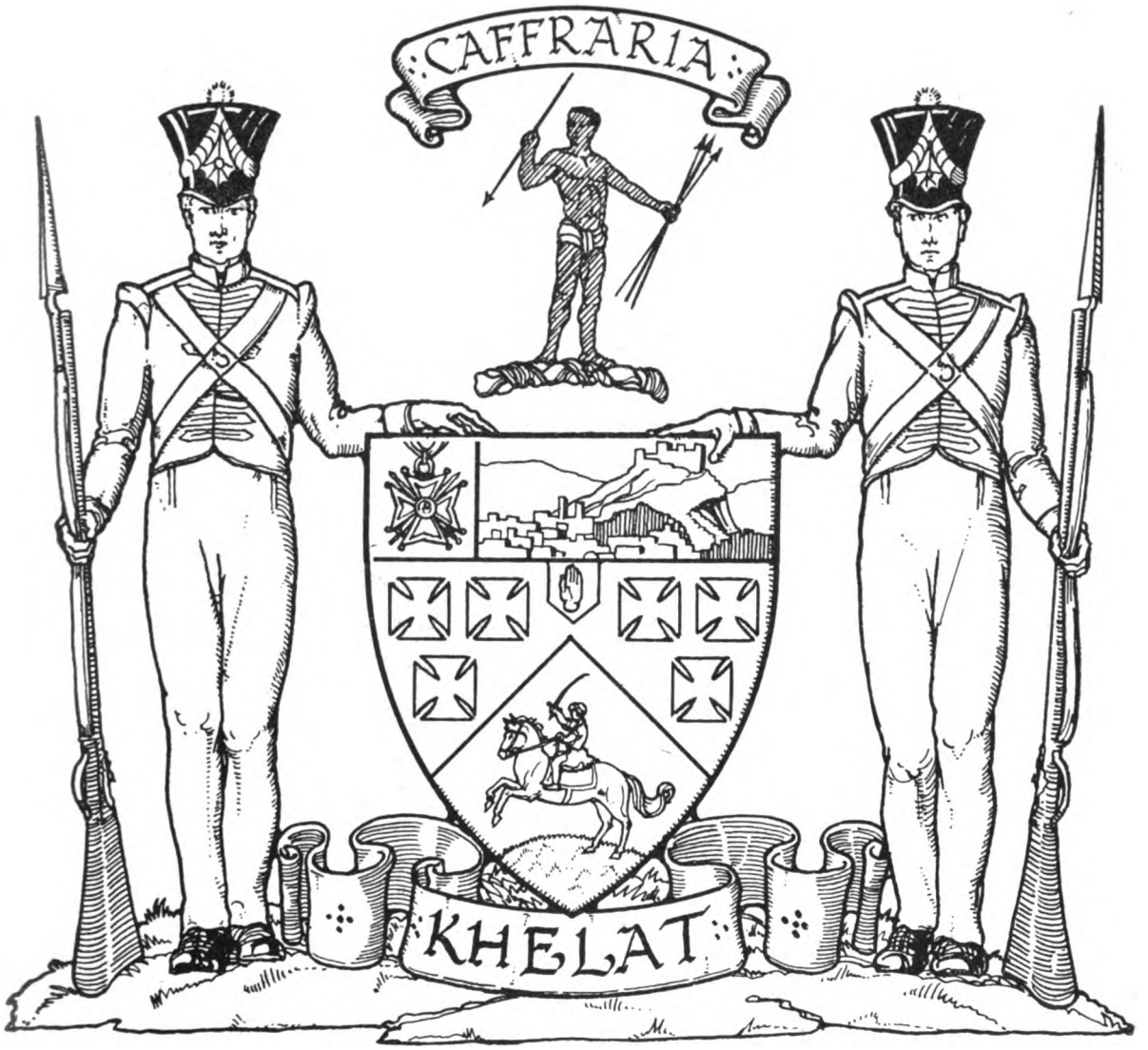

FIGURE B.

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317. CARRIAGE OF TENT POLES WHEN MARCHING (vol. viii. 66). In *General Regulations and Orders for the conduct of His Majesty's Forces in Great Britain*, published by the War Office in 1799, it is laid down in 'Instructions relative to the baggage and marches of the army on Home Service'—pp. 47 to 65—that "The bat horses of each battalion of Infantry of 10 companies, will therefore be—Companies at 80—For the tents and poles of the regiment 20."

This clearly shows that in 1799 tent poles were no longer carried by the soldiers. Y.Z.

318. RUTLANDSHIRE YEOMANRY CAVALRY (vol. vii. 255; viii. 74, 145). The claim of the Rutlandshire Regiment is disputed by the following extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of January, 1815, recording the death in London, in his 73rd year, of Sir William Charles Farrell Skeffington, Bart., Deputy Lieutenant of Leicestershire, and F.S.A., who had served 25 years in the 1st Foot Guards.

"At the important crisis of 1794 Sir William was Colonel of the Leicestershire Yeomanry Cavalry, which was the first regiment of Yeomanry that was completed and made its returns to Government." G. O. R.

THE BADGE OF THE SOCIETY.

THE BLAZON.

On a roundle azure, in base a wall, embattled and masoned proper, issuant therefrom a rising sun in splendour or, over all two swords in saltire gules, hilts and pommels or, interlaced with a scroll fesswise, thereon the motto of the Society, *'Præterita Explorando Discimus,'* the wall charged with a hand-grenade gold fired proper between two crosses crosslets sable, the whole within a collar bearing the words

"THE SOCIETY FOR ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH."

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VOLUME IX. OCTOBER, 1930. No. 38.

THE DIARY AND LETTERS
OF
ARTHUR MOFFATT LANG,

1st LIEUTENANT, BENGAL ENGINEERS, INDIA—1857 TO 1859.

(*Continued from page* 97).

SECTION II. 1857. JULY—SEPTEMBER. BY COLONEL F. C. MOLESWORTH, HALF-PAY, LATE ROYAL ENGINEERS.

INTRODUCTION.

The Officers of Engineers in the service of the Honorable East India Company, who took part in the siege and capture of Delhi, all of whom are mentioned in Lang's Letters and Diary, were as here follow, arranged in alphabetical order:—

1. Lieut. Henry Alexander BROWNLOW, brother of Elliot Pakenham Brownlow (see *ante* p. 7), was rewarded for his 'Mutiny' services by a brevet-majority. In spite of a severe mauling by a tiger, he reached the advanced age of 84. He attained the rank of Lieut.-General after a long service on Indian railways.

2. 2nd Lieut. Henry Alexander Lindsay CARNEGIE, resigned his commission in 1859, dying in 1908.

3. 2nd Lieut. John Underwood BATEMAN-CHAMPAIN, educated at Cheltenham College, went to India in 1854. He reached Delhi after taking part in the actions of the Hindun and Badli-ki-Serai. He was wounded at the assault of Delhi, but volunteered for duty, and was present, though very lame, at the capture of the palace on 21 September. In after years, with the help of a few N.C.Os. of the Royal Engineers, he constructed the overland telegraph through Persia, for which difficult undertaking he was rewarded by a K.C.M.G. He died in 1887.

4. Lieut. George Tomkyns CHESNEY, Brigade-Major of Engineers throughout the siege, received a brevet-majority for his services. He was well known as a writer on military subjects. He was Military Member of Council in India from 1886 to 1891, attained the rank of General in 1892, and died in London in 1895 (K.C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E.). See 'D.N.B.'

5. 2nd Lieut. John Greenlaw FORBES, subsequently served in the Relief of Lucknow, where he was wounded; he attained the rank of Colonel and retired in 1892, dying in 1910.

6. 2nd Lieut. William Frederick FULFORD, died at Calcutta in 1858, from illness caused by exposure during the siege.

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7. Lieut. Maximilian Goodwin GENESTE, died at Cowes in 1858, as a result of wounds and exposure at the siege.

8. Lieut. William Wilberforce Harris GREATHED, brother of Major (brevet Lieut.-Colonel) Edward Harris Greathed, 8th (The King's) Regiment of Foot, served in the 2nd Sikh War, and, after the Mutiny, in China. For his services in the Mutiny he received a brevet-majority. He reached the rank of Major-General and died in 1903; C.B. See 'D.N.B.'

9. Lieut. Henry William GULLIVER, generally referred to by Lang as 'Gully', was a veteran of the 2nd Sikh War. He was given a brevet-majority for his services before Delhi. He reached the rank of Lieut.-General and died in 1896.

10. Lieut. Duncan Charles HOME, who received the V.C. for bravery at the blowing in of the Kashmir gate, was accidentally killed by an explosion at Malagarh Fort, 1 October, 1857. The award of the Victoria Cross was provisionally made by Major-General Sir Archdale Wilson, in command of the besieging force before Delhi. *The London Gazette* of 18 June, 1858, records that Home and Salkeld—see No. 21—"would have been recommended to Her Majesty for confirmation in that distinction, had they survived".

11. Lieut. Julian St. John HOVENDEN (brevet majority for his services before Delhi), died (Lieut.-Colonel) at Bath in 1870.

12. Lieut. Edward JONES, was killed on 24 July, 1857.

13. Lieut. Arthur Moffatt LANG, the writer of the Diary and Letters. An Official Gazette dated 30 July, 1857, appointed him Field Engineer.

14. Lieut.-Colonel John LAUGHTON, the breakdown of whose health caused his supersession by Baird Smith, had served in the 1st Afghan War (see *ante*, p. 84). He had been Superintending Engineer, P.W.D., Lahore Circle, where Lang was his Assistant. He died at Simla in 1861.

15. Lieut. Frederick Richard MAUNSELL, had served in the 2nd Sikh War, and was to serve, as C.R.E. of the Khyber Column, in the 2nd Afghan War, 1878-9. For his 'Mutiny' services he received a brevet-majority, and for later services was made K.C.B. He died in 1916, then being Colonel-Commandant, Royal (late Bengal) Engineers.

16. 2nd Lieut. Alexander McNEILL is recorded as having resigned his commission in 1861. He died in 1915.

17. Lieut. Julius George MEDLEY (brevet-major for services during the Mutiny), died on voyage to England in 1884, then being Major-General. He described his experiences in the Mutiny in a book—*A Year's Campaigning in India.*

18. 2nd Lieut. Patrick MURRAY, died at Roorkee in 1872, shortly after promotion to the rank of Major.

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19. 2nd Lieut. Robert Charles Boileau PEMBERTON, retired in 1892, with the rank of Major-General; C.S.I. He took part in the final capture of Lucknow.

20. Lieut. Aeneas PERKINS, had been invalided before Lang's arrival at Delhi. He commanded the R.E. in Roberts's force in the march from Kabul to Kandahar in 1880—2nd Afghan War. He died on 22 December, 1901, then being General, K.C.B., and Colonel-Commandant, Royal (late Bengal) Engineers.

21. Lieut. Philip SALKELD was one of a party of twelve officers and ladies who escaped the massacre at Delhi on 11 May, and made their way on foot to Meerut. He received the V.C. for gallantry at the blowing in of the Kashmir gate on 14 September, 1857—see *ante*, No. 10. He was wounded at the storm of Delhi, and died on 11 October, 1857.

22. Captain (brevet-Major) Richard Baird SMITH was born in 1818, and entered the Madras Engineers in 1836, whence he was transferred to the Bengal Engineers in 1839. He took part in the 1st and 2nd Sikh Wars and at the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny was director of the Ganges canal. He reached Delhi on 3 July, serving as Chief Engineer, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, for the rest of the siege. It is recorded that the final decision to assault the city was made by Sir Archdale Wilson on Baird Smith's advice. After the siege he was invalided and was unable to take further part in the suppression of the Mutiny. He died at sea on his way to England on 13 December, 1861. (C.B., A.D.C. to the Queen; brevet Lieut.-Colonel.) See 'D.N.B.'

23. Lieut. Charles Thornton STEWART had served in the Punjab in the War of 1848-49. He retired in 1883 with the rank of Lieut.-General, and died in 1903.

24. Lieut. Francis Latter TANDY was killed at the storming of Delhi on 14 September.

25. Captain Alexander TAYLOR (see *ante*, p. 84) had served with distinction in the 1st and 2nd Sikh Wars. He was largely responsible for constructing the Punjab section of the Grand Trunk road. For his services in the Mutiny he was given a C.B., and made brevet-Lieut.-Colonel. His services at Delhi are best summed up in the words of John Nicholson—'if I live, I will let the world know who took Delhi . . . . . that Alexander Taylor did it'. He retired with the rank of General in 1878, and thereafter for sixteen years was Governor of the Royal Indian Engineering College at Cooper's Hill. He received the honour of the G.C.B. He died in 1912 at the age of 86.

26. Lieut. James Francis TENNANT (brevet-Major for service before Delhi), reached the rank of Lieut.-General. He died in 1915.

27. Lieut. Edward Talbot THACKERAY was awarded the V.C. for 'cool intrepidity and characteristic daring in extinguishing a fire in the Delhi magazine enclosure on 16 September, 1857, under a close and heavy

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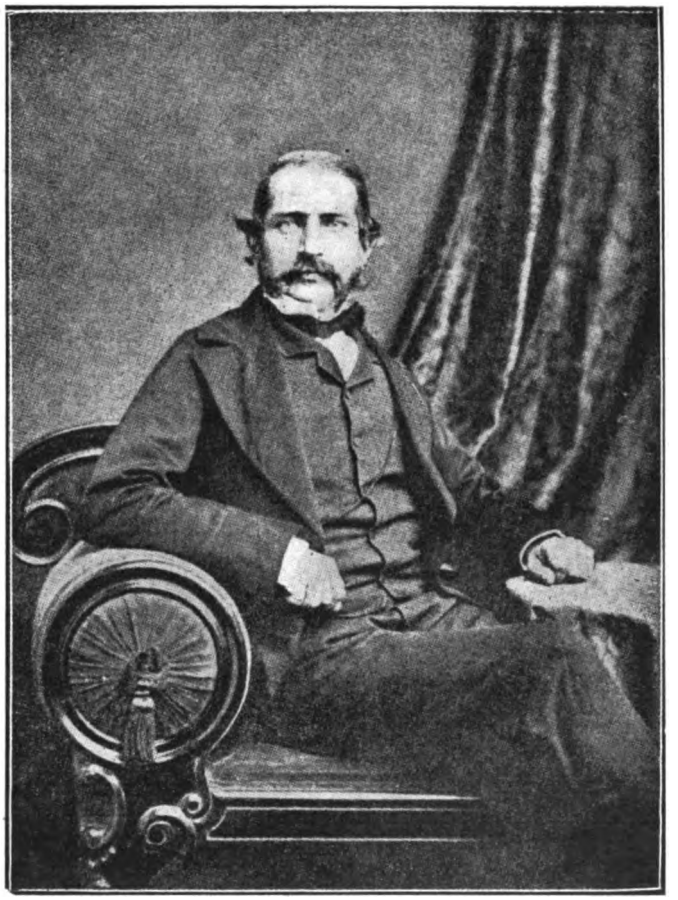

LIEUT.-COLONEL RICHARD BAIRD SMITH,

BENGAL ENGINEERS.

Born, 31 December, 1818. Died, 13 December, 1861.

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musketry fire from the enemy, at the imminent risk of his life from the explosion of combustible stores'. He subsequently served in the 2nd Afghan War.

During the Great War, he organised and superintended a British base hospital in Italy; for this service he received the British War Medal and the so-called 'Victory' medal, being thus the only man, besides Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, to receive both these and the Indian Mutiny medal. Both were wearers of the Victoria Cross. He died in Italy in 1927.

28. Lieut. Charles Simeon THOMASON retired, with the rank of Major-General, in 1895, and died in 1911.

29. Lieut. Edmund WALKER died of cholera during the siege.

30. Lieut. James Thomas WALKER, Bombay Engineers, reached the rank of General, and died in 1896; having received a C.B. His war services included the Punjab in 1848-49 and the Mahsud Waziri expedition of 1860.

31. Lieut. David WARD reached the rank of Colonel in 1882, dying at Naini Tal in 1888, when Chief Engineer, North West Provinces. He served throughout the Mutiny, finishing with the action at Tulsipur in 1859.

32. Lieut. William Edmund WARRAND, promoted brevet-Major for his services before Delhi, retired as a Major-General, and died in 1910.

Most of these officers were employed as Field or Assistant Field Engineers, the duties of which posts are sufficiently explained in Lang's diary.

Of these 32 officers, 3 were killed, or died of wounds; 1 died of cholera; 1 was killed during operations subsequent to the capture of the city; and the deaths of 4 may be attributed to exposure during the siege.

The average survival of the remaining 23 was 49 years, no mean feat, seeing that most of them completed their service in India—a country very different from the land of electric punkahs, quick transit to hill stations, and frequent leave to England that it is in 1930.

Five	reached the rank of		General;
Four	,,	,,	Lieutenant-General;
Five	,,	,,	Major-General; and
Six	,,	,,	Colonel.

Six in all ultimately received the honour of Knighthood, and to three (Nos. 10, 21, and 27) the Victoria Cross was awarded.

Besides the *Dictionary of National Biography*, two other books should be consulted in regard to the careers of these Officers:—

a. *Addiscombe—Its Heroes and Men of Note.* By Colonel H. M. Vibart. 1894.
b. *Biographical Notices of Officers of the Royal (Bengal) Engineers.* By Colonel Sir Edward Thackeray. 1900.

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THE DIARY AND LETTERS—*Continued.*

Letter. 28 July, 1857. Tuesday. Camp before Delhi. [Sunrise, 5-18. Sunset, 6.49.]

Here I am in Camp, actually with the Army before Delhi, and here I have been for upwards of 24 hours, and have visited most parts of the Camp, and all the positions we hold, and have spied into Delhi from all sorts of positions, and feel I know all about it; and have had round shot and shell pass me, tho' at respectable distances, and have the gratification of having had a shrapnel shell burst close and pour its shower of bullets round me; altogether I am very jolly.

First to say where I am, and then to resume the thread of events. I am in one of the only houses remaining in Delhi cantonments, a pucka house, which Engineer officers have seized: (1) the three main rooms are the bed room, the mess room, the Chief Engineer's office; another side room is partially bedroom, partially Sapper Commandant's office.

There are 21 officers of the Corps here, besides Walker of the Bombay Engineers; Hills, an infantry-man, doing Engineer's duty; Bingham, commanding Pioneers; Chalmers (uncovenanted), attached to Muzbi Sikhs; Woodward, our doctor (2); and Knowles (uncovenanted), also attached to Pioneers..

* * * * * *

We have lost Lt. E. Walker (cholera); 2nd Lt. E. Jones (died of his wounds, shot in both legs); Capt. Greensill, 24th Queen's (3), Field Engineer (shot); and Perkins has gone off sick; Geneste and Carnegie have got all well again of their wounds. Cholera was very bad at our end of Camp and we lost a great number of N.C. European Officers, but now it has almost disappeared. You may imagine with all these officers in one house, that it is not very easy to write, and that a great noise goes on; we are very lucky in having a house over our heads.

* * * * * *

Camp looked exceptionally pretty, the lines of white tents, beyond the green swampy meadows, stretching along the foot of the 'Ridge', which is a long line of hilly ground covered with grass, low trees and boulders, and on which stand conspicuously the various points. The Flag Staff Tower, the Mosque, Hindu Rao's house, all of which are now posts of our Army, the former, Infantry and Horse Artillery (2 light guns on the road); the 2nd, Infantry and Artillery (heavy battery in front); the 3rd, Infantry and lots of Batteries about it. The last is the perpetual home of

1. *Pucka*, applied to a house, signifies 'built of burnt brick,' in contrast to sun-dried bricks. The site of 'Engineer' House seems to have been a little north-west of the so-called 'Khyber Pass,' where the Delhi-Alipore road crosses the Ridge.

2. Thomas Hewlett Woodward, Assistant-Surgeon; killed on 31 August.

3. Captain Thomas Maling Greensill, 24th (The 2nd Warwickshire) Regiment of Foot, a cousin of Lord Roberts. He was mortally wounded while on reconnoitring duty. See *Letters written during the Indian Mutiny* (pp. 26-7) by Fred Roberts, Lieutenant, Bengal Horse Artillery, afterwards Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G. Macmillan and Co. 1924. pp. xxiv. 170. *port.*

4. In 1930, 2nd King Edward's Own Gurkha Rifles (The Sirmoor Rifles), 1st battalion. It was granted a Truncheon for distinguished service at Delhi in 1857.

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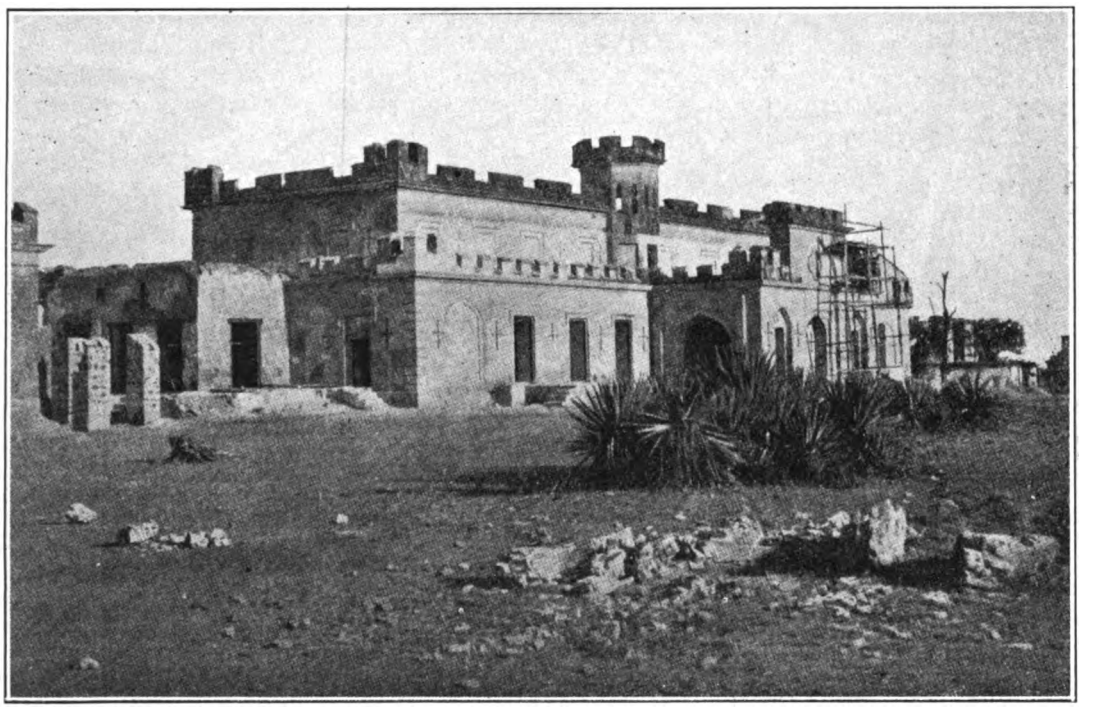

LUDLOW CASTLE, DELHI—now the Delhi Club.

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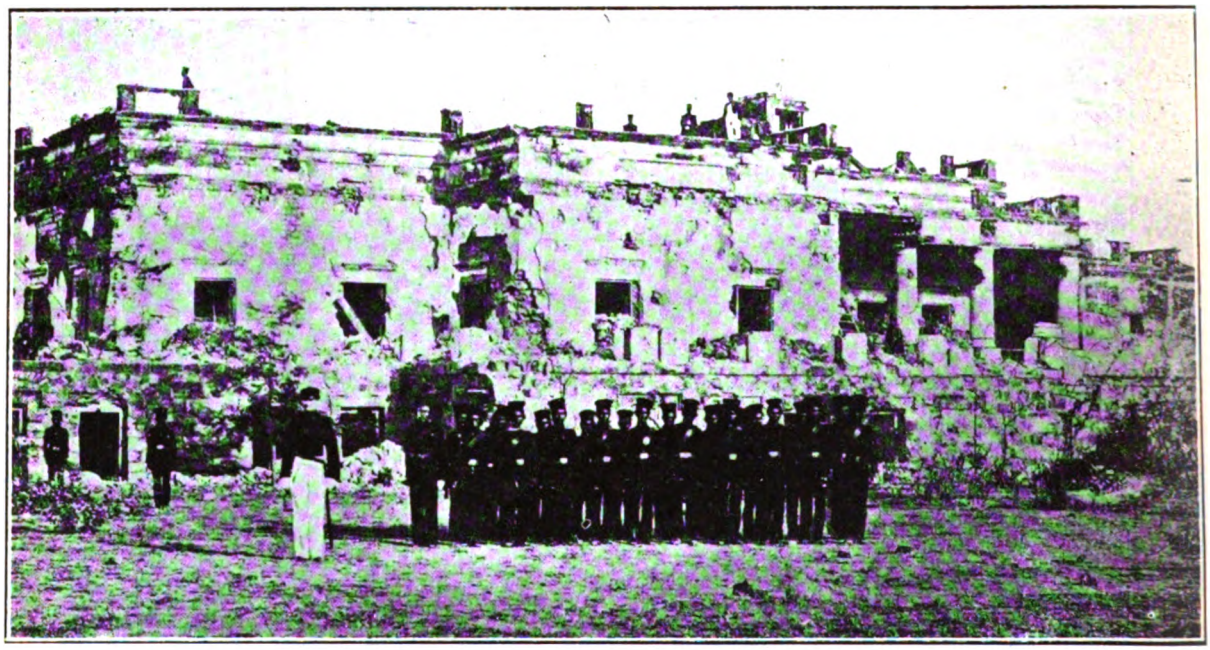

HINDU RAO'S HOUSE at DELHI, in 1857,
with
Detachment of The Sirmoor Battalion.

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[28 July, 1857.]

the Sirmoor Battalion (4), from which the little Ghoorkhas are never to go (until, I expect, they are exterminated).

In the afternoon, Geneste, McNeil and I drove out in dogcart and called on a lot of fellows—Salwey (5), Fred. Roberts (6), Lindsay (7), Jemmy Hills, the little hero with the shaved head and cut across it, (8),etc. We then drove to the top of the Ridge (which hides our camp from Delhi) and from the top of the Flag-Staff Battery had really the most lovely view; anywhere you could call it lovely, but to a man fresh from the level, brown, Punjab, it was doubly so. We looked out towards Delhi, a most picturesque city, the red walls and fine gateways of the Palace, the splendid Jumma Masjid (9), the red walls with the bastions, now so well known to us all (the Water, Kashmir, Mori, all on the North front, are our enemies), the Kutub far beyond, Humayun's Tomb (10) and the ruins of the old Delhi between the modern 'Shahjehanabad' and the Kutub (11); the broad Jumna with its green banks; the bridge of boats, with crowds of Pandies passing and re-passing; our various posts between us and Delhi; Coke's Camp (12); Sir T. Metcalfe's (13) ruined house, with its advanced 'Metcalfe' picket at his stables—altogether it was a beautiful and most interesting view. The evening was cool and bright, the atmosphere intensely clear after the rain, all the country, undulating hill, covered with trees, fresh and green. I couldn't leave the view for half-an-hour. We drove along the top of the Ridge to the 'Mosque', from the roof of which we had if anything a prettier view and clearer, because nearer. We could see the Mori bastion well knocked to pieces (two untouched embrasures (14) tho', remain), but they are making a retrenchment in it; we could see, too, the Lahore and Kabul Gates; from the latter and the next (the Ajmeer) the enemy always march out by regiments to the attack, on a beautiful park-like plain: too much covered with trees to enable one to see very well much of them. It being dangerous to drive further along the Ridge, we drove home and then McNeill and I rode out again only the inner (our) foot of the ridge to our extreme right; we rode thro' the

5. 1st Lieut. Edward Salwey, Bengal Artillery.

6. Bengal Artillery. Afterwards Field-Marshal Earl Roberts.

7. 1st Lieut. Alexander Hadden Lindsay, Bengal Artillery.

8. 1st Lieut. James Hills, Bengal Artillery; subsequently Lieut.-Gen. Sir James Hills-Johnes, V.C., G.C.B.

9. The mosque of the Assembly, the principal mosque of Delhi, built in 1648-50, by the Moghal Emperor, Shah Jehan, of red sandstone and white marble.

10. Humayun was the son of Babar and the second emperor of the Moghal dynasty; died about 1550; he lost a great deal of the territory which Babar had acquired. He was the father of Akbar the Great.

11. The Kutab Minar, a circular tower, S.W. of Delhi, erected by Kutub-ud-Din, king of Delhi, in the 13th century.

12. Major John Coke (afterwards Gen. Sir John Coke, G.C.B.), 10th Bengal N.I., but now commanding the 1st regiment of Punjab Infantry—in 1930, the 1st battalion (Coke's), 13th Frontier Force Rifles.

13. Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe as Magistrate in Delhi at the outbreak, which he made gallant efforts to quell. At the storming he did good service in guiding Campbell's column. See 'D.N.B.'

14. An opening made in the parapet of a defensive work, or fortification, through which guns could be fired, the parapet being the bank of earth, or other material, which affords protection to the defenders of a work from an enemy's fire.

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[28 July, 1857.]

'Valley of Death' (15) all indented with shells and the trees torn with shot, but none passed thro' till we just got out of it. We went to the Sabzi Mandi Serai picket; the S.M. is a suburb of Delhi behind the Ridge and we have our advanced picket on the right in a serai there. The 61st (16) were there: we dis-mounted and climbed the Ridge to the 'Crows nest,' a little battery of little Coehorn mortars (17) and still higher to our right battery. Shrapnel and shot passed about them frequently. We found Charlie Boileau (18) and Gully [Gulliver] up to the Right battery. Charlie Hunter (19) paid me a visit, and Warrand arrived from Ferozepore to join us. So much for our 1st impressions of Delhi. The cantonments are a mass of jungly compounds with skeletons of houses.

Now a little more chat. I will begin where I left off yesterday. Charlie Boileau came over and had a chat with me; it was a dull rainy afternoon but we strolled up to the Flag-Staff Tower where Salwey was on picket, and then to the 51st (Queen's) Camp (20). At 5 p.m. Greathed and I rode out to the 'Metcalfe' picket; rode about his grounds, and pried about the gardens ahead, but found no Pandies out. Warrand and Brownlow joining us, we rode to the left of the position and studied the various streams of the river, relative to devices for smashing the Bridge. I dined at the Umballa Artillery Division Mess with Charlie Hunter and met Minto Elliot (21), of jolly Meerut days.

[30 July.]

At 2 this morning I was up and went over to the Engineer Park, got my proper number of pioneers, carpenters, elephants and implements of sorts and marched off to 'Metcalfe's' picket, where I got a covering party of the 1st Fusiliers (22) and posting them as a line of sentries about a quarter of a mile beyond our post, I proceeded to construct an abattis (23), cutting down big trees, and making the elephants drag them into position; as day came on skulking Pandies, in the thick jungly gardens beyond, fired a few shots at us, but to no purpose. I then fell back and made abattis and sand-bag revetments at the picket itself, and mended two bridges of communication.

The enemy fired some shell and round shot very well at the elephants working at dragging trees in the grounds: one round came so close as I was on an elephant amongst a lot more, that I quite thought it was on us; only just over us it was. Meeting Thomason returning from surveying—

15. The 'Valley of Death' was a ravine on the west side of the Ridge, which seems to have received most of the 'overs,' directed at Hindu Rao's house.

16. The 61st (South Gloucestershire) Regiment—in 1930, The Gloucestershire Regiment, 2nd battalion.

17. Coehorn mortars were light mortars of 5.5″ and 4.4″ calibre, with cylindrical chambers, named after their inventor, a Dutchman.

18. Lieut. Charles Boileau, son of Lieut.-Colonel F. B. Boileau—see *ante*, p. 11.

19. 1st Lieut. Charles Hunter, Bengal Artillery.

20. The 51st (The 2nd Yorkshire West Riding) or The King's Own L.I. Regiment—in 1930, The King's Own Yorkshire L.I., 1st battalion.

21. 2nd Lieut. Minto Elliott, Bengal Artillery.

22. The 1st European (Bengal) Fusiliers, subsequently the 101st Foot. Disbanded in 1922, then being The Royal Munster Fusiliers, 1st battalion.

23. Tree entanglement.

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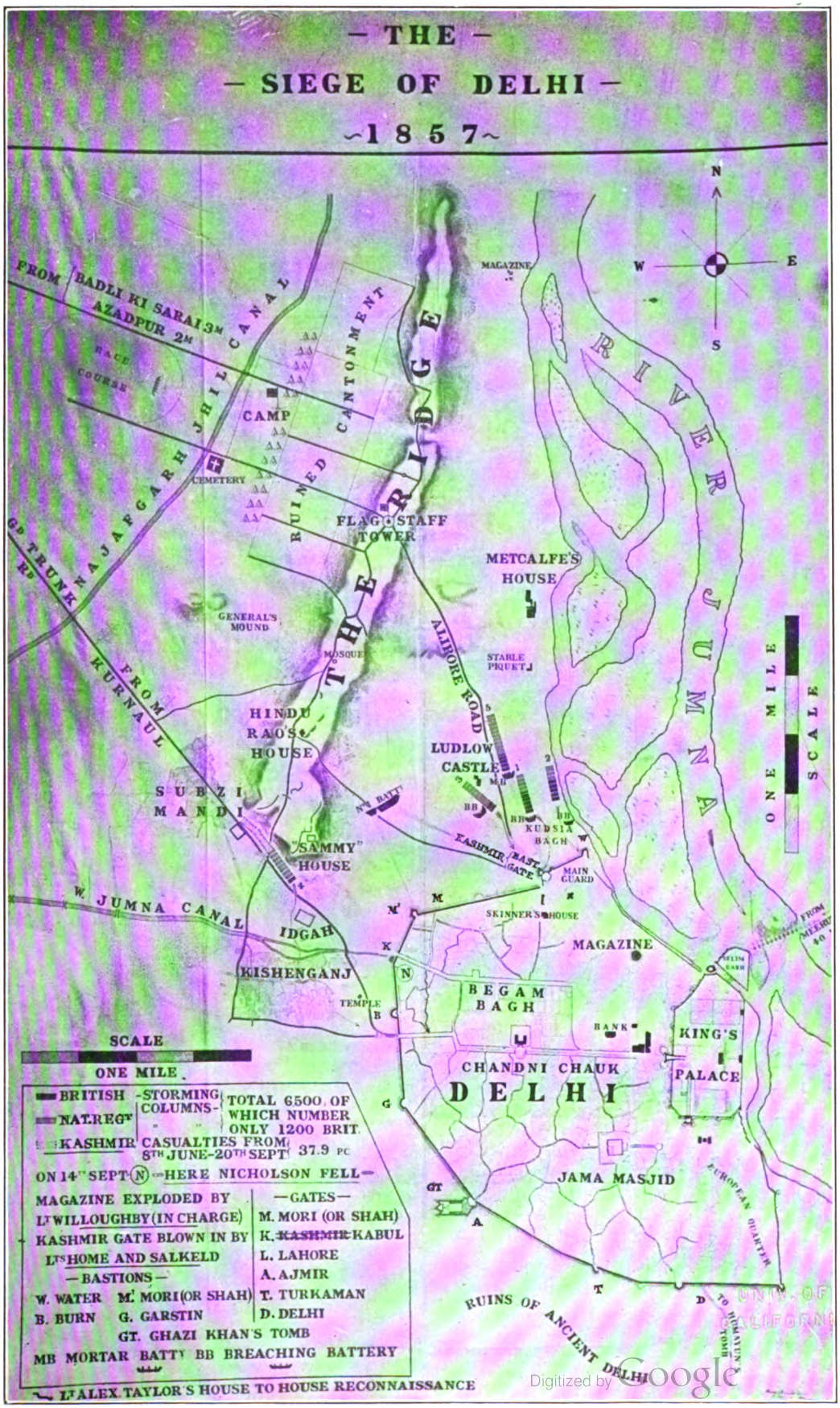

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

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[30 July, 1857.]
they had been trying grape (24) on him—we got home at about eleven to breakfast. There's my first day's duty.

* * * * * * *

Yesterday [29 July] afternoon John Fulton (25) came over for a visit and with him I walked through camp to the right of our camp, where is a high mound, called the 'General's Mound' [see map], on which is a heavy gun battery for the protection of our right flank, looking out towards Sabzi Mandi. Below the mound is the picket of two Horse Artillery guns, and a Troop of Cavalry. It was there that Jemmy Hills distinguished himself (26).

I met several friends yesterday—Earle, Baillie, Murray, Fraser (27), both Goughs—3rd and 8th Cavalry (28) Ward (8th Cavalry) (29), etc.

[31 July, 1857. Friday.]

This morning, the firing being very heavy, four of us went up to the Flag-Staff Tower. The alarm had been sounded from Hindu Rao's. At this end, on the road below Flag-Staff Tower were Hodson's 'Plungers', as his new Cavalry Regiment is called (30) and the Jheend Horse (31). We went up to the Tower. The Horse Artillery officers there tried a gun (there are two light guns just under the Tower) at some Pandies who were out by Ludlow Castle. Thomason rode in, driven in from his survey by them. We came back to breakfast: but now one of our officers has just come in to say that the Pandies have marched out in force—guns, cavalry and infantry—and have made a wide detour to the West; some of our troops have gone out to the rear; the enemy are probably after the Kumaon Battalion, and the convoys which they must be bringing in to-day. I must go and see if I can learn more about it. I am on duty from five o'clock this afternoon for 24 hours as Field Engineer on the right, Right battery, Sabzi Mandi, etc., and as they are banging away hard to-day, I expect I shall have lots of work to do and be well tired out. The greatest discomfort I experience is from not having a single servant; you know how indispensable they are in India. I was sent off last night to the only

24. "A combination of small shot, put into a thick canvas bag, and corded strongly together, so as to form a kind of cylinder, whose diameter is equal to that of the ball which is adapted to the cannon." (Major C. James's *Military Dictionary*. 4th edition. 1816.) The forerunner of 'case' shot.

25. 1st Lieut. John Fulton, Bengal Artillery—see ***ante***, p. 13. 26. On 9 July.

27. 1st Lieutenant Edward Lempriere Earle, Bengal Artillery, Professor of surveying, Thomason College, Roorkee.

1st Lieutenant George Baillie, Bengal Artillery, Officiating Superintendent of Workshops, Roorkee.

1st Lieutenants Robert Murray and John Mackenzie, Bengal Artillery.

28. Lieut. Hugh Henry Gough and Captain Charles John Stanley Gough—brothers. They both were awarded the Victoria Cross, were Knights Grand Cross of the Bath, and attained the rank of General.

29. Captain George Ward, 8th Bengal Light Cavalry.

30. The most common name for this regiment at the time seems to have been the *Flamingos*, from their red turbans.

31. The two regiments were amalgamated in 1921 with the title "4th Duke of Cambridge's Own Hodson's Horse," which in 1927 became "Hodson's Horse (4th Duke of Cambridge's Own Lancers.")

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bridge we have left within ten miles of this on the canal to blow it up in case the enemy come at it.

[4 August, 1857. Tuesday.]

Well, now I will tell you what we have been doing in camp since I wrote on the 31st July. That afternoon Fulford and I, having eaten our early dinner, rode off at 5 p.m. through drenching rain to our posts, he to Hindu Rao's and I to the Sabzi Mandi Serai picket.

Sabzi Mandi is a suburb of Delhi on the N.W. corner, about a mile and more from the walls. We now hold it, having looted it, and we take away still woodwork, &c., to our park. At the corner nearest Delhi is a large serai; in this we have a strong European Infantry picket: in a temple close by we have another smaller one. These are the 'Serai' and the 'Faqueer Takia' pickets, in the Sabzi Mandi.

[Sabzi Mandi means 'the vegetable market'. It still exists as a quarter of Delhi, outside the walls.—ED.]

The Serai is a large rectangular court-yard with flat-roofed rooms all round it and one gateway entrance: the roofs of these rooms form a fine terrace walk all round, on the outer edge of which are raised parapets of sand-bags with little loop-holes for musquetry. It poured nearly all my 24 hours of duty from 5 p.m. 31 July to 5 p.m., 1st Aug. At 7 in the evening my party of Sappers and Pioneers came and, after supplying them with tools and materials from our entrepot in the Serai, I marched them up the hill to Champain's (32) battery and the right battery and set them to work to repair the parapets and embrasures, raise the embankments, and do whatever work I thought was necessary. I had a charpoy (33) at the Serai on which I got a little sleep—very 'damp' slumber. During the evening the Pandies brought out a 6 Pr. gun and tried it on us; their firing was bad and we went out and brought in the only ball which hit the walls. All the next day [1 August]—the Eed day—(34) the Pandies came out in bodies and fought the right batteries and Serai and their outposts: they never came nearer than between two and three hundred yards of the Serai, tho' they evidently occasionally meditated a charge, but not the perpetual blowing of the 'Advance' and the shouts of 'Chalo Bhai' (35) could get them on. Our picket were 8th King's, armed with Brown Bess: this the Pandies soon found out and treated us with contempt, exposing themselves to us, most tantalizing, and 'pinging' away their rifle bullets all day at us. The Ghoorkhas and Guides in the small breastworks on the slope of the hill in front of 'Crows' Nest' and right battery, fought these Pandies all day. At one time, for an hour or two, a lot of Guides (Khakee, every atom of their clothing) came down on the road between us and the Pandies and fought beautifully, lying down like stones on the road; getting quietly up and taking steady aim; perhaps the shot is not a good

32. Named after Lieut. Bateman—Champain of the Engineers.
33. Lit. 'four-footed.' The common light Indian bedstead.
34. August 1 was the Musalman festival of the Bakri 'Id, when, according to the Mahomedan tradition, Abraham attempted to sacrifice Ishmael.
35. Hindustani. "Come along, brother."

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[1 August, 1857. Saturday.]
one; down they lie again: they never throw away a shot and are as cool and fearless as any men I know: for this fighting they are far superior to Europeans: you will see a little pretence of a breastwork, about 2½ or 3 feet high: to be sheltered the Guides must actually lie down: they won't stir: if a Pandy shows an inch over, he is shot; but the Guide won't show *himself*: a Guide will have his hand on the breastwork on one side, and a Pandy on the other side, but the Guide won't stir: thus a few Guides will hold an almost untenable position against lots of Pandies all day; whereas the Europeans would have either cleared the Pandies off altogether or have been nearly all killed or driven back: so you would lose a lot of men and probably be often driven in. The Guides, on the contrary, will hold the post, and hardly lose a man, and will polish off many a Pandy. At 5 p.m. I was relieved by Stewart.

The fighting began to be severer then, and all night they fought what was meant to be a night attack: they were chiefly the Neemuch (36) party, who had sacked Agra, who fought us that night: most of the men lying dead before our batteries were Kotah contingents (37). Our loss when they drew off, well licked, next morning [2 August] was 23 killed and wounded—among the former poor Travers (38), 2nd in command of Coke's Rifles, who was shot through the head: he leaves a young widow (not married a year) who is at Lahore with MacPherson. Their loss was about 500 killed and wounded: they left 70 bodies in front of one of our batteries: we hardly returned a shot of theirs: only when they summoned up pluck to charge (which they did occasionally) right up to the batteries, our grape played prettily into them. On the evening of the 1st, when I got back to our Engineer house, I found Ski (39), from whom I knew that the Kumaon Battalion, the Artillery ammunition, and Dacres (40) and Plowden (41), with the 4th Lancers' horses had arrived. Soon Dacres, with a formidable beard, made his appearance, looking very well and jolly: he, Ski, Charlie Boileau and I went up to the Flag-Staff to see the fight: the troops were all turning out and Charlie Boileau had to rush off to fall in with the 61st. Dacres soon got under fire, for as we rode up to the Flag-Staff, a big round shot came dead straight at us, struck a rock in front and bounded beautifully just over our heads, smashing a compound wall behind us, and as a group of some thirty of us had collected below the flag-staff, Pandy could not resist the shot so temptingly offered, and took a beautiful straight aim at us. I had up to this prided myself on not bobbing or flinching, but this time I fairly bolted with all the rest: luckily

36. The brigade from Neemuch, Central India. The troops mutinied there early in July.
37. The contingent from Kotah, Eastern Rajputana. Lang (diary dated 17 July) says:—'At Agra, the Neemuch troops came up. Europeans and Kotah contingent advanced against them. Kotah contingent turned [? mutinied]. Europeans had to retreat.
38. Lieut. Eaton Joseph Travers, Punjab Infantry.
39. Gustavinski; see *ante*, *p.* 20.
40. Lieut. Dacres Wise; see *ante*, p. 13.
41 Lieut. George Ward Chicheley Plowden, 4th Bengal Light Cavalry (Lancers).

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[1 August, 1857. Saturday.]
the shell did not burst or a lot of us would have been killed and wounded. The Kumaon Battalion came in that morning of the 1st, and in the evening were on duty at several pickets. Temple, of the 49th (42), I found at the Flag-Staff picket with a lot of our new welcome Ghoorkhas. Dacres is for the present made orderly officer to Brigadier Grant (43), commanding the Cavalry Division, and I hope he may keep the post: there is a great superfluity of Cavalry officers in camp, and I don't think he would care to add to the list of doing-duty-walas in the Guide Cavalry, Hodson's Plungers, 1st, 2nd or 5th Punjab Cavalry. On the 2nd Dacres and I went

[2 August.]
out for a ride: we went on the roof of the Mosque which we found a dangerous look-out, for the Mori Bastion guns were firing very straight at the corner dome by which we stood. One shell pitched dead straight about thirty yards short and the fragments flew over our heads: almost immediately another followed on the same line, but pitched only about ten yards off, but did not burst and only covered us with earth and stones: we thought this too much for fun, so descended and rode down to the extreme right of camp, where we have a battery of three 18 Pr. guns on a fine natural mound called the 'General's' Mound. This being behind the Ridge is only a defensive battery, to close in the right of camp. Here I met lots of old friends, Wemyss, 1st Fusiliers (44), &c. When I got home to breakfast I found orders to be off to Azadpur to relieve Warrand. At noon I marched with my sappers. I found the Azadpur picket pitched in the most feverish and aguish-looking swamp imaginable, but very jolly compared to the country around which was like a great lake. Here fifty of Hodson's 'Plungers' under young Gough, of the 3rd Light Cavalry, and the Sappers under an Engineer officer were pitched, a picket so judiciously placed that Pandy might at any time cut them off. At 4 p.m. Gough and I rode out with two Sowars for a reconnaissance down the canal. We rode through water up to our horses' girths to the Pembari bridge, then rode down the opposite side of the canal to the Aqueduct: the canal used to be carried by an aqueduct over the Najafgarh jhil (45) cut so that its waters supplied Delhi and the Palace canals, and flowed between the Palace and Salimgarh (45*a*) walls into the Jumna: but we broke the Aqueduct and so from that point to the Jumna you must imagine the canal empty. The other canal is not an irrigation canal, but a drainage one, and carries off the waters of the great Najafgarh jhil: this Jhil last year, during the very great rains, covered 150 square miles! This Jhil Cut protects our rear beautifully. It was a beautiful evening as we rode down the canal

42. Lieut. Algar Bowdoin Temple, 49th Bengal N.I. (disbanded at Meean Meer. See *ante*, pp. 14-6.)

43. Brigadier J. Hope Grant, commdg. the Cavalry Brigade of the Delhi Field Force: he commanded a division at the 2nd Relief of Lucknow; subsequently commanded the British force in the China War, 1860, and afterwards became a General and G.C.B. See 'D.N.B.'

44. Lieut. Henry Manley Wemyss, First (Bengal) European Fusiliers.

45. Hindustani. *jhil*, a swamp.

45*a*. Salimgarh Fort—built in 1546 by Salim Shah, son of the Emperor Sher Shah—lies between the King's palace and the river Jumna.

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[2 August, 1857. Sunday.]
bank and the ride was delightful: we rode on a turf lane, over our heads arched the trees, a beautiful avenue which gives shade all the day: the full canal with its grassy banks flowing along like an English meadow and river, in fact we voted it very English looking; that illusion would be occasionally dispelled as we saw the troops of monkeys cross the path and scampering up the trees, or peacocks strutting proudly along, and parrots flying screaming about, and smelt the strong scent of the Babul (46) blossoms: still more so if we looked over our shoulders and at the picturesque Afghan horsemen at our backs. On coming back we found young Craigie (47) and fifty Guides Cavalry come to relieve Gough and the Plungers.

Next morning [3 August] he and I rode a long reconnaissance over Pembari bridge, over the swamped country to Shikarpoor and onto the Bussaye Bridge. At Shikarpoor we bullied the Lumbardar (48), got lots of (false, I suppose) information and took a guide to show us the only practicable route (so swamped is the country). We visited the ruins of the Bussaye and Rohtak Road Bridges (both of which we have destroyed) and the Aqueduct, and rode back by the canal bank and got into camp as hungry as hunters for breakfast. The enemy didn't appear to shoot at or pursue us at all. In the afternoon we took another reconnaissance by canal banks to Aqueduct and met Charles Gough (of the 8th Cavalry) come out with Guides to relieve Craigie.

Next [4 August] morning, Gough and I, accompanied by Stewart (relieving me) and Brigadier Grant and Dacres (his orderly officer) and troopers went the long round to Bussaye again. After returning and breakfasting at Azadpur I rode back to camp.

* * * * * *

Here is the 26th June [English] mail in and yet the mail conveying news of the Delhi and Meerut mutinies is not acknowledged! Well, it will save families a fortnight of suspense, this delay of the mail; we can settle India without the aid of more troops, I hope. My *Home News* made its appearance to-day but not your letters. I may hope for them tomorrow morning. The last No. of *Little Dorrit* (49), too, made its appearance, thus completing the set. The *Home News* is full of twaddle about the resources of the country of India, &c., and we read this with much interest before the walls of Delhi! It is very nearly three months since the rebellion broke out and yet no acknowledgment of the fact has reached us from England. We are too far from England still and want telegraphs and railways multiplied. 'Pandy' is fighting us to-day and three times have the 'Alarm' and 'Assembly' bugles sounded in camp, so I must be off in a minute. Yesterday afternoon I was on duty from three till sunset at the mouth of the Najafgarh jhil cut, constructing a great heavy raft (of big casks and trees) for the destruction of the bridge of boats: but I am anything but sanguine as to the usefulness of it: there are so many currents and so many shallows and islands and half-sunken trees, that it is a very great

46. The acacia tree. The scent is not unlike that of violets.
47. Probably Lieut. Francis John Craigie, Adjutant of the 4th Punjab Cavalry.
48. Hindustani. The registered head man of a village.
49. A novel by Charles Dickens.

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[4 August, 1857. Tuesday.]

chance anything reaching that bridge, however carefully and judiciously it may have been started. We sent two Infernal Machines (50) down yesterday; one struck an island and exploded in fine style; the second, I believe, reached the bridge, but didn't explode.

* * * * * *

[5 August.]

Having just come in from my tour of duty (from 3 a.m. to 11 a.m.) at Sabzi Mandi, I will finish this as quickly as I can, as the post closes at 12 noon. The enemy were out all yesterday, chiefly on our left front. Their cavalry tried a charge along the road by Metcalfe's ground below the Ridge, but a volley from the 'Metcalfe' picket (at each of which are two light H.A. guns in position) sent them to the right-about. Charlie Hunter, from the front of the Mosque, with his two light guns, made a tolerable bag of Pandies, firing on them about Ludlow Castle all day. Their attack before Ram Sammy House (51) was their strongest: there the new Ghoorkha arrivals were, the Kumaon Battalion, of which two officers were hit; one, Browne, 33rd (52), was hit by round shot in the hip, and, of course, died within an hour; the other, Temple (49th), shot in the neck under the ear: he will probably get over his (a musket ball) wound.

The troops were out all night expecting a night attack: the enemy, too, lay out all night and at the first streak of daylight they began again, at least I can answer for the right front on which I have been all the morning. I never saw them keep up such a hot fire of shot and shell on the Sabzi Mandi; they were bursting about us all the time. Charlie Boileau on the roof of the small 'Temple' picket was regularly driven down by four shells in half a minute, bursting just by us; how none of them hit us I cannot imagine. Dacres has lost his appointment of orderly officer to Brig^{r} Grant, as Anson (53) has returned to take it, and is appointed to do duty with Hodson's 'Plungers'.

Letter. 8 August. Saturday. Camp before Delhi.

* * * * * *

Nothing of importance happened yesterday [7th] for me to chronicle, there was fighting, but only one officer hit, young Fraser, Art^{y}, wounded, musket ball in leg, not severe. Gen^{l} Wilson (54) had the tail of his coat

50. "Attempts were also made to destroy the main bridge of boats across the Jumna, near the Fort, by floating down rafts with infernal machines, but none of them were successful. On the rafts were barrels of gunpowder, to which pistols at full cock were attached, in such a manner that a sudden jar would discharge the pistol and ignite the gunpowder. We used to row the rafts out into mid-stream, and then abandon them to the stream. None of them, unfortunately, reached the bridge of boats". (*A subaltern*—E. T. Thackeray, Bengal Engineers—*in the Indian Mutiny*. The Royal Engineers' Journal. December, 1930. p. 641.)

51. Ramasammy is the English corruption of the Hindustani word *Ramaswami*, used as a generic name for Hindus.

Sammy House signifies a Hindu idol-temple, or pagoda. (See *Hobson Jobson*. By Yule and Burnell. 1886.)

52. Lieut. John Hugh Browne, 33rd Bengal N.I.

53. Captain the *Hon*. Augustus Henry Archibald Anson, 84th (York and Lancaster) Foot; V.C., third son of the 1st Earl of Lichfield.

54. Brigadier Archdale Wilson, Bengal Artillery—now in command of the Delhi Field Force. See 'D.N.B.'

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[8 August, 1857. Saturday.]
blown away in the batteries. The enemy have made a new heavy gun and mortar battery in Paharipur, the suburb outside the Lahore Gate, and it was from that, that the very heavy firing came into Sabzi Mandi yesterday. During the afternoon they kept firing rockets into our Camp. A grand explosion in the city caused our men great delight. It was at first supposed that the enemy's magazine had blown up, but there was not noise enough nor was there the appearance of bits of building thrown into the air; it is supposed to have been the explosion of a great quantity of powder laid out to dry.

Last night we made a new battery on the right for heavy mortars to silence the new Paharipur battery. Last afternoon a force was to have gone out to take that battery, but it was thought best first to try and silence it. Nicholson (55) arrived in Camp yesterday (alone without his column of troops). I wish he were to have the command of a force to take that battery this afternoon and I were to be of the party. By mail-cart yesterday, too, arrived Medley and Hovenden, the former from Dehra Ghazi Khan, the latter from Peshawar; they join the ranks of the Field Engineers, a welcome addition. There are now 23 officers of our Regiment (56) here. Our people seem to be beginning to hold their own in Central India now. Holkar (57) has remained steadily faithful to us: you may say that these are a few instances of fidelity & that the Hindu and Mahommedan are not utterly bad: the exceptions are so very extraordinarily few, that I insist that all the Mahommedans and Hindus of our presidency are as faithless, cruel, and ungrateful race as exist. I certainly think the Mahommedans the worst, but in very many parts of India, the Hindus have led the rising and the barbarities. At Indore, there seems to have been a bad massacre; at Mhow most escaped, but the Keranies (58) and their women and children and Major Harris (59) and his adjutant. I am sure our Khits (60) and our Sappers are in constant communication with the enemy: when the first infernal machine was started for the bridge, none knew of the project but Engineer officers and a few Sappers; yet on that day not a grasscut (61) crossed the bridge; all were sent to forage on this side, and men evidently waited for these things and knew how to handle them without danger.

Letter. 13 August. Thursday. Camp before Delhi.

Four days have passed without my writing you a line.

* * * * * *

55. Brigadier John Nicholson. See *ante*, p. 81.
56. i.e. Bengal Engineers. 57. The Maharajah of Indore. 58. Half-castes.
59. Alfred Harris, 1st Bengal Light Cavalry: killed on 1 July.
60. A shortened form of *Khidmatgar* (Hindustani). "The Anglo-Indian use is peculiar to the Bengal Presidency, where the word is habitually applied to the Musulman servant, whose duties are connected with serving meals and waiting at table". (*Hobson-Jobson*. 1886.)
61. i.e. grass-cutter—a servant employed to collect grass for horses, one such being usually attached to each horse, besides the syce, or horse-keeper.

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[13 August, 1857. Thursday.]

We have too much work, too much to occupy us to allow us to be ill, to let us know when it is hot or wet, or uncomfortable, and we conquer illness it seems generally, for certainly unless the work steeled the mind to forget ills, our bodies ought to suffer at this unhealthy season, in this unhealthiest of localities and amidst this utter recklessness as to precautions and care; but tho' every one in turn is on the sick list, the general health in camp is capital.

I wrote on the 8th, so, to return to the journal fashion, I will say what I have done each day since. That afternoon I went up for my 24-hour tour of duty to Hindu Rao's house, where the Ghoorkhas live; this is a grand three-storied house with a flat roof, from which is a beautiful view of our whole position and of Delhi; but, at the same time, Hindu Rao's is the centre of fire and consequently the roof is no safe look-out.

In the three stories of the house are the sick and wounded of the Ghoorkhas; at the back of the lower story are a set of cloisters in which the officers live; at the rear are stables and outhouses in which the Ghoorkhas live. In front of Hindu Rao's, looking towards Delhi, is the centre battery; to the left of Hindu Rao's, towards the Mosque, is the Observatory Tower, in front of which is the left battery. Of course on all this bit of the Ridge the enemy pour their fire all day and the road running along the top of the Ridge; from Observatory to Champain's Battery is a very fatal walk when the fire is heavy.

Well, the night of the 8th, mending revetments and embrasures in my batteries was the work.

On the 9th I had the worst bit of work I have ever had, carrying platforms from left and centre to Champain's battery, under an exceptionally heavy fire; after three trips, Baird Smith and Chesney, escorting Nicholson about the position, came up to the right battery and of course they saw the folly of the order; so I stayed till relief time under the parapet of the right battery.

* * * * * *

Well, this afternoon [10 August], I was again on duty from half past six till daybreak, repairing embrasures at the right and Champain's batteries, and the moonlight being very bright, the Pandies fired with musketry all night on the parapet and embrasures, but, luckily, with no manner of effect.

11 August. Tuesday.

I was sleeping during the early part of the day. Dacres and I rode out in the evening and paid Temple a visit; he is getting over his wound. Pym of the 75th (62) dined at our mess, an old Pindi and Murree chum. I don't like meeting that regiment now; it is so melancholy missing so many

62. Ensign Charles Melville Pym, 75th Regiment of Foot.
Lieutenant Charles Robert Rivers.
Ensign William Crozier. Killed before Delhi, 18 July.

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[11 August, 1857. Tuesday.]
of the old jolly faces, particularly poor little Crozier and Rivers. That night I thought Gustavinski had cholera and sat up with him a long time; he got all right next day.

Diary (extract). 12 August. Wednesday.

At about four in the morning heard the steady rattle of musquetry and occasional booming of guns and longed to hear them stop, that I might imagine that our troops had charged in with the bayonet. Soon Hovenden and Maunsell came in with the most welcome intelligence that Showers's Force had taken four guns (two 6 prs., one 9 pr., one 24 pr.). On our side Showers (63) was wounded twice, Coke and Greville (64) were wounded and Sheriff of 2nd Europeans (65) mortally.

Showers had 1,100 men from 1st and 2nd Europeans, 8th King's, Coke's Rifles and Kumaon Battalion; Guides, Cavalry, and 9th Lancers; and 40 Sappers with 100lbs. of powder, a battering-ram and spikes.

The 1st Europeans bore the brunt; our loss is 16 killed, 22 wounded. Remington (66) and Lindsay were also with Showers with some guns. The guns were on the road just beyond Metcalfe's grounds.

Lindsay and Salwey came in in the afternoon. At five I went up to Hindu Rao's. I foolishly went 'Valley of Death' road, not knowing what a heavy fire 'Pandy' was keeping up on the centre, and found it an uncommonly unpleasant ride. Very little work.

Letter. 12 August.

At five in the afternoon I was again on duty coming up for 24 hours to Main Picket. Two shots have hit the house just now; one smashed into a room full of wounded Ghoorkhas but hit none. There I have written a lot.

18 August. Tuesday. Camp before Delhi. [Sunrise, 5.26. Sunset, 6.36.]

Here I am again [Hindu Rao's house] where I was when I last wrote five days ago. This is a hot, lazy day and the gunners on both sides seem to have agreed that the sun is too hot to allow of standing out firing guns in the batteries. My work, too, is light. I have only a small party of sappers at work in the centre battery constructing permanent sheds for the Artillery men and I go occasionally to see that all is going on well, and very glad I am to return from the glare to the shade of these cloisters, tho' they be tenanted by flies, whose name is legion, and odours of Ghoorkhas and their dinners. So I have leisure to take up my pen and this letter and narrate the monotony of the days since the 13th. That day eight of my servants and Herat (67) made their appearance.

14 August. In the morning in marched a goodly reinforcement con-

63. Brigadier St. George Daniel Showers, 2nd European (Bengal) Fusiliers, commanding the 1st Brigade of the Delhi Field Force.
64. Captain Southwell Greville—wounded.
65. Lieutenant David Francis Sherriff, 2nd European (Bengal) Fusiliers. Became in 1861 the 104th Foot, and was disbanded on 31 July, 1922, then being the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Munster Fusiliers.
66. Captain Frederic Freeman Remmington, Bengal Artillery.
67. The name of Lang's horse.

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[14 August, 1857. Friday.]
sisting of H.M.'s 52nd (68), remaining wing of Her Majesty's 61st; the 2nd (Green's) Punjab Infantry (69), 300 of the 7th Punjab Infantry (70); 400 Mooltani Horse (71), and Bourchier's Light Field Battery, with which I crossed the Beas. [See *ante*, pp. 92-3.] With them came an accession to our party in the shape of Pat Murray and his half company of Sappers, consisting of four Afghans and two Sikhs! the Poorbeahs having all been disarmed at Umballa and sent back to the Punjab. This is a goodly addition to our force and as Sir Henry Lawrence (72) has been told that the army now before Delhi must take it, for that no more troops from below can come up, I hope General Wilson will muster up moral courage enough to order the attack to be commenced in earnest, and that this most unsatisfactory dilly-dallying before Delhi may cease. 'Pandy' is now the attacking and we the attacked party. 'Pandy' holds ground which once was ours: my first piece of duty here was to construct an Abattis at the very end of Metcalfe's Stables, and now that ground and right up to the Stables is held by 'Pandy', and the Stables themselves are nearly untenable—bits of the roof smashed in and many a hole right through the walls; against our right, too, he advanced and is getting breastworks run up very near to us at the 'Pagoda' Picket and Crow's Nest.

That day the fire was kept up and Taylor's horse was killed by round shot at the Observatory. Greathed, Hovenden and I rode down to the 'Metcalfe' Picket in the afternoon and inspected the ground, as at 6½ p.m. H. and I went down with a large party of Punjab sappers to spend the night on the trenches and works there: that is a relief I, the sleep-lover, hate, from 6 p.m. to daybreak.

15th was a holiday to me, spent at first in sleep. The 8th Band played in Camp and I went to listen to the delightful strains of music again. I dined with Salwey at the Umballa Artillery (73) Mess. Not much done that day.

16 August was also a holiday, to my surprise I never had such a spell—36 clear hours to myself. I went to see the arrivals in Nicholson's column.

* * * * * *

68. The 52nd (Oxfordshire) Regiment of Foot, Light Infantry—in 1930, the 2nd Battalion of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry.

69. 2nd Regiment, Punjab Infantry—in 1930, the 13th Frontier Force Rifles, 2nd Battalion. Captain George Wade Guy Green was Commandant.

70. 7th Punjab Infantry—in 1930, the 14th Punjab Regiment, 1st Battalion.

71. The 'Multani Regiment of Cavalry' was formed in 1858 from six *risalas* (cavalry regiments) of Multani Pathans which had been raised in 1857. In 1922, then being the 15th Lancers (Cureton's Multanis), it was amalgamated with the 14th Murray's Jat Lancers, to form the 20th Lancers, which title it still retains.

Major V. Hodson writes:—

"It is not certain whether this detachment (the strength should be 200, not 400) was one of those which went to form 'Cureton's Multanis,' or whether it was a draft of recruits for the 5th Regiment of Cavalry, Punjab Irregular Force. The latter regiment was raised at Multan in 1849, and now forms part of Sam Browne's Cavalry (12th, Frontier Force)."

72. Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner of Oudh. Died 4 July, in the Residency, Lucknow, from the result of wounds received two days before. See 'D.N.B.'

73. i.e. The Artillery belonging to the Umballa Brigade.

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Harrington (74), Bourchier, etc.

20 August, 1857. Again the same heading; this Main picket seems to be coming my own exclusive right; and I have no objections as it is our pleasantest post. After writing the other day, I was relieved of course at five; then rode to an auction of poor Travers' and Law's property in Coke's camp, to try and get a revolver, but did not, as the two for sale were not good ones.

* * * * * *

Yesterday I found myself again down for duty at 5 p.m. and consequently came up here. Hodson sent in from within four miles of Rohtak (75) to say that if some troops would come out to him they would take Rohtak and cut up a lot of the enemy. So Nicholson went out last night with six 6 Pr. guns and 1,200 men towards Rohtak. Charlie Boileau, with some of the 61st, is with him: lucky fellow! a jolly change from camp life, with the pleasure of expecting to meet the enemy to buoy him up. I forget whether I told you that Dacres with the 'Plungers' had gone out with Hodson on a reconnoitring expedition on the evening of the 14th, not knowing how long he was likely to be out. I have not heard from him since he went out, nor do I expect to, as they go 'daur-ing' (76) about in all directions: this is much better fun for him than sticking in camp, where cavalry have nothing to do. Last night a battery was made to the left of the Metcalfe Stables and two 9 Pr. guns of Scott's battery opened fire from it this morning at dawn to dislodge the enemy's picket, close to the stables: of course all the enemy's guns opened on the new battery and these batteries opened to keep down the enemy, so there was hard cannonading till 9 o'clock, when all stopped. I believe Scott's guns drove the enemy out, on which Infantry advanced and dismantled the building: that will, just for the time, make the Stables a more comfortable abode.

22 August. Saturday.

The enemy have made a new battery on the opposite side of the river, nearly opposite Metcalfe's house, from which they pitch shell and rockets at the Metcalfe picket and at Coke's camp, and last night they sent a rocket over and beyond this house: their 'attack' progresses well.

Nicholson's column of 1,200 men which went out on the night of the 19th, was in camp again at 10 o'clock the next morning: they marched out ten miles to Alipore and, after a two hours' halt, marched back again. They had been sent out because no news had been received from Hodson, and native rumour said that he was in Rohtak Jail holding out against a large force of the enemy with great difficulty, but a letter came in on the night of the 19th from Hodson [to say] that he was all serene, had passed

74. 1st Lieut. Hastings Edward H., Bengal Artillery; V.C. was awarded to him in November, 1857—relief of Lucknow.
75. About 40 miles N.W. from Delhi.
76. 'Dauring'. From *daur*—Hindustani, a raid

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[22 August, 1857. Saturday.]
Rohtak and was bound northwards. There is no other camp news. Wilde's 4th Punjab Infantry (77) reached Lahore on the 19th en route to this place; they are the last reinforcements we are to expect. The Siege Train (78) ought to be at Umballa to-day.

* * * * * *

Our doctor is now Hunter (79) who used to be doctor of the 46th when they were at Meerut and was a great friend of Walter's. He was at Moradabad when that extraordinary and polite regiment, the 29th, rose: that regiment took prisoners and cut up parties of mutineers from Meerut and Roorkee and eventually mutinied but took care of all their officers, sending them to Naini Tal.

We are going on very monotonously here. I am again in Main picket. I have no objection at all: and I believe it is intentional now, as Taylor objects to officers taking not sufficient interest in their work if they don't see it again for days, and this is, of course, the case when an officer is at Hindu Rao's one tour, at Metcalfe's the next, then at Pagoda, then at Right Battery, and so on, changing about so frequently they see the beginning, ends or middle of works, and cannot have the interest in them, which they would feel when they are continually returning to the same works at short intervals. There is no camp news. 'Shaves' (80) by the

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77. Captain Alfred Thomas Wilde, Madras Infantry, now commanding the 4th Punjab Infantry.

78. A 'Siege-train' was composed of men, guns, and materiel, for the conduct of a siege.

The 'train' here mentioned, under the command of 1st Lieut. William John Gray, Bengal Artillery, left Ferozepore at 2.0 a.m. on 10 August, 1857, and marched into camp at Delhi at 1.30 a.m. on 4 September, having taken exactly 25 days to cover the 268 miles, during the most trying season of the year, as anyone knows too well who has spent the month of August in the 'plains' of the Punjab. This extraordinary march has never received the recognition which it undoubtedly deserves. The 'train' consisted of more than 700 hackeries (two-wheeled country carts), drawn by bullocks, with a few elephants, camels, etc.

The armament was	4	10 inch	howitzers.
6 24 pounder guns.	10	8	do.
8 18 do.	6	5½	do.

The 'train' actually reached Umballa on 22 August, which shows that the 'Intelligence' of the Delhi Field Force was good.

Gray's diary, kept during this march, will appear in the next No. of *Journal*—January, 1931.

79. Surgeon Thomas Christopher Hunter.

80. In *The Slang Dictionary* (J. C. Hotten, 1865) 'shave' is defined as 'a false alarm, a hoax, a sell. This was much used in the Crimea during the Russian Campaign'.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines it as 'an unauthenticated report', with two examples:—

a. "Lord Wellington not having returned, and of course nothing positive being known as to our destination, we have only those passing reports which the military men call 'shaves'. (Letter, dated 12 June, 1814—at Toulouse." *The Private Journal of F. S. Larpent, Esq.*, Judge Advocate General of the British Forces in the Peninsula. 3 vols. 1853. iii. 200).

b. (1898). "In every camp in war time there are curious rumours called 'shaves', which originate no one knows how, and are disseminated with equal mystery. They are sometimes fantastic, but often curiously accurate". See *Journal*, vol. v. 42.

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dozen there are, which inventive minds pour upon the camp.

25 August, 1857. Tuesday.

Here we are going on the same as ever, very little being done. Nicholson went out with a force this morning, as the enemy had a large army in the field which went out of Delhi in the direction of Najafgarh jhil but what their object is, is not known. Perhaps they mean to make a large detour and come on to the Kurnal road to seize our Siege-train. That would be their last chance: once let us have the Siege-train and their day is over. I was in hopes that I might get out with this force and get a little change, and thinking I was next on roster for duty was beginning to make arrangements last night, but Geneste's was the next tour of duty, so off he was sent; all went at 4 a.m.

Hodson's force came in yesterday morning; he and his 300 Sowars returned with no men killed, and only one officer and 14 men wounded, and had killed 88 of the enemy's Sowars. They had two fights, one on foot in a village, and another before the walls of Rohtak, a cavalry engagement. The Guides and new 'Plungers' fought capitally. At the village seven desperate men got into a house, and held it, firing pistols and carbines out of the door and our men firing theirs in; the dodge of burning grass being tried, out rushed the seven. Hugh Gough caught the slash of No. 1 on his sword but slipped and fell backwards: Charles Gough rushed forward and put his sword through No. 1 as he was going to kill Hugh and with a backstroke cut down No. 2: Nos. 3 and 4 rushed on Ward who, with one ball, killed No. 3, and, as that party fell on him, he shot No. 4 over his shoulder. Hodson cut another down and the Guides two more; all this done in a second or two must have been stirring fun. Dacres standing within a yard of the door (before they came out) was struck by bits of brick and mortar sent flying by a ball fired at him from within.

The force at Hissar (Van Cortlandt) was attacked by 4,000 of the enemy: after the firing from the walls had disposed the enemy to give in, the gates were thrown open and Frank Boileau with the Cavalry charged out; his men didn't back him up well, but on he charged far ahead and by his dashing charge turned the enemy, and his men eventually came up; he tried to capture one sowar himself and would not let his men help: consequently one cut on the wrist disabled him; his enemy gave him a fearful slash over cheek and jaw, severing the bone. The loss of blood was very great, and the wound very difficult to clean and close; however, it is now bound up and poor Frank fed by means of a quill; and so on liquids he will be for a long time fed; poor fellow. God grant he may get over this very severe wound.

My daily news is as usual; 22nd-23rd on Main picket; 24th and 25th I have been in camp; to-night I suppose it will be Main picket again. Salwey has been very ill, but yesterday he was very much better and I hope all safe. I have not been to see him to-day. We have very heavy rain to-day. I hope it will again drive cholera out of camp.

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Letter. 26 August, 1857. Wednesday. Camp before Delhi.

Having to go off in another hour's time to the ground in front of our new trench and stay out till dusk, cutting down trees, &c., which afford Pandy cover, I have come in from the batteries (into Hindu Rao's) to write a bit to you, as I believe I ought to send off my letter to-morrow. Nicholson came across the enemy yesterday afternoon at 4½ p.m. and administered to them a good thrashing at Najafgarh, taking twelve guns, and dispersing them in all directions: he took so many tumbrils (81) that he could not bring them all in and (hang it there is the alarm again)—had to blow a lot up. Consequently Pandy is excessively riled and has been pounding from Water, Kashmir and Mori Bastions at us and making his absurd charges to within 150 yards of the batteries: nearer he will not come but keeps 'pinging' away into our batteries from the low walls at that distance. I have been out watching the fun for the last half hour or so, and our riflemen, and doses of grape had, I thought, quieted them, but the alarm has sounded again, and swords again are buckled on and out I shall go again.

'Pandy' has brought out six more guns and his cavalry are pouring out, so I suppose he has summoned up pluck for an attack: his courage will fail him before he has done much. I expect the place where I was to cut down trees, will be for an hour or two inhabited by Pandies and much traversed by balls from our Guides and Ghoorkhas in the trench.

* * * * * *

'Pandy' is a coward: he has been and is going on with his fusilade and cannonade and we reply, but he won't charge right up. I got tired of the sun in the batteries and have come in and written so much. Our grape has sent many of them off, carried away, dead or wounded, and of course every now and then we get a man hit: one rifleman just now came in, shot thro' the leg, not caring for the wound, but anathematizing his luck to have been engaged 23 times and at last to be hit by one of his own side. Another fellow has just come in, with a jolly hole in his forehead, but luckily he was hit sideways and the ball has gone out again. This poor shattered house has had one or two bad raps to-day. My tree-cutting party is knocked on the head.

* * * * * *

Very, very grateful ought I to be that I have yet been spared by God's mercy till now thro' all these dangers, and God grant that I may feel it more and really from my heart feel how powerless I am and how petty is this world and all my earthly hopes and plans and how in our Saviour alone and in His service can true dependence and happiness be found: but how very hard and thankless our natural hearts are.

Letter. 29 August. Saturday.

* * * * * *

Dacres went off yesterday morning to Alipore where he will be on picket for several days I suppose. Charlie Boileau has joined the Foot

81. Tumbril. A two-wheeled covered cart which carries ammunition, entrenching tools, etc., for an army.

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[29 August, 1857. Saturday.]
Artillery as a volunteer to work the heavy guns in battery. The Siege-train has not yet crossed the Markanda (82), when will it arrive? I was on duty yesterday from 3½ a.m. till noon, working at the new battery, on which the enemy kept up a steady shower of shot, shell and grape, firing excessively well: but the sun was the most trying enemy. I suppose that, tho' rain is stopping, we shall have a great deal of fever. Cholera is again carrying off great numbers, especially in 52nd and 61st. This long delay will have cost us many more lives than an assault.

31 August. Monday.

I have been sitting all day by the bedside of poor Warrand whose left arm was amputated at the shoulder last night: it is sad to see so fine, tall, broad-shouldered fellow lying there with his whole arm gone and weak and helpless. It is these scenes and results which make war sad: while before the enemy we laugh and think nothing of danger or misery and suddenly down goes some friend and then one feels that it is no pleasant exciting pastime, this war, but a fatal reality. Poor young Woodward (83) too, our assistant surgeon, is buried to-day.

I wrote the day before yesterday, Saturday, the 29th. After Mess that evening, just as I was going off to bed, I received orders (as did three others) to go down at once and reinforce Warrand's party of four officers and 300 Sappers, who were out in front of our right, clearing away the jungle to within three or four hundred yards of the walls. The enemy were charged out of their line of breastworks opposite our right front (which only cost one rifleman killed and two wounded) and then our covering parties of Rifles, Guides and Ghoorkhas used their breastwork and held it and 300 Sappers with felling axes were launched into a square mile or more of high seven-foot grass jungle to cut down the trees; axes were soon ringing away in all directions and musketry rattling away along our front and the bullets flying through the jungle: at first wading about this jungle and prying out Pandies' haunts, his walls, and hollows and rifle pits, so to speak, and the paths, well worn, leading to them, and to come out of the edge of the jungle and look over the clear narrow plain at the near walls and listen to Pandy's alarm and assembly bugles as they rang through the city, warning the 'Mata Deens' (84), to be on the alert against what they took to be an assault on the city—all this at first, when clear bright moonlight shone over all the scene, was very exciting, novel and pleasant, but when at twelve the moon went down and all was dark and the Sappers (the new Punjab, raw, undisciplined dogs), trusting to the dark, the thick cover, and the scattered position, took to skulking from bullets and work, by hiding in the grass, and when to keep them at work necessitated perpetual fruitless wandering through the 'pathless wilds,'

82. Markanda. A river crossing the Grand Trunk Road, about 10 miles S. from Umballa. The Siege-train completed the crossing of the river on 26 August and resumed its march to Delhi on the morning of the 27th.

83. See *ante*, p. 192.

84. A common name for a native in Oudh and the surrounding parts of the country, from which the mutinous sepoys mostly came. It was possibly used as a nickname by the Sikhs for the down-country sepoy. There is no doubt, however, as to its meaning.

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[30 August, 1857. Sunday.]
tumbling into crevices and pits and over ruined walls—the work ceased to be jolly. At about 3½ a.m. [30 August] poor Warrand, who was commanding us, fell by chance on me and told me to collect all and go to a certain point, that we might as a last measure destroy the breastworks which our covering parties were holding. With great trouble we got together eight officers and about 300 men and off we waded single file, through the ocean of high grass, six officers leading and two whipping in: arrived at a sandy lane, our rendezvous [illegible] called out for all the men to lie down, as 'Pandy' was quite close and his bullets flying fast. At last up came Warrand growling and wondering what had become of his party. I hailed him and said 'Here we are 8 officers and 300 men'—'All right then, up you get.' Up we got, and found that six officers and eleven men was our party! It was absurd! The rest had quietly, somewhere in the jungle, broken off single file and gone off where we didn't know; eventually they were found at the Pagoda picket and the two whippers in wondering where they had whipped in their men! After futile attempts to get our men, we all came back and drew in the covering parties, as day was coming on. We lay then on that path under bullets, so merry, and chaffing poor Warrand on his futile plans, and the next we saw of him was that evening, brought in with his arm shattered dreadfully by shell. He and a Sapper were doing something to the embrasure in the new Pagoda battery and a shell bursting in the embrasure smashed W.'s left and the Sapper's right, arms. In the same battery one Sapper had been killed and another lost his arm that day, too, and to-day some five or six have been hit: now that it is nearly finished it is more dangerous, apparently, than it was when but commenced and when there was hardly any shelter, as on Saturday when I was there.

Yesterday [Sunday] afternoon I went to the Cavalry Camp where service was held in the open air. A Rev. Rotton (85) officiated: his sermon was not very impressive—his object to urge the men to spare women and children in the storm.

This morning I saw Charlie Boileau in his new capacity as Artillery Officer in the centre battery: he showed me a letter from a comrade of Frank's at Hansi, and a copy of a note which Frank had written on a slate. Frank bore the removal from Hissar to Hansi very well and was getting on capitally.

I am glad I am not on duty to-night; it is pelting hard; the rains must soon break up; then heigh for fevers. I said casually at Mess that we would have 'Theatricals' in the Jumma Masjid, and Baird Smith said 'Oh! you won't be three days in Delhi before you all go off to new fields.' I hope that is true.

2 September, 1857. Wednesday. [Sunrise, 5.32. Sunset, 6.22.]

No news particular in camp. There is a quiet lull before the storm,

85. The Rev. John Edward Wharton Rotton, M.A., Assistant Chaplain, Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment.

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[2 September, 1857. Wednesday.]
which must break when the Siege-train comes in. I am for the present taken off the regular duty Roster and have daily to instruct the troops (European Infantry) in escalading. Last night I was out for instruction in the platform-laying (86), it is a great bore having to instruct all these raw Sikh recruits in the duties of sappers; however fine a corps the Punjab Sappers may be some day, they are undisciplined, stupid recruits now, and a sapper can't be formed under a couple of years. We feel now the great loss of 1,000 well-trained sappers. These fellows make such a row, and know nothing of what they have to do (87).

Last night we had a grand experimental battery made, and a lot of us were out, putting up powder magazines, laying platforms, &c. Our orders now are 'secret.' The Chief Engineer confides to the Engineers instructions, not to be revealed. Captain A. Taylor directs the whole attack; Greathed has the left and Gulliver (he won't be off the sick list, I fancy; he is quite floored now) the right; I am on the left. The left attack is opposite the Water and Kashmir Bastions, having its left on the river and Ludlow Castle as its right *point d'appui* (88).

Yesterday [1 September] an 8 inch shrapnel shell pitched in the 'Metcalfe' Stable picket yard and hit nine Europeans, four natives and a horse, some eight of them mortally; it came from across the river.

* * * * * *

(To be continued.)

NOTE.—The map, facing page 212, which accompanies this section of the Diary and Letters, is published by the kind permission of the Institution of Royal Engineers.

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86. Platforms (wood planks) for siege guns in battery.

87. In justice to the Punjab Sappers it is fair to state that they had had absolutely no previous military training. The majority were workmen employed on the Bari Doab canal in the Punjab.

"In June of that year [1857] he [Lieut. Duncan Charles Home, Bengal Engineers] received orders to raise three companies of Pioneers for service at Delhi from among the Muzbee Sikhs who were employed on the works under him. The order was received one morning and the three companies marched away, complete, the following evening. . . . . About a month later, however, he received an order to raise two more companies of Muzbee Pioneers, and to proceed with them to Delhi, where by forced marches of 20 miles a day he arrived about 20 August," *Biographical notices of officers of the Royal (Bengal) Engineers*, compiled by Colonel Sir E. T. Thackeray, V.C., K.C.B. 1900. pp. 122 3.

The corps was known indifferently as 'Punjab Sappers' and 'Punjab Pioneers', and in 1930 is the 2nd Battalion of the Corps of Sikh Pioneers.

88. *Point d'appui*. A position of especial strength or support in a line of defences. At the outbreak of the mutiny 'Ludlow Castle'—so called—was the residence of the Commissioner of Delhi, Mr. Simon Fraser, who was killed in the City by mutineers on 11 May.

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THE EARLIEST 'ESTABLISHMENT' — 1661 — OF THE BRITISH STANDING ARMY.

(*Continued from page* 161 *of* JOURNAL.)

AN ESTABLISHMENT OF HIS MAIESTIES GARRISONS OF ENGLAND.

1. ARCLIFFE BULWARKE.*

	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
The Captaine at	0	1	4	1	17	4	24	5	4
Twelve Gunners and Soldiers whereof Six at viij d. per diem, and Six at vj d. per diem	0	7	0	9	16	0	127	8	0

The allowances to the Captaine and six of the Gunners was heretofore paid out of the Exchequer, and of the other six out of his Maiesties revenue of Kent.

2. BARWICKE upon TWEED and holy Island.†

One Companie consisting of one Captaine who is to bee Governour at	viij s.	per diem.
A Lieutennant	iiij s.	
One Ensigne at	ij s.	
Two Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Three Corporalls, each at....	xij d.	
One drum at	x d.	
And One Hundred Soldiers, each at	viij d.	
And Six other Companies consisting of Six Captaines, each at	viij s.	
Six Lieutennants, each at	iiij s.	
Six Ensignes, each at	ij s.	
Twelve Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Eighteen Corporalls, each at	xij d.	
Six drums, each at	x d.	
And fower hundred sixty two Soldiers, each at....	viij d.	

That is to say seaventy seaven Soldiers to bee in each of the six Companies.

Memorandum that holy Island is to be man'd by part of these Companies and for Barwicke and holy Island there are to bee as parte of this Establishment.

* Bulwark. A substantial defensive work of earth, or other material; a rampart; a fortification.

† Holy Island- Landisfarne—is situated off the coast of Northumberland, 9¼ miles S.E. from Berwick-on-Tweed.

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ARCHCLIFFE FORT, DOVER.

Entrance Gate-way (present day) from interior of Fort.

Archcliffe Fort of to-day perpetuates the name 'Arcliffe Bulwarke' of 1661.

It is situated on the west side of the town, at the foot of the cliff below the Citadel, on what is, without doubt, the site of the original 'Bulwarke'. It is now occupied as offices (R.E. Headquarters) and barracks of the Fortress Company, Royal Engineers.

Bulwark Hill and Bulwark Street—names of streets adjoining the Fort—exist to-day, and on an old map there is a note that some waste land to the W. of the Fort, "formerly known as Bulwark Close," was "acquired by the Board of Ordnance in 1808."

In a plan of 1794 the Fort is shown as mounting 9 guns.

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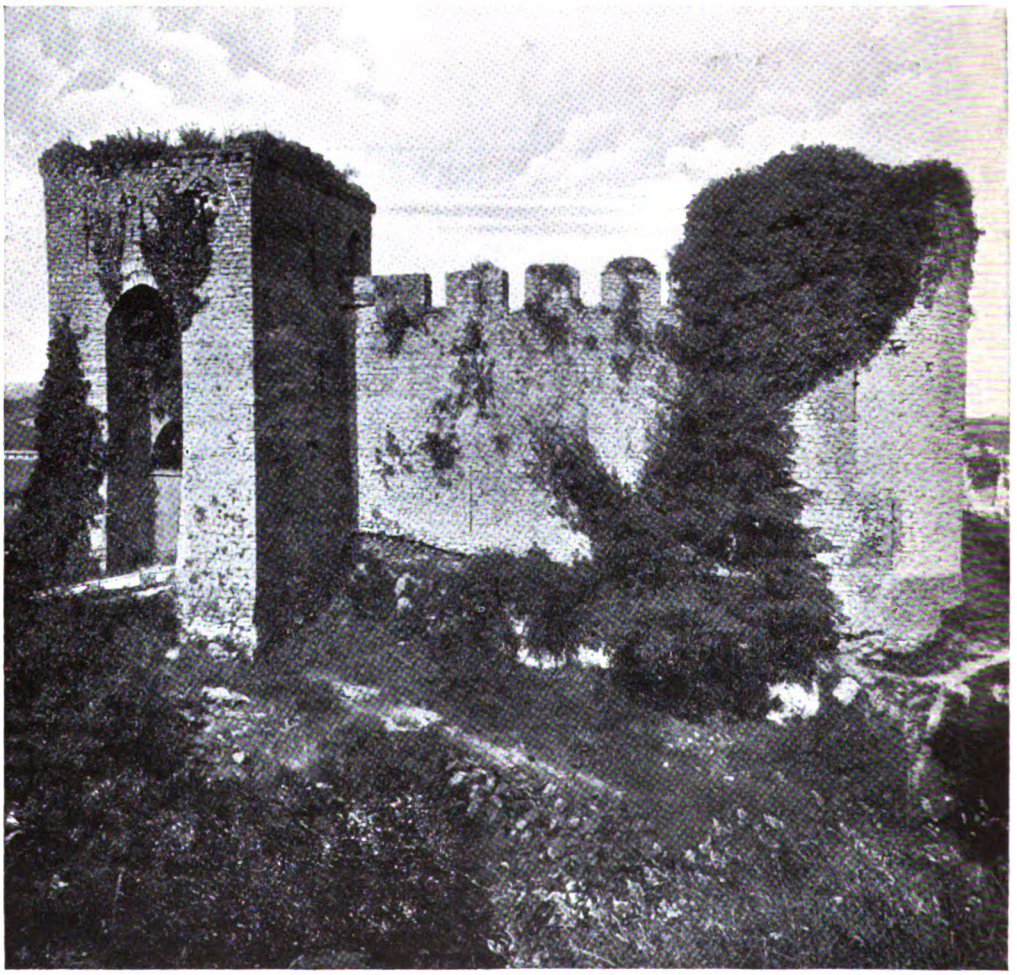

CHEPSTOW CASTLE—MONMOUTHSHIRE.

Gate-House of the upper Ward of the Castle—present day.

From *Castles*—facing page 153. By the courtesy of The Great Western Railway Company, and of Sidney Ellis, 19, Ludgate Hill, London.

Chepstow is situated on the right bank of the river Wye, about two miles above its influx to the estuary of the river Severn. It does not appear to have been maintained as a place of defence or to have been occupied by a Garrison after 1690. To-day it is only a ruin.

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[BARWICKE upon TWEED and holy Island—*continued.*]

One Gunner at	xviij d.	per diem.
Two Gunner's Mates, each at	xij d.	
Six Matrosses,† each at	x d.	
One Chirurgeon at	xviij d.	
One Gunsmith at	xij d.	
One Storekeeper at	ij s.	
For fire and candles for the Guards	iiij s.	

	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
In all amounts to	27	4	6	762	6	0	9909	18	0

3. COWES CASTLE in the Isle of Wight, Viz^{t}.*

	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
A Captaine at viij d. per diem	0	0	8	0	18	8	12	2	8
Three Gunners, each at vj d. per diem	0	1	6	2	2	0	27	6	0

For the better defence of this Castle, by ancient useage fifty men are appointed on any occasion out of the towne of Cowes to doe service heer who are therefore exempted from all other charge and duty, and likewise one hundred men more when they are hereunto required are out of this Island to come to doe service.

This Captaine and Gunners were heretofore paid out of His Maiesties revenues of the Island.

4. CARLISLE, Viz^{t}.

Three foote Companies consisting of three Captains, one whereof to bee the Governour, each at	viij s.	per diem.
Three Lieutennants, each at	iiij s.	
Three Ensignes, each at	iij s.	
Six Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Nine Corporalls, each at	xij d.	
Three drums, each at	x d.	
One hundred and eighty Soldiers to be equally divided into three Companies, each at	viij d.	
One Gunner, at	xviij d.	
One Gunner's Mate, at	xij d.	
Two Matrosses, each at	x d.	
Fire and candles for the Guards	ii s. vj d.	

‡ Matross. A soldier of the Ordnance (artillery), who acted as a kind of assistant to a Gunner. The 'Gunner's Mate' was, apparently, an intermediate rank between that of 'Gunner' and 'Matross'.

* Built about the year 1539. It is situated a short distance west of the town, to guard the entrance into the Newport river.

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[CARLISLE—*continued.*]

Per Diem			Per Mensem			Per Annum		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
9	12	2	269	0	8	3497	8	8

5. CHESTER, Viz[t].

This Garrison is to consist of a Captaine, to bee
Governour, at.... .... viij s.
A Lieutennant, at .... iiij s.
One Sargeant, at .... xviij d.
Two Corporalls, each at .... xij d.
One Drummer, at .... xij d.
Sixty Soldiers, each at .... viij d.
And for fire and candles for the Guards an allowance of viij d.
} per diem.

Per Diem			Per Mensem			Per Annum		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
2	17	2	80	0	8	1040	8	8

6. CHEPSTOWE Castle, Viz[t].

A Governour to bee Captaine of a foote Company and
to have, as Captaine and Governour .... viij s.
One Lieutennant, at .... iiij s.
One Ensigne, at .... iij s.
Two Sargeants, each at .... xviij d.
Three Corporalls, each at.... .... xij d.
One Drummer, at .... x d.
One hundred Soldiers, to each of them, at .... viij d.
One Gunner, at .... xviij d.
For fire and candles for the Guards .... xij d.
} per diem.

Per Diem			Per Mensem			Per Annum		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
4	11	0	127	8	0	1656	4	0

7. DOVER Castle, Viz[t].

The Lord Warden of the Cinque ports§ hath the command of this place, whose entertainment* is

Per Diem			Per Mensem			Per Annum		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
0	8	$9\frac{5}{8}$	12	5	$8\frac{5}{8}$	159	14	$2\frac{7}{8}$

§ The Cinque Ports were Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney and Hastings.
* Provision for the support of persons in service, especially soldiers; pay, wages.

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DOVER CASTLE. 1762. VIEW OF THE WEST FRONT.

From *The Antiquities of England and Wales*. By Francis Grose. New edition. [n.d.] vol. iii. Facing page 35.

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[DOVER Castle—*continued.*]

There is likewise for the safetie of this place one Gent.† and Seaventeene Gunners; the Gent. and nine whereof to have viij d. per diem and eight to have vj d. per diem.

[The summary of their pay is:—

Per Diem			Per Mensem			Per Annum		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
0	10	8	14	18	8	194	4	8

This is not entered in the M.S.].

One Lieutenant, one Clarke of the Castle and one yeoman Porter.

The Lieutenant, Clarke of the Castle, and yoman Porter are not to be estimated by any particuler or daily pay, they being to bee paid out of the Salarie of the Lord Warden, there entertainments following, Viz^{t}.

To the Lieutenant .... viij £.
To the Clarke of the Castle .... viij £.
And to the yeoman Porter .... ij £.
} per annum.

8. DEALE Castle, Viz^{t}.

	Per Diem			Per Mensem			Per Annum		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
The Captaine, at	0	2	9⅓	3	17	4	50	5	4
The Lieutenant	0	0	8	0	18	8	12	2	8
A Porter at viij d. and 18 Gunners and Soldiers at vj d., to each of them	0	9	8	13	10	8	175	18	8

† Meaning a "Gentleman of the Ordnance", who probably held rank under the Board of Ordnance, corresponding with that of a "Gentleman of a Company" of Infantry.

Francis Grose— *Military Antiquities*. Ed. 1786. vol. i., p. 312—writes:—

"A GENTLEMAN of a Company is a term that frequently occurs among our ancient military writers: these seem to have been a kind of cadets, except that they had greater pay than the private men, arising, as it seems, from some allowance from the captain or colonel."

In *Pallas Armata*, written by Sir James Turner in 1670-1, and published in 1683, we read that the Master of the Ordnance, who commands in chief over the Artillery, has under his command "The Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, two Colonels, if not more, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains, and Gentlemen of the Ordnance, Master Gunner, and all inferior Gunners", etc. (p. 195), and on page 218 that "neither Lancepesats, Gentlemen of the Company, nor Reformado's are Officers, and though Corporals be, yet they carry arms and march in rank and file. x x x x x A Gentleman of the Company is he who is something more than an ordinary Souldier, hath a little more pay, and doth not stand Centinel. x x x x x They march and watch with Arms, they go common Rounds and Patrouills; and near an Enemy they are to be the forlorn Centinels, whom the *French* call *Perdus*."

The following passage occurs in *Military and Maritime Discipline in Three Books*, by Captain Thomas Venn, published in 1672:—

The Gunner having loaded and levelled his gun "must then attend the Gentleman of the Ordnance, or other Chief Commander, their Order or Command, before he give fire", clearly showing that the latter was a person of superior rank. (Book iii. The *Compleat Gunner*. p. 50.)

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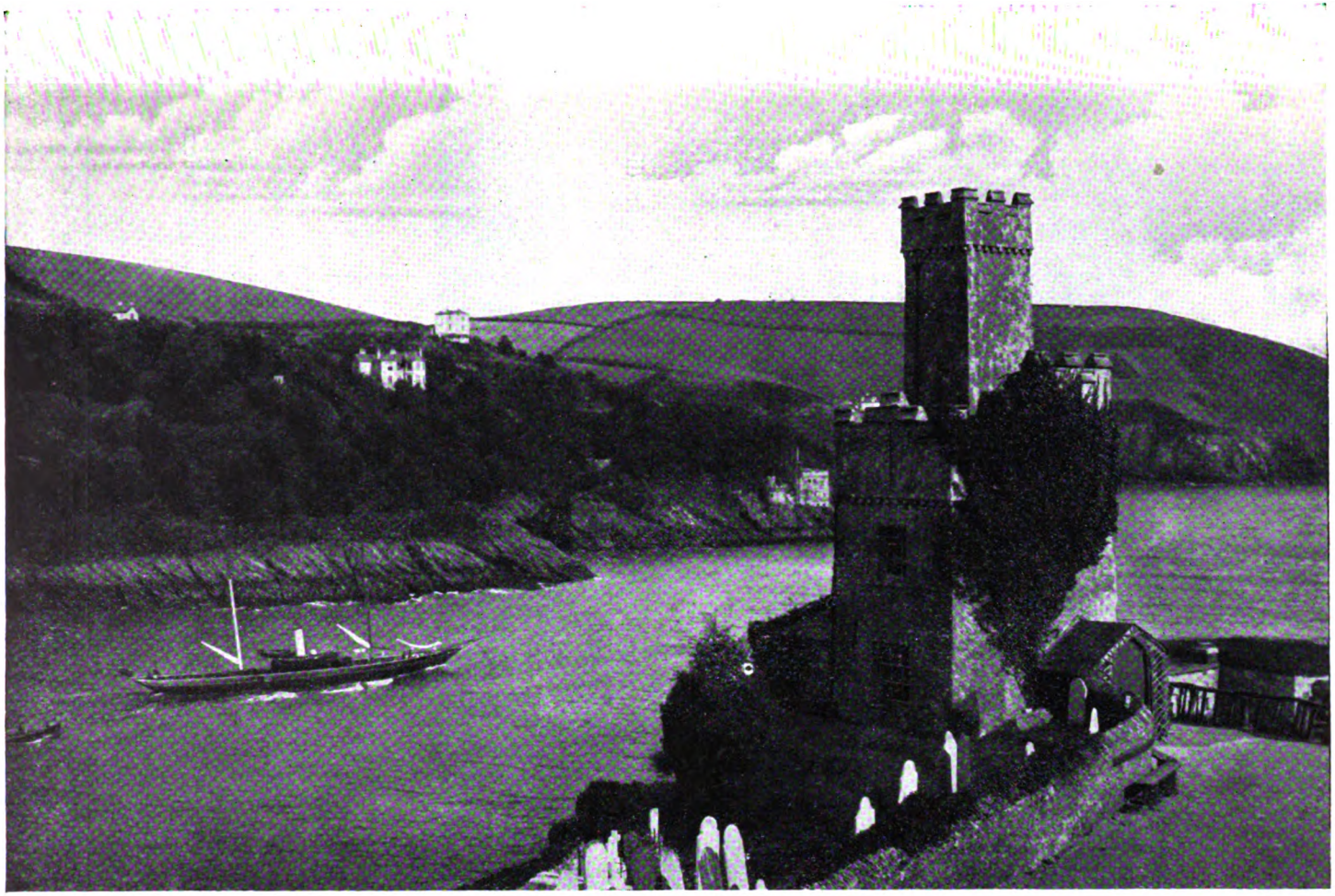

DARTMOUTH CASTLE—Devonshire.

From *Castles*—facing page 96. By the courtesy of The Great Western Railway, and of Sidney Ellis, 19, Ludgate Hill, London.

Dartmouth Castle stands on a low cliff near the mouth (right bank—western side) of the river Dart, which there empties itself into the English Channel.

It guarded the entrance into the river, which is tidal as far up at Totnes, 9 miles N., inland.

It is a square battlemented tower with a high look-out turret rising from it, and a battery for cannon at its foot.

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[DEALE Castle—*continued.*]

Twenty Poundes per annum of the Sallarie of the Captaine of Deale Castle was heretofore paid out of the Exchequer, and the residue of all out of his Maiesties Revenue of Kent.

---

9. DARTMOUTH Castle, Viz^{t}.

This Garrison is to consist of a Captaine who is to bee Governour thereof, at	v s.	per diem.
One Sargeant, at	xij d.	
One Gunner, at	xij d.	
One Matrosse, at	x d.	
And Eighteen Soldiers, each at	viij d.	
With a Boateman, at	viij d.	
And for fire and candles for the Guards	vj d.	

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
1	1	0	29	8	0	382	4	0

---

10. GUERNSEY ISLAND. Viz^{t}.

One Companie of foote consisting of one Captain, hee allso to bee Governour, at	viij s.	per diem.
A Lieutenant, at	iiij s.	
An Ensigne, at	ij s.	
Two Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Three Corporalls, each at....	xij d.	
One Drummer, at	x d.	
One hundred Soldiers, each at	viij d.	
A Chirurgeon, at	ij s. vj d.	
One Gunner, at	xviij d.	
A Gunner's Mate, at	xij d.	
Two Matrosses, each at	x d.	
And fire and candle for the Guards	ij s. vj d.	

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
4	17	8	136	14	8	1777	10	8

---

11. GRAUESEND Blockhouse on Essex side.*

Captaine, to bee Governour at	v s.	per diem.
A Corporall, at	xij d.	
Thirty Soldiers, each at	viij d.	
One Gunner, at	xij d.	
Two Matrosses, each at	x d.	
And for fire and candles for the Guards	vj d.	

* i.e. on north (left) bank of Thames, opposite Gravesend. Later known as Tilbury Fort

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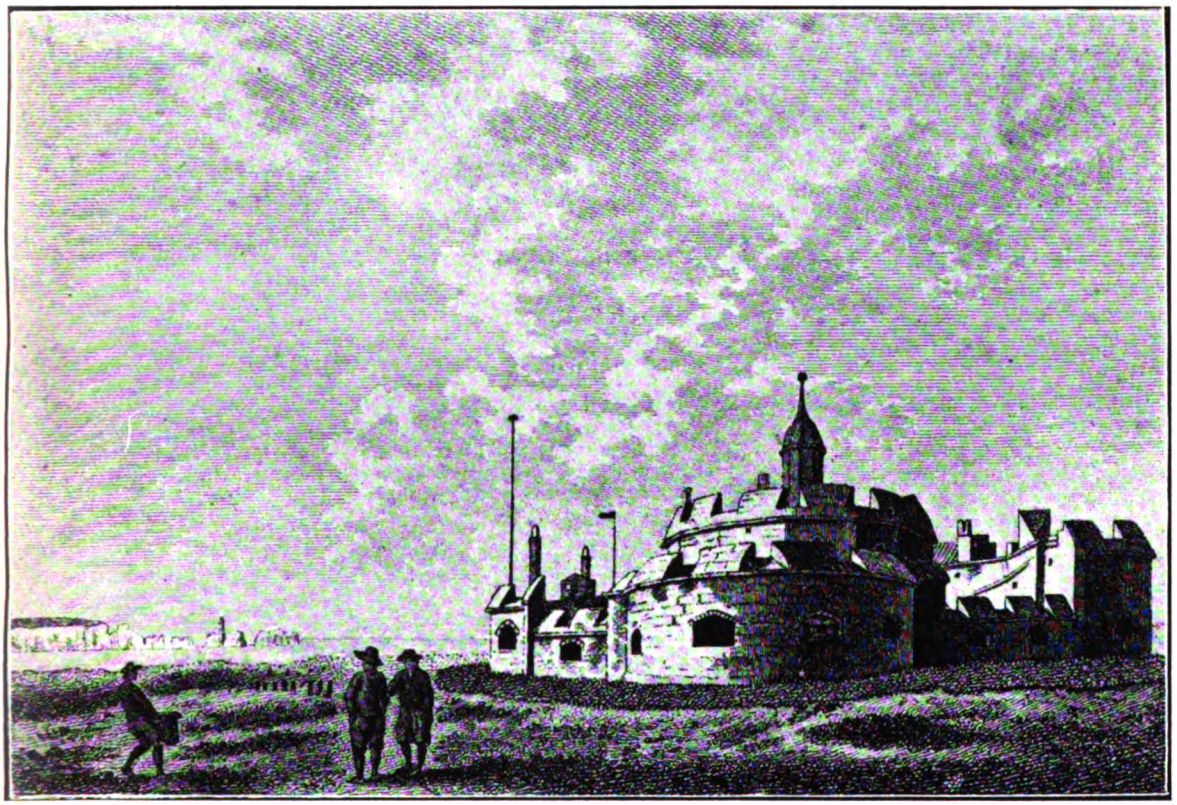

HURST CASTLE in HAMPSHIRE.

From *The Antiquities of England and Wales*. By Francis Grose. New edition [n.d.] in 8 volumes, vol. ii. p. 196.

Hurst Castle is situated on the extremity of a peninsula, 8½ miles S.W. from Lymington, opposite the west end of the Isle of Wight.

In the back-ground on the left of the picture are seen the Needles—west end of Isle of Wight.

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[GRAUESEND Blockhouse—*continued.*]

Per Diem			Per Mensem			Per Annum		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1	9	2	40	16	8	530	16	8

12. HULL and THE BLOCKHOUSES there.‡

Six Captaines, whereof the Governour to bee one, each at	viij s.	per diem.
Six Lieutenants, each at	iiij s.	
Six Ensignes, each at	ij s.	
Twelve Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Eighteene Corporalls, each at	x d.	
Six Drums, each at	x d.	
600 Soldiers, each at	viij d.	
Two Gunners, each at	xviij d.	
Six Matrosses, each at	x d.	
Two Gunners Mates, each at	xij d.	
One Storekeeper, at	ij s. vj d.	
And for fire and candles for the Guards	iiij s.	

Per Diem			Per Mensem			Per Annum		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
27	4	6	762	6	0	9909	18	0

13. HURST Castle, Viz^{t}.

The Captaine who is to bee Governour, at	xx d.	per diem.
Under Captaine	xij d.	
Ten Soldiers, each at	vj d.	
Eleaven Gunners, each at	vj d.	
Master Gunner and Porter, each at	viij d.	

Per Diem			Per Mensem			Per Annum		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
0	14	6	20	6	0	263	18	0

14. JERSEY ISLAND, Viz^{t}.

Two companies of foote consisting of two Captaines one whereof is to bee the Governour, each at	viij s.	per diem.
Two Lieutennants, each at	iiij s.	
Two Ensignes, each at	ij s.	
Fower Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Six Corporalls, each at	xij d.	
Two Drums, each at	x d.	
Two hundred Soldiers, each at	viij d.	
Two Gunners, each at	xviij d.	
Two Gunners Mates, each at	xij d.	
Fower Matrosses, each at	x d.	
A Chirurgeon at	ij s. vj d.	
And for fire and candles for the Guards	ij s. vj d.	

‡ See illustrations in *Journal*, vol. v, pp. 166 and 168.

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[JERSEY ISLAND—*continued.*]

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
9	10	4	266	9	4	3464	1	4

---

15. LANDGUARD POINT FORT, Viz^{t}.

A Captaine who is allso to bee Governour, at .... viij s.
A Lieutennant, at .... iiij s.
An Ensigne, at .... iij s.
Two Sargeants, each at .... xviij d.
Three Corporalls, each at.... .... xij d.
One Drumm, at .... x d.
100 Soldiers, each at .... viij d.
One Gunner, at .... xviij d.
One Gunners Mate, at .... xij d.
Two Matrosses, each at .... x d.
And for fire and candles .... xij d.

} per diem.

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
4	13	8	131	2	8	1704	14	8

---

16. SAINT MAWES CASTLE, Viz^{t}.

A Captaine, at .... iij s.
A Lieutenant, at .... xviij d.
Fowerteene Soldiers and Gunners,
whereof two to bee at .... xij d.
and twelve to bee at .... viij d.

} per diem.

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
0	14	6	20	6	0	263	18	0

The Garrison hath heretofore been paid out of his Maiesties revenue of Devonshire and Cornwall and there is a companie of one hundred Soldiers appointed by custome to repaire to this place upon any occasion of service, who are of the Neighbouring Inhabitants.

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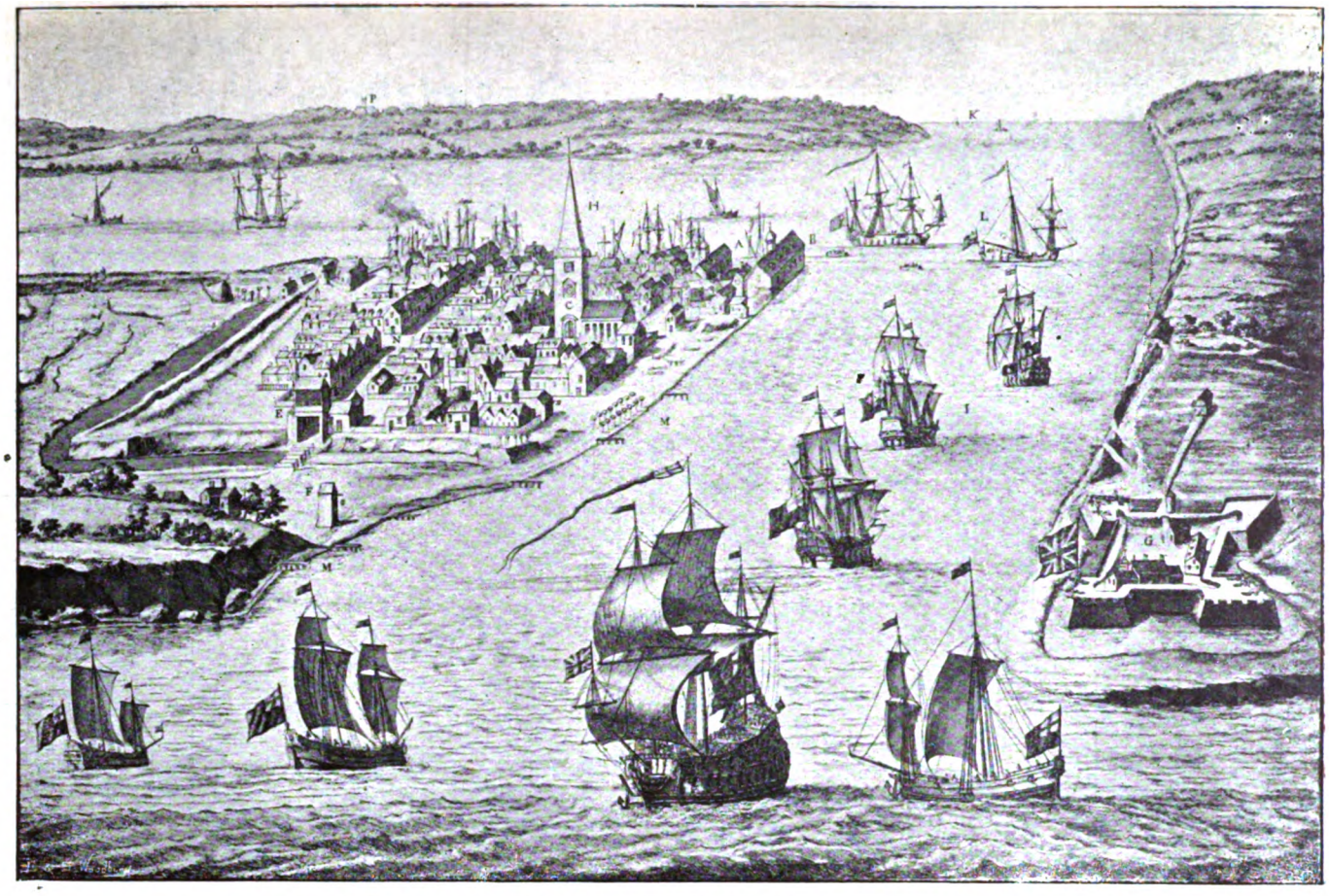

"A PROSPECT OF THE TOWNE AND HARBOUR OF HARWICH." *Circa* 1714.

(Showing Landguard Fort—right hand bottom corner.)

A, the Queen's Yard and Storehouse. B, the Queen's Key. C, St. Nicholas Church. D, the Towne Hall. E, the Gate leading to London and the Fire Lighthouse over it. F, the Candle Lighthouse. G, Landguard Fort. H, the Harbour behind the Towne and the River leading to Maningtree. I, Orwell Haven. K, the River leading to Ipswich. L, the Pacquett Boate. M, the Breakers. N, West Street. O, Shotley Gate House. P, Shotley Church.

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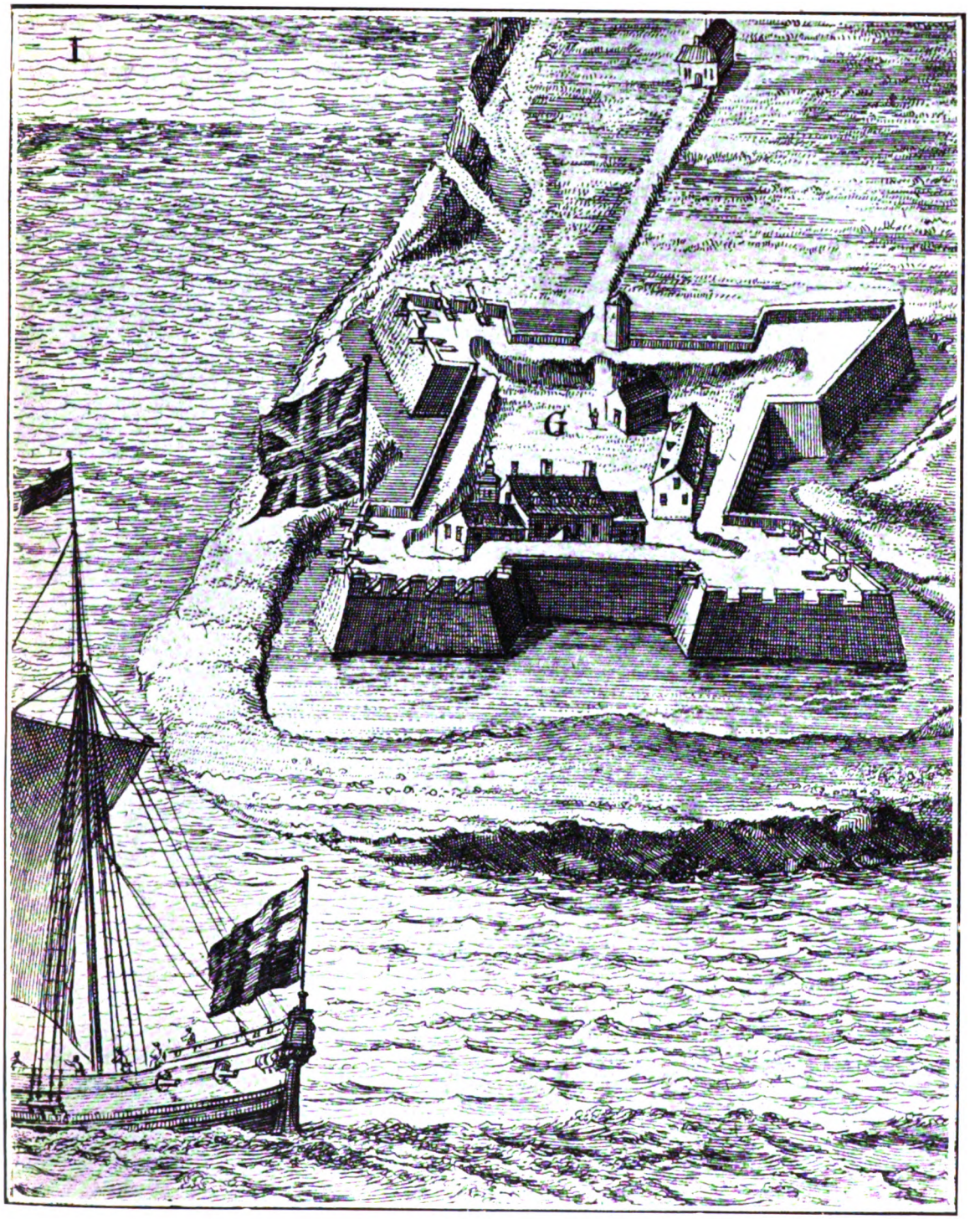

LANDGUARD FORT—1661. Scale, 1 inch = 150 feet.

Landguard Fort stands on a point of land at the south-east extremity of the county of Suffolk, at the mouth of Harwich Harbour, where the rivers Stour and Orwell flow into the North Sea. The Fort, as shown above, was built in 1628.

See *The History of Landguard Fort in Suffolk*, p. 15. By Major J. H. Leslie. 1898.

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ST. MAWE'S CASTLE—CORNWALL—Present day.

From *Castles*—facing page 111. By the courtesy of The Great Western Railway Company. (Photograph by Valentine and Sons, Ltd.)

St. Mawe's Castle is situated on a head-land on the E. side of Falmouth Harbour, 117 feet above sea level.

Pendennis & St. Mawes: an historical sketch of two Cornish Castles. By Captain S. Pasfield Oliver, Royal Artillery. 1875. W. Lake. Prince's Street, Truro. Simpkin, Marshall & Co. London. pp. xx. 102. Foolscap 4to. *ill.*

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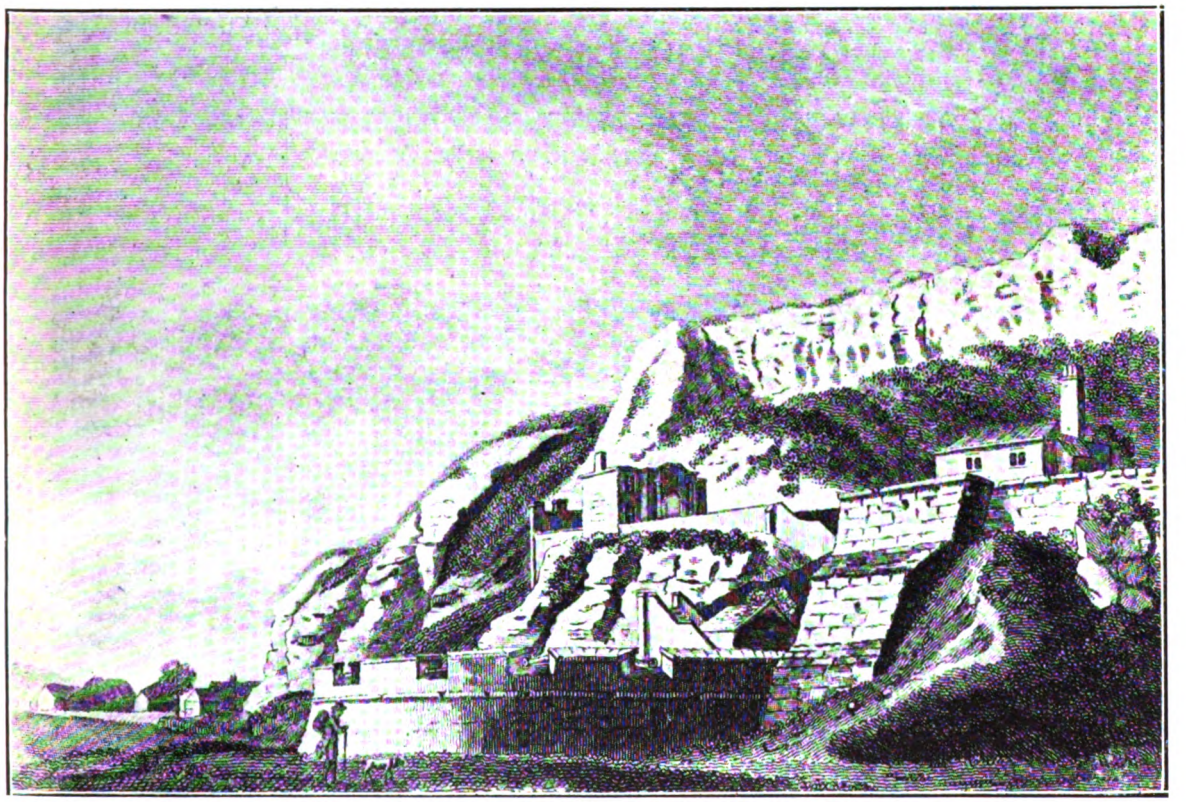
MOATE'S BULWARK, DOVER.

The old Guard-House (present day)—a roofless ruin.



THE MOTE, OR MOTE'S BULWARK, DOVER.

It stands on the beach close under the cliff, and beneath the southern end of the west wall of the castle.

x x x x x

Although it is dependent on the castle, it has its peculiar officers; these are a captain, lieutenant, and master-gunner. consists of a gate, having rooms over and on both sides of it, a house for the gunner, and a circular stone battery, which there is a descent by a flight of steps. The entrance is on the east side by a gradual ascent formed out of he chalk. x x x x x This prospect was taken in the year 1762.

(*The Antiquities of England and Wales*. By Francis Grose. New edition. [n.d.] vol. iii. pp. 42-3.)

This Bulwark is clearly shown in the picture on p. 219, at the foot of the cliff.

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17. MOATES BULWARKE, Vizt.

The Captaine at .... j s. viij d.
Lieutennant, at .... viij d.
One Master Gunner, at .... xij d.
Ten other Gunners, each at .... vj d.
} per diem.

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
0	8	4	11	13	4	151	13	4

This Garrison was heretofore paid out of his Maiesties revenue of Kent.

18. PORTLAND ISLAND, Vizt.

The Captaine, at .... xv$^{9}\frac{1}{48}$ d.
Lieutennant, at .... xij d.
Eleaven Soldiers and Gunners,
whereof two at .... viij d.
and nine at .... vj d.
} per diem.

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
0	8	$1^{9}\frac{1}{48}$	11	7	$10\frac{1}{12}$	148	1	$11\frac{1}{12}$

The Captaine, Lieutennant, Soldiers and Gunners were heretofore paid out of his Maiesties revenue of Dorsetshire and Devonshire, one halfe yeares pay out of the one county and the other halfe yeares pay out of the other.

19. PENDENNIS CASTLE, Vizt.

Three Companies of foote consisting of Three Captaines
whereof the Governour to bee one, each at .... viij s.
Three Lieutennants, each at .... iiij s.
Three Ensignes, each at .... iij s.
Six Sargeants, each at .... xviij d.
Nine Corporalls, each at .... xij d.
Three Drums, each at .... x d.
Three hundred Soldiers, each at .... viij d.
One Gunner, at .... xviij d.
One Gunners Mate, at .... xij d.
And two Matrosses, each at .... x d.
} per diem.

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
13	9	8	377	10	8	4907	18	8

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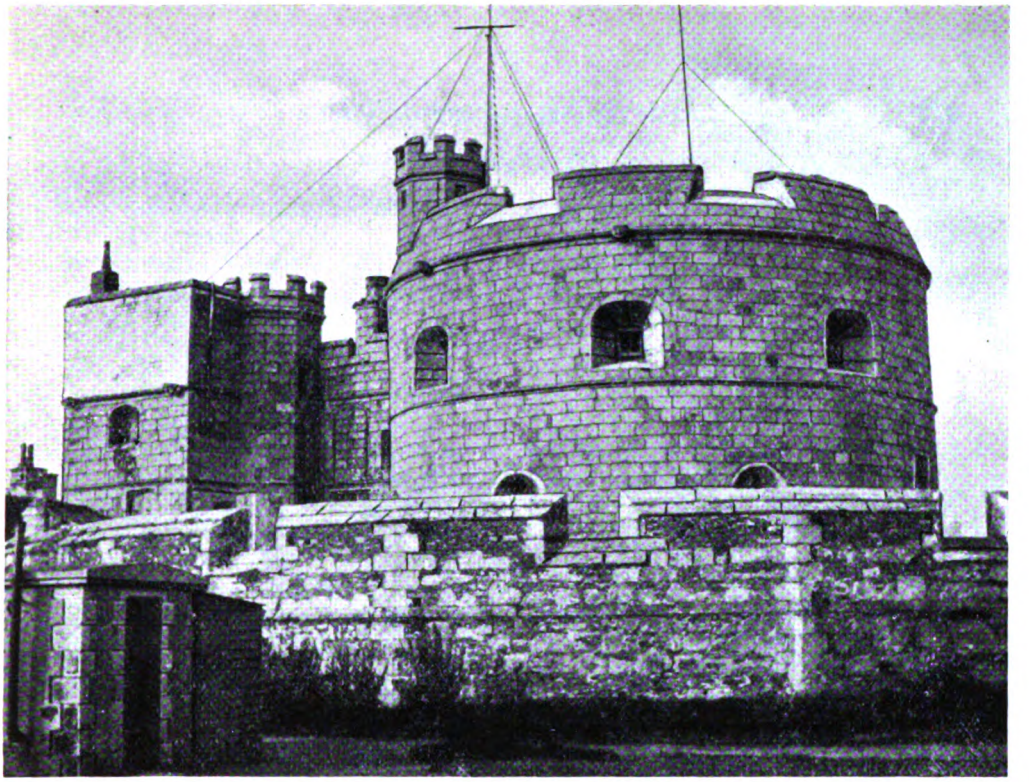
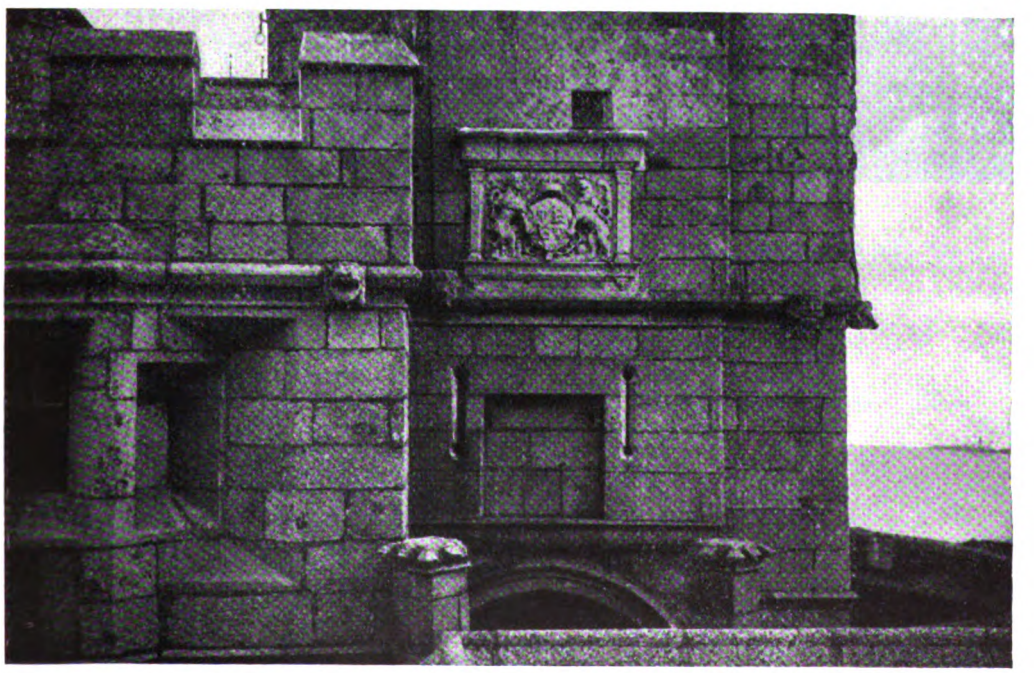


PENDENNIS CASTLE—Cornwall. Present day.
From *Castles*. By the courtesy of The Great Western Railway Company.

Pendennis Castle—S. coast of Cornwall—is situated on a promontory (Pendennis Point), about 200 feet above sea level, on the W. side of the entrance to Falmouth harbour, about a mile from the Parish Church.



PENDENNIS CASTLE. Tudor Arms above Gate-way.
From *Castles*. By the courtesy of The Great Western Railway Company.

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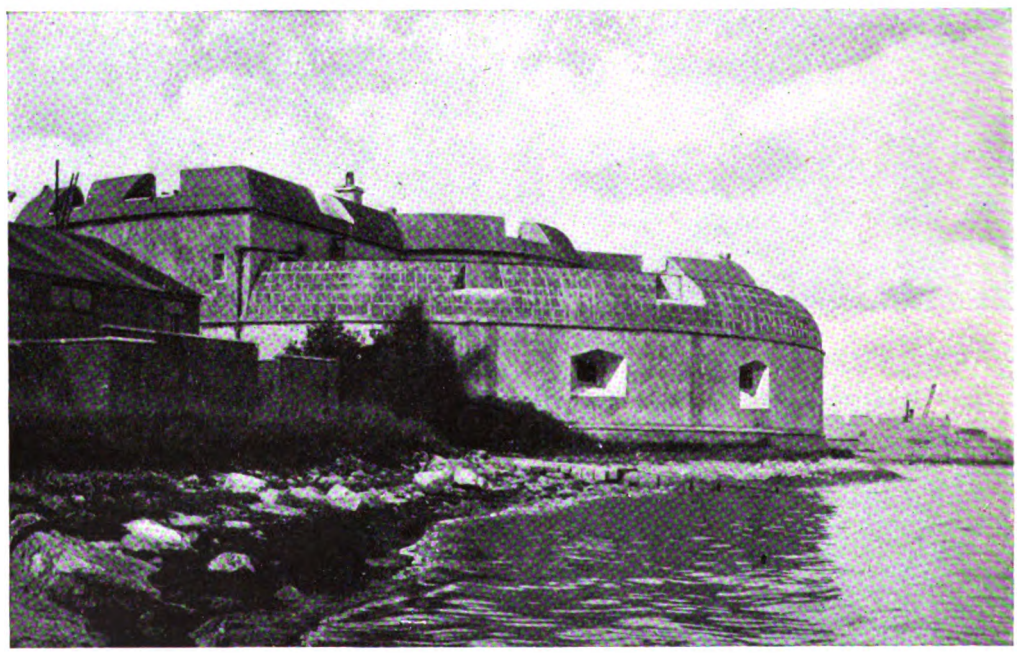

PORTLAND CASTLE—Dorsetshire. Present day.
From *Castles*. By the courtesy of The Great Western Railway Company.

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20. PORTSMOUTH, Viz[t].

One Companie consisting of one Captaine to bee the Governour, at	viij s.	per diem.
A Lieutennant, at	iiij s.	
One Ensigne, at	iij s.	
Two Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Three Corporalls, and one Drum, each at	x d.	
And 132 Soldiers, at	viij d.	
And five others Companies consisting of		
Five Captaines, each at	viij s.	
Whereof one of the said Captaines to bee Commander and to have iiij shillings more per diem than his Captaines pay.		
Five Lieutennants, each at	iiij s.	
Five Ensignes, each at	iij s.	
Ten Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Fifteene Corporalls, and five Drums, each at....	x d.	
Five hundred Soldiers, each at	viij d.	
1 Chirurgeon, at	ij s. vj d.	
And for fire and candles for the Guards	iiij s.	

There are allso these following Officers to bee mustered in the Governours owne Company, Viz[t].

One Master Gunner, at	xviij d.	per diem, besides Soldiers pay.
Two other Gunners, each at	x d.	
Three Gunners Mates, each at	iiij d.	
Twelve Matrosses, each at	ij d.	
A Porter	iiij d.	
A Storekeeper to be clarke of the requests and Marshall at	ij s. vj d.	

The whole charge amounts to

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
28	8	10	796	7	4	10352	15	4

21. PLIMMOUTH FORT and ISLAND,§ Viz[t].

Two companies of foote consisting of two Captaines, whereof the Governour to bee one, each at....	viij s.	per diem.
Two Lieutennants, each at	iiij s.	
Two Ensignes, each at	iij s.	
Fower Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Six Corporalls, each at	xij d.	
Two Drums, each at	x d.	
Two hundred Soldiers, each at	viij d.	
Two Gunners, each at	xviij d.	
Two Gunners Mates, each at	xij d.	
Fower Matrosses, each at	x d.	
A Storekeeper, at	ij s. vj d.	
And fire and candles for the Guards	iij s.	

§ Probably 'Drake's' island.

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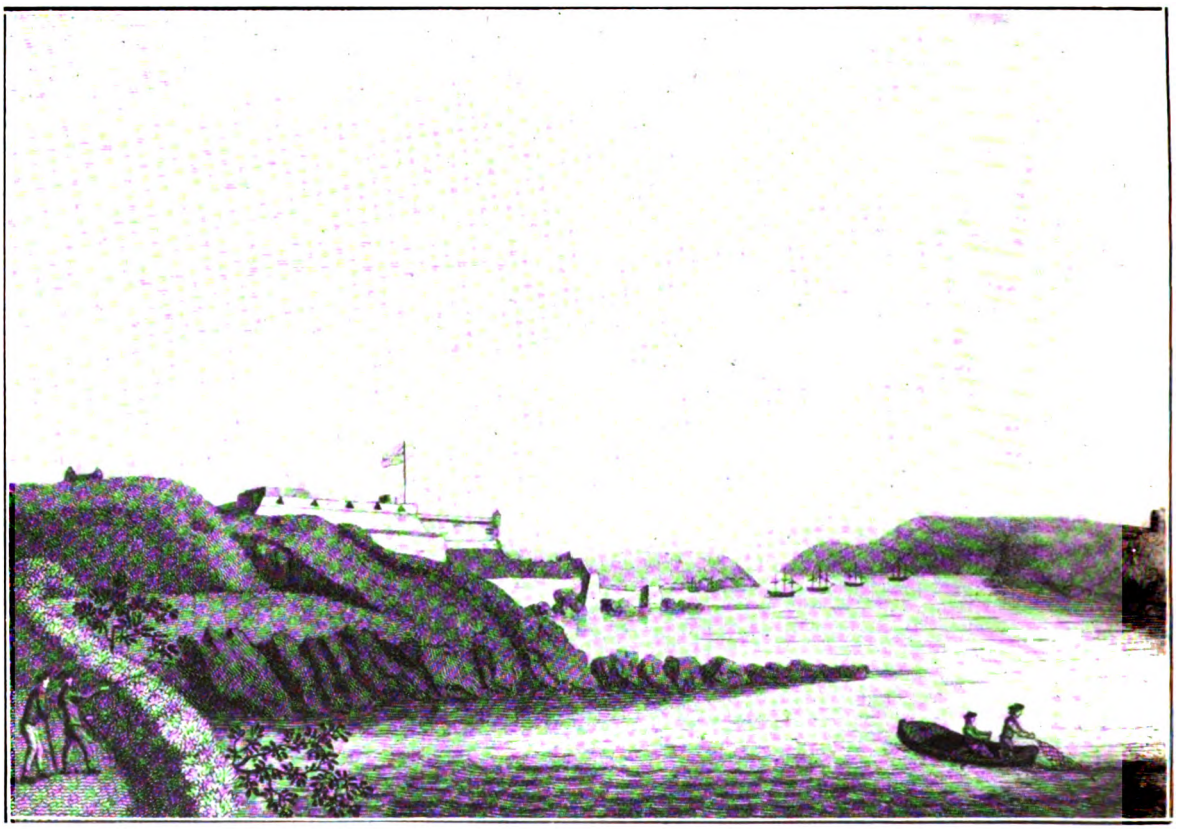

THE PORT OR GARRISON AT PLYMOUTH—in 1787.

(From *The Antiquities of England and Wales.* By Francis Grose New edition in 8 volumes; [n.d.] vol. viii. pp. 51-2.)

"Plymouth is situated at the mouth of the small river called Plym, whence it takes its name. This river, at a small distance, falls into a bay of the English Channel called Plymouth Sound."

The fort was built in the reign of King Charles II, upon the site of an older castle.

"It is of an irregular figure, having towards the land side three bastions, a ditch, ravelins, and a covert way, with divers irregular works towards the water. Within the fort are barracks for the garrison and a house for the governor. Its walls are said to include about two acres of ground." This view of the fort was drawn in 1787.

This view of what is to-day called The Royal Citadel, is taken from the S.W., possibly from Drake's Island, and shows the S.W. rampart, with embrasures for five guns.

The opening between the headlands at the back of the picture is the entrance to Cattewater, the headland on its left being Cattedown, and the three on its right the high ground of Oreston, Turnchapel, and Mount Batten Castle respectively.

The two towers in the middle of the picture, at the water's edge, have disappeared, but the flag-staff occupies the same position to-day as it did in 1787.

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[PLIMMOUTH FORT and ISLAND—*continued.*]

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
9	10	10	267	3	4	3473	3	4

22. SCILLY ISLAND, TRUSCOE, and S. MARIES CASTLE.

Three Companies of foote consisting of three Captaines, whereof the Governour to bee one, each at .... viij s.
Three Lieutennants, each at .... iiij s.
Three Ensignes, each at .... iij s.
Six Sargeants, each at .... xviij d.
Nine Corporalls, each at .... xij d.
Three Drums, each at .... x d.
Three hundred Soldiers, each at .... viij d.
And one Gunner, at .... xviij d.
} per diem.

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
13	7	0	373	16	0	4859	8	0

23. SANDOWNE CASTLE,‡ Viz^{t}.

The Captaine, at .... ij s. ix$\frac{1}{7}$ d.
The Lieutennant, at .... viij d.
A Porter, at .... viij d.
And Sixteen Soldiers and Gunners, to each of them .... vj d.
} per diem.

Twenty poundes per annum of the Sallary of this Captaine, as of the Captaine of Deale Castle, was heretofore paid out of the Exchequer, the residue out of his Maiesties revenue of Kent.

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
0	12	1$\frac{1}{7}$	16	18	8	220	2	8

24. SANDGATE CASTLE, Viz^{t}.

The Captaine, at .... iij s. x$\frac{1}{3}$ d.
The Porter, at .... viij d.
Seaventeen Soldiers and Gunners, each at .... vj d.
} per diem.

Forty poundes per annum of the Sallary of the Captaine of Sandgate Castle was heretofore paid out of the Exchequer and the residue out of his Maiesties Revenue of Kent.

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
0	13	0$\frac{1}{3}$	18	4	9$\frac{1}{3}$	237	2	1$\frac{1}{3}$

‡ On the E. coast of Kent, 2 miles N. from Deal.

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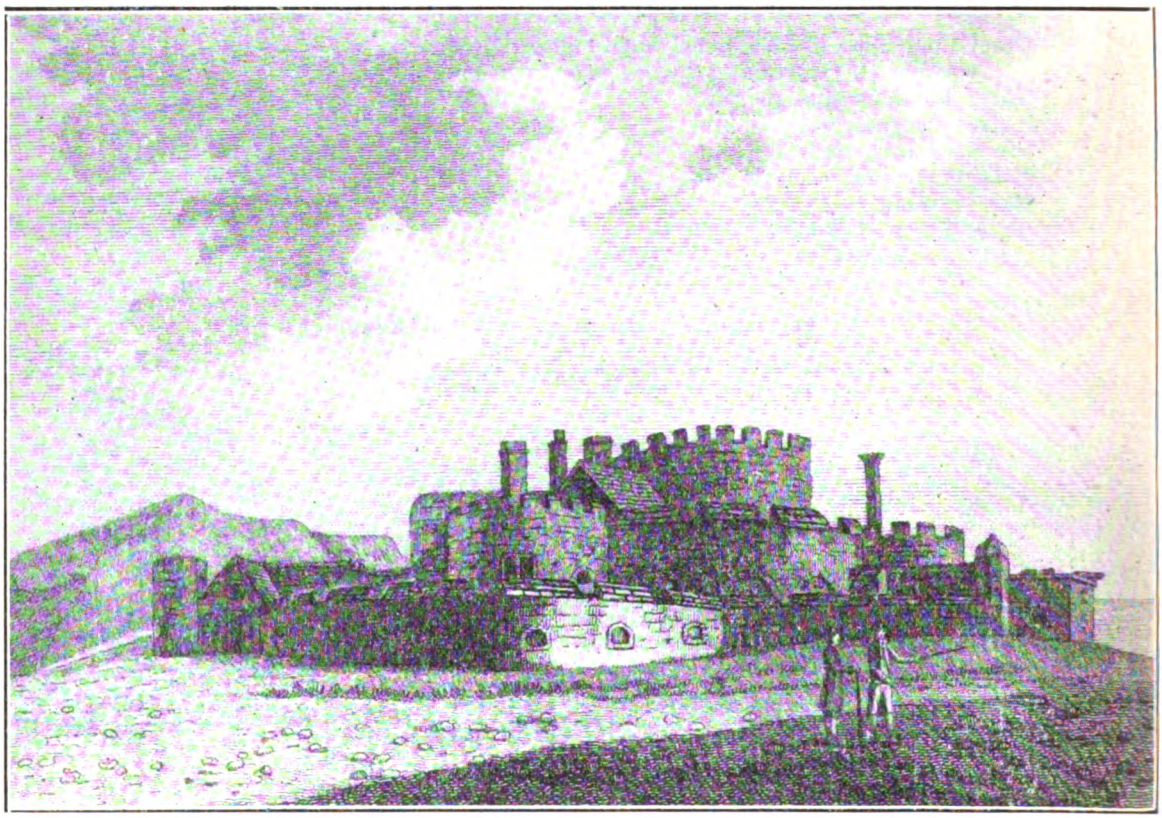

SANDGATE CASTLE in KENT.

(From *The Antiquities of England and Wales.* By Francis Grose New edition in 8 volumes [n.d.]; vol. viii. pp. 100-1.)

This castle stands a short distance to the west of Folkestone and was built in the reign of King Henry VIII.

The above view of it was drawn in 1762.

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25. SCARBOURGH CASTLE, Viz^{t}.

One Companie consisting of one Captaine who is allso to bee Governour, at	viij s.	per diem.
One Lieutennant, at	iiij s.	
One Ensigne, at	iij s.	
Two Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Three Corporalls, each at	xij d.	
One Drummer, at	x d.	
One hundred Soldiers, each at	viij d.	
One Gunner, at	xviij d.	
One Gunners Mate, at	xij d.	
Two Matrosses, each at	x d.	
And for fire and candles for the Guards	xij d.	

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
4	13	8	131	2	8	1704	4	8

26. SHREWESBURY.

This Garrison is to consist of a Lieutennant at	iiij s.	per diem.
One Sargeant, at	xviij d.	
Two Corporalls, each at	xij d.	
One Drummer, at	xij d.	
Foerty Soldiers, each at	viij d.	
An allowance for fire and candles for the Guards .... which amounts to	viij d.	

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
1	15	10	50	3	4	652	3	4

27. TOWER OF LONDON, Viz^{t}.

Three Companies, consisting of three Captaines, each at	viij s.	per diem.
Three Lieutennants, each at	iiij s.	
Three Ensignes, each at	iij s.	
Nine Corporalls, each at	xij d.	
Six Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Three Drums, at	x d.	
Three hundred Soldiers, each at	ix d.	
And for fire and candles	iij s. vj d.	

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
14	14	0	411	12	0	5350	16	0

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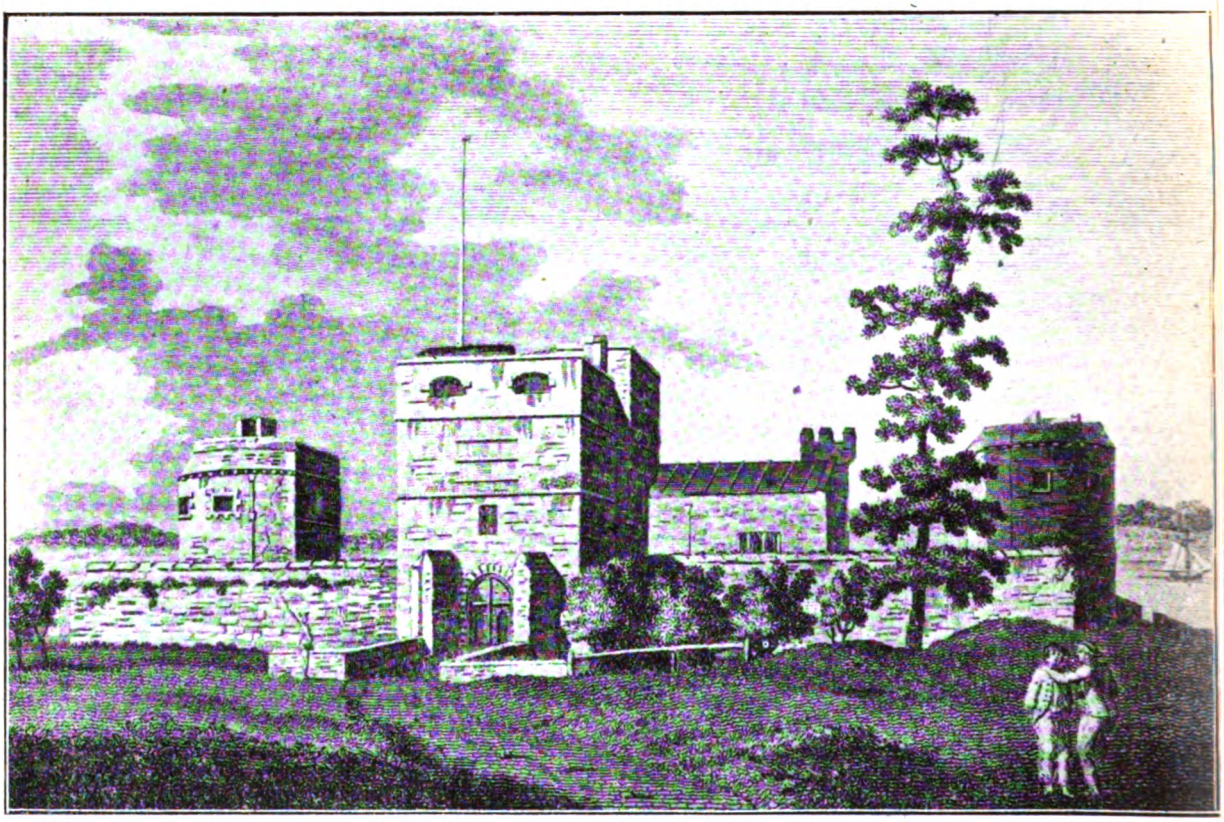

UPNOR CASTLE, KENT. 1757.

(In the parish of Frindsbury—about five miles below Rochester Bridge.)

This castle stands on the west (left) bank of the river Medway a small distance below Chatham Dock, which is situated on the opposite shore.

x x x x x

It is chiefly of stone: its external figure is a parallelogram, much longer than broad, the longest side facing the water; it has two towers at its extremities; the southernmost is appropriated for the residence of the Governor; the entrance is in the centre of the west side.

x x x x x

As a 'fort,' this castle was never of much consequence, especially as it was very injudiciously placed: it has, therefore, very properly been converted into a powder magazine.

(*The Antiquities of England and Wales.* By Francis Grose. New edition. [n.d.] vol. iii. p. 112.)

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28. TINMOUTH CASTLE, Viz^{t}.

Two Companies consisting of two Captaines, whereof the Governour to bee one, each at	viij s.	per diem.
Two Lieutennants, each at	iiij s.	
Two Ensignes, each at	iij s.	
Fower Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Six Corporalls, each at	xij d.	
Two Drummers, each at	x d.	
Two hundred Soldiers, each at	viij d.	
One Gunner, at	xviij d.	
One Gunners Mate, at	xij d.	
Two Matrosses, each at	x d.	
One Chirurgeon, at	ij s. vj d.	
For fire and candles for the Guards	ij s.	
And for a Storekeeper	xij d.	

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
9	6	8	261	6	8	3397	6	8

29. UPNER CASTLE.

The Captaine, at	xix$\frac{11}{28}$ d.	per diem.
A Lieutennant, at	xij d.	
A Master Gunner, at	xvj d.	
Six other Gunners, each at	xviij d.	
And twenty besides, each at	xij d.	

The entertainment of the Captaine of Upner Castle was heretofore paid out of the Exchequer and the Allowances to the twenty Soldiers was sometimes paid out of the Exchequer and sometimes out of the Customes of Coles, and the pay of the Lieutennant, Master Gunner and Six Gunners out of the office of his Maiesties Navy.

30. WINDSORE CASTLE, Viz^{t}.

Three Companies consisting of three Captaines, whereof the Constable of Windsore, who is to bee the Governour, is to bee one, each at....	viij s.	per diem.
Three Lieutennants, each at	iiij s.	
Three Ensignes, each at	iij s.	
Six Sargeants, each at	xviij d.	
Nine Corporalls, each at	xij d.	
Three Drums, each at	x d.	
Three hundred Soldiers, each at	viij d.	
A Storekeeper, at	xij d.	
One Gunner, at	xviij d.	
One Matrosse, at	x d.	
And for fire and candles for the Guards	xviij d.	

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[WINDSORE CASTLE—*continued.*]

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
13	10	4	378	9	4	4920	1	4

31. WALMER CASTLE.†

Captaine, at.... .... xx d. }
Lieutennant, at .... vj d. } per diem.
A Porter, at .... viij d. }

These allowances were paid out of his Maiesties Revenue of Kent.

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
0	10	10	15	3	4	197	3	4

TOTALL.

Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
209	5	$8\frac{3}{4}$	5860	0	5	76180	5	5

NOTE by The Editor.

For the Governors, etc., of these Castles, Forts, and Garrisons, the following books should be consulted :—

a. English Army Lists and Commission Registers. 1661—1714. By Charles Dalton. 6 volumes. Published—1892 to 1904.

b. George the First's Army. 1714—1727. By Charles Dalton. 2 volumes. Published 1910 and 1212.

c. War Office official Army Lists (printed), from 1754 onwards.

d. Beatson's Political Index. 3rd Edition. 1806. vol. ii. pp. 156-65, covering the period 1760—1805.

In the List here following, which fills the last page but one of the MS., the Garrisons are now arranged in the order of their financial cost *per annum*, which practically shows their relative importance.

Twenty-four of these Garrisons are shown in the Army List (p. 75) of 1755, as then in existence, those which have disappeared being :—

Arcliffe Bulwarke.
Deale Castle.
Moates Bulwarke.
Sandgate Castle.
Walmer Castle.
Chepstow.
Shrewsbury.

The first five mentioned are, in all probability, included in the Army Lists, under the heading "Cinque Ports."

† On the East coast of Kent, two miles S. from Deal—in 1930, the official residence of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

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[SUMMARY of the GARRISONS.]

	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
Portesmouth	28	8	10	796	7	4	10352	15	4
Berwicke upon Tweede and holy Island	27	4	6	762	6	0	9909	18	0
Hull and the Blockhouses there	27	4	6	762	6	0	9909	18	0
Tower of London	14	14	0	411	12	0	5350	16	0
Windsore Castle	13	10	4	378	9	4	4920	1	4
Pendennis Castle	13	9	8	377	10	8	4907	18	8
Scilly Island, Truscoe and St. Maries Castle*	13	7	0	373	16	0	4859	8	0
Carlisle	9	12	2	269	0	8	3497	8	8
Plimmouth Fort and Island	9	10	10	267	3	4	3473	3	4
Jersey Island	9	10	4	266	9	4	3464	1	4
Tinmouth Castle†	9	6	8	261	6	8	3397	6	8
Guernsey Island	4	17	8	136	14	8	1777	10	8
Landguard Point Fort	4	13	8	131	2	8	1704	14	8
Scarbourg Castle	4	13	8	131	2	8	1704	14	8
Chepstowe	4	11	0	127	8	0	1656	4	0
Chester	3	17	2	80	0	8	1040	8	8
Shrewesbury	1	15	10	50	3	4	652	3	4
Grauesend Blockhouse on Essex side	1	9	2	40	16	8	530	16	8
Upner Castle	1	3	$3\frac{1}{4}$	32	11	11	423	15	4
Dartmouth Castle	1	1	0	29	8	0	382	4	0
Douer Castle	0	19	$5\frac{1}{4}$	27	4	$4\frac{2}{4}$	353	16	$10\frac{3}{4}$
Hurst Castle	0	14	6	20	6	0	263	18	0
St. Mawes Castle	0	14	6	20	6	0	263	18	0
Deale Castle	0	13	$1\frac{1}{7}$	18	6	8	238	6	8
Sandgate Castle	0	13	$0\frac{5}{7}$	18	4	$9\frac{1}{3}$	237	2	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Sandowne Castle	0	12	$1\frac{1}{7}$	16	18	8	220	2	8
Walmer Castle	0	10	10	15	3	4	197	3	4
Arcliffe Bulwarke	0	8	4	11	13	4	151	13	4
Moates Bulwarke	0	8	4	11	13	4	151	13	4
Portland Island	0	8	$1\frac{1}{4}$	11	7	$10\frac{1}{2}$	148	1	$11\frac{1}{2}$
Cowes Castle in the Isle of Wight	0	2	2	3	0	8	39	8	8
Totall	209	5	$8\frac{3}{4}$	5860	0	5	76180	5	5

* The Scilly Islands, of which only four are inhabited, lie 25 miles S.W. from Land's End (Cornwall).

On the W. coast of St. Marie's, the largest of the islands, 'Star' Castle, built in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, stood on what is called The Hugh, 110 feet above sea level.

The Fort on Tresco, the second largest of the islands, appears to have been a tower, with walls 12 feet thick, now only a ruin.

† On the north side (55° N., 1° 25′ W.) of the mouth of the river Tyne, opposite to South Shields, 8 miles N.E. from Newcastle.

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[SUMMARY of the ARMY.]

	Per Diem £	s.	d.	Per Mensem £	s.	d.	Per Annum £	s.	d.
His Maiesties owne Troope of Guards	49	0	8	1372	18	8	17848	2	8
His Highnes Royall the Duke of Yorke, his Troope of Guards	36	0	8	1008	18	8	13116	2	8
His Grace the Duke of Albemarle, his Troope of Guards	36	0	8	1008	18	8	13116	2	8
His Maiesties Regiment of Horse	85	17	6	2404	10	0	31258	10	0
A Regiment of Foote, Commanded by the Hono$^{ble.}$ Colonell John Russell	66	6	2	1856	12	8	24136	4	8
His Grace the Duke of Albemarle, his Regiment of Foote	55	9	6	1553	6	0	20192	18	0
A Regiment of Foote, Commanded by the Right Hono$^{ble.}$ Thomas Lord Wentworth	66	2	2	1851	0	8	24063	8	8
Generall Officers	5	6	11¾	149	15	4	1947	0	0
Contingencies	4	2	5	115	7	8	1500	0	0
Totall	404	6	8¾	11321	8	5	147178	9	5
Army and Garrisons in all	613	12	5½	17181	8	10	223358	14	10

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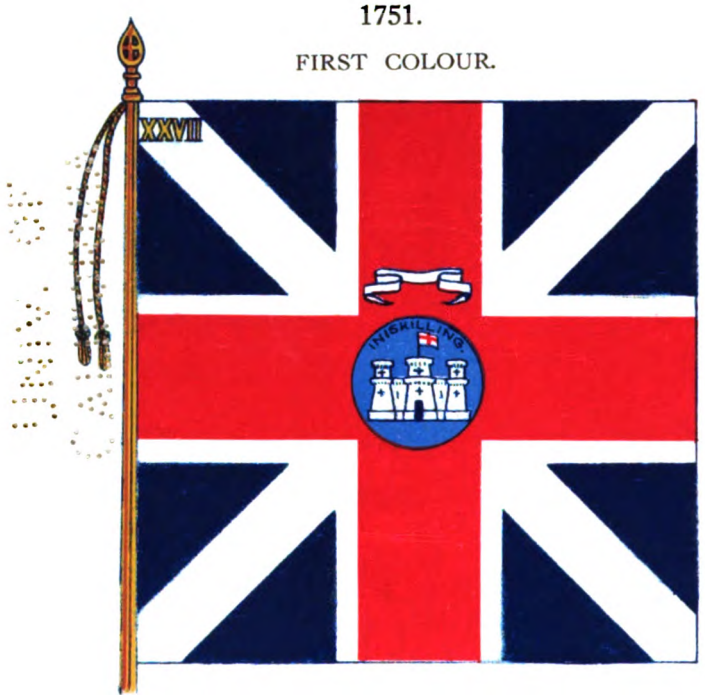
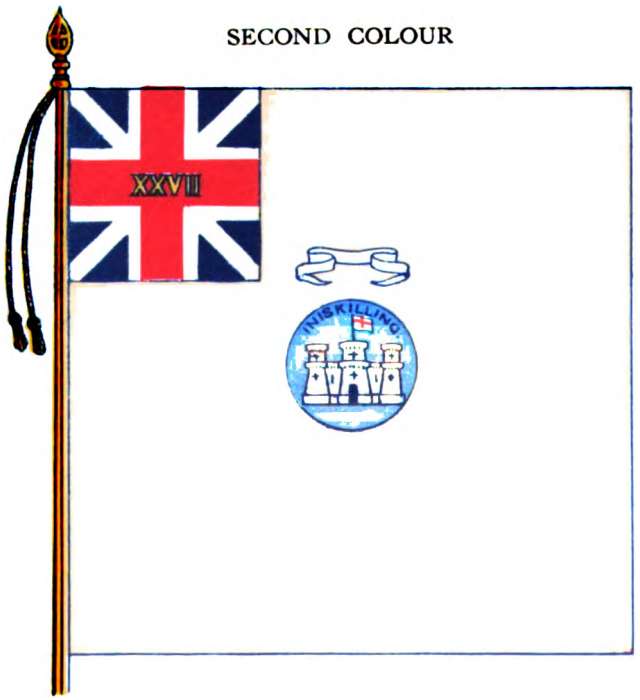
TWENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT, Or, THE INNISKILLING REGIMENT.

1751.

FIRST COLOUR.



SECOND COLOUR



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THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

The Colours of the following Regiments have already appeared :—

The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment)	Vol. vii. p. 1
The Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey).	do. p. 119
The Buffs (East Kent Regiment).	do. p. 204
The Royal Scots Fusiliers.	do. p. 184
The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster)	Vol. viii. p. 32
The Northumberland Fusiliers.	do. p. 127
The Royal Warwickshire Regiment.	do. p. 191
The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment)	do. p. 242
The King's Regiment (Liverpool).	Vol. ix. p. 43
The Royal Irish Regiment†	do. p. 97
The Royal Welch Fusiliers.	do. p. 146

27TH REGIMENT, OR THE INNISKILLING REGIMENT.

"Allowed to wear in the Center of their Colours a Castle with three Turretts, St. George's Colours flying, in a Blue Field, and the name Inniskilling on it".

The facings of the Regiment are described in the Royal Warrant as "Buff".

(To be continued.)

(In the next Number (January, 1931) the Colours of the Welch Regiment will be given.)

† Disbanded on 31 July, 1922—Army Order, No. 78 of 1922.

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SOME PROPOSALS.

By CAPTAIN B. H. LIDDELL-HART.

It would seem that, as a guiding principle, any scheme of research should fulfil the title of the Society. Hence it should be of an historical, and not merely an antiquarian nature. With this principle in mind I would suggest :—

1. That the most important initial task is to prepare an index of sources for British Army history. Such a task, however, is itself so far-reaching that it would have to be undertaken on a sub-divided and successive plan.
2. The campaigns in which the British Army have taken part would seem to be the natural and most important starting point in such source research. For each campaign a general source-index should be prepared, sub-divided into both
   (*a*) class of record, e.g. documents, memoirs, diaries; and
   (*b*) subjects, e.g. organisation, tactics, supply, command.
   Further, there should be a source-index for each battle of note. While the Council should indicate the desirable order, perhaps chronological, in which these sub-tasks should be dealt with, there is no reason why work on any or all of them should not be in progress simultaneously. It is in the final task of editing that strict sequence will be necessary.
3. A possible development which might make publication more feasible financially is that in final compilation the source-index might be preceded by a précis of the campaign and of each battle. It would thus constitute a reference work of more general appeal and value than a pure source-index.
4. As an essential preliminary to any such task of research, the Council should aim at the formation of a panel of research workers. There are many officers, especially retired officers, who have made a hobby of one period or phase of army history. This might be turned to account by inviting members of the Society to send in their names and subjects, and so compiling a classified list of those who have special knowledge and are willing to make it available.
5. Another task, different but desirable, which is perhaps worth mentioning, is that of compiling an anthology of the military classics. Compared with any other branch of literature, military literature is woefully devoid of any attempt to select and collate the best thought of the ages. Such a task could, of course, only be practicable with the support of the army authorities so as to guarantee an adequate sale, but it is a task which this Society is most suitable to sponsor. It is also a work which would be facilitated if the co-operation of other armies, especially the American, was gained, and it is a work where such co-operation would be most probable.

[NOTE.—Expressions of views on these proposals are invited.—ED.]

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NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES TO QUESTIONS should be addressed to the EDITOR, 8, PALMERSTON ROAD, SHEFFIELD.

NOTES.

224. THE SUEZ CANAL. It is not generally known that the original idea of the Suez Canal came from an Officer of the Royal Artillery, Captain Francis Rawdon Chesney, afterwards General.

The Canal was opened on 16 November, 1869. The 60th anniversary of the opening was marked by some celebrations in Egypt in 1929.

A leading article on the subject appeared in *The Times* of 15 November, 1929, and a special article in the same issue, by Sir Ian Malcolm, in neither of which was any mention made of Chesney. His connection with the Canal was unknown.

In 1869 he was living in Paris, and received an invitation from M. de Lesseps to accompany him on 2 August to the great meeting of the Council of the Suez Canal, at which several hundred persons were present—members of the Council and shareholders.

"To Chesney's surprise and gratification, M. de Lesseps took him by the hand and, leading him forward, said in the most generous manner:—

"'Messieurs, je vous présente l'homme à qui nous devons le Canal de Suez—M. le Général Chesney—le Père du Canal'.

"He then proceeded to relate how Chesney's survey of the isthmus, and published account of the levels, had first convinced him of the practicability of the great scheme, since so successfully carried out by his own genius and engineering skill. He ended by inviting Chesney to accompany him to Suez on the occasion of the opening of the Canal.

"Immense applause followed this speech, and Chesney returned home full of gratitude to those who had done him such ample justice. At the time, he had made up his mind to accompany M. de Lesseps to Suez, but he ultimately (he was then 81) gave up this intention." *Life of General Chesney*, by his Wife and Daughter. 2nd edition. 1893. pp. 466-7.

General Chesney died on 30 January, 1872, in his 83rd year. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The portrait of General Chesney, on the next page, was published in the *Dublin University Magazine*, of November, 1841, he being at that time a Captain in the Royal Artillery, and a Bt. Lieut.-Colonel. J. H. L.

QUESTIONS.

339. THE INDIAN MUTINY—1857. On 10 August, 1857, a Siege Train of guns, mortars, etc., under the command of Lieutenant W. J. Gray, Bengal Artillery, commenced a march from Ferozepore (Punjab) to Delhi, arriving there on 4 September, at 1.30 a.m. Gray's diary, descriptive of the march, is known, but it deals with the affairs of the 'train' only. The route taken from Ferozepore was via Loodiana, Umballa, Kurnal and Panipat—a distance of 268 miles. See *ante*, p. 208.

Information is desired as to the composition of the 'escort' of this Train. It is suggested that it was composed of the 1st Belooch Battalion, on the Bombay Establishment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Farquhar, and possibly of other troops in addition.

Colonel Farquhar is mentioned twice by Gray, as commanding the escort.

Are any diaries, journals, etc., of this march known to exist?

Is a detailed account of the march given in any book? NEUX.

340. TIME-BEATER. In *Records of the 54th West Norfolk Regiment*, published at Roorkee in 1881, the following extract, referring to the Band, *circa* 1821-5, occurs (pp. 45-6):—

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"They were reduced at one time to 14 performers, but had seldom less than five or six time-beaters, bass and tenor drums, often a pair of kettle-drums, cymbals, triangles and a tambourine."

Time-beater obviously means a drummer who, presumably, beat the time, as ordered, i.e., slow, quick, or double, etc.

Other instances of the use of this word, with dates, are desired. *The Oxford English Dictionary* does not give it.

It is not thought to be of earlier use than 1780. NEUX.

341. CAPTAIN THOMAS J. H. PITTS, ROYAL ENGINEERS, 1807-14. Major-General Whitworth Porter in his *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, published in 1889, frequently quotes passage from letters of Captain Pitts.

If these letters are still in existence, is it known in whose possession they now are? P. H. K.

REPLIES.

319. CHURCH BELLS AS PERQUISITES OF THE MASTER OF ORDNANCE. (vol. iii. 103; iv. 58; v. 43, 95; viii. 66.) The latest known claim made by a Commanding Officer of the Royal Artillery for the Church bells of a captured City, Town, etc., occurred in the case of the Island of Guadaloupe, West Indies, which was captured from the French in February, 1810, by a force under the command of Lieut.-General Sir George Beckwith, K.B.

Copies of the letters referring to the claim will be found in the Public Record Office —W.O. 44/70—and are here given.

The Officer in command of the R.A., Colonel John Burton, addressed the following letter to Sir George Beckwith:—

"Basse Terre. Guadaloupe. 18 February, 1810.

"Sir, It having been, from time immemorial, the establishhed custom of the British Service that all bells of Churches, Chapels, or other places of Divine Worship, found in towns captured from the enemy, become the property of the Officer Commanding the Royal Artillery, I, therefore, having the honour to fill that station on the present occasion, deem it incumbent upon me to lay claim to such as may be in this Island, of the foregoing description, not conceiving myself justified or authorized to forego a right annexed to a Command, which it has been my chance to be placed in, by which in so doing I might form a precedent to the prejudice of the just claims of the Corps I have the honour to belong to, and in this instance, under your Excellency's Command, to represent.

"Your Excellency will do me the justice to believe that I am not induced to make this claim from a view of individual emolument, but from the motives before stated."

To this letter Sir George Beckwith replied:—

"Guadaloupe, 22 February, 1810.

"Sir, I have received your letter claiming the bells of all the Churches in the Island of Guadaloupe, under the long established usages of His Majesty's Service, in favor of the Officer Commanding the Royal Artillery.

"I really believe the custom to be of high antiquity, but I rather conceive it was founded in the case of Sieges than in that of whole colonies, where towns and villages are not defended by works, and that it had its origin in a mixture of religion and superstition, from pains being taken to spare the Churches; but I am sensible it has in many instances extended to whole colonies.

"At Martinique [1809] a similar application was made to me by Brigadier-General [Edward] Stehelin, but on my expressing to this Officer that I was of opinion such a demand was not, in these times, and in that instance, for the good of The King's Service, he waved [*sic*] the question.

"I certainly can have no wish to lessen the emoluments of the Officer Commanding the Royal Artillery, nor to deprive him of any benefits which may attach to such a situation, but thinking the thing itself disadvantageous to the public interests, I cannot give my sanction to it. I shall, however, forward to the Secretary of State a copy of your letter and my reply, that such a decision, on consideration, may follow as shall be deemed proper."

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Colonel Burton thereupon wrote to Major-General John MacLeod, Deputy-Adjutant-General of the Royal Artillery:—

"The enclosed correspondence between the Commander of the Forces and myself I have the honor to forward for your information and that of the Master-General of the Ordnance, should it become a subject between him and His Majesty's Ministers, and I trust my motives therein mentioned will meet the approbation of the Regiment.

"Major Berkeley, Sir G. Beckwith's first Aid de Camp, going to England with dispatches, x x x x x is so good as to be the bearer of this, and when he goes to Woolwich will hope to have the honor of being introduced to you."

No result of this correspondence is recorded and it must be assumed that the matter dropped. But, attached to the three letters given above, is the following extract from the Minutes of the Board of Ordnance in 1759, bearing on the 'established custom' of the claim. This 'extract' may possibly have been produced as evidence in support of Colonel Burton's claim when it was under consideration:—

"Extract from Minutes. 31 March, 1759.

"Mr. Secretary West, with his letter of 26th instant, inclosed a copy of a letter from Mr. Wood, concerning Amends* applied for by Colonel Desaguliers† for the value of the bells taken at Cherbourg [August, 1758] and was commanded by the Lords of the Treasury to desire the Board would inform their Lordships whether, according to the constant practice of the Army, Colonel Desaguliers is entitled to the said bells, and in case he is entitled to them, their Lordships desire the value thereof may be stated, that reasonable Amends may be made unto him for the same.

"And, Colonel Desaguliers having by letter of 29th instant signified that General [Albert] Borgard, then Commanding Officer of Artillery at Vigo, at the reduction of that place [1702] did claim and receive the bells found there, and disposed of them to his own use, and that the right of the Commanding Officer of Artillery to bells taken from the enemy was never before doubted or disputed; and that he was willing to part with the serviceable bells taken by him, at 1*s*. 4*d*. per lb., as that price has been offered for them, and the price of old gun-metal for the unserviceable ones. (*Journal*, vol. v. 95.)

"Ordered that the Lords of the Treasury be acquainted in return to Mr. Secretary West's letter of 26th instant, that it appears by a Warrant from King William the third, that the bells found in the towns reduced during the war in Ireland, were esteemed the perquisites of Colonel Wynant Goor, who then commanded the Train of Artillery in that Kingdom, and that the late General Borgard, who commanded the Artillery at Vigo, did claim and receive the bells found there, and disposed of the same to his own use and benefit; and, as the Board have never heard the right of the Commanding Officer of Artillery to bells taken from the enemy disputed, they conclude that Colonel Desaguliers is entitled to those taken at Cherbourg. But, as they are not an Ordnance Store, they cannot judge of their value, that the Colonel has been offered 1*s*. 4*d*. per lb., for the five serviceable bells, and that one is unserviceable, but equal in value to old brass gun-metal, which is about 9*d*. per lb., at which prices he is willing to part with the whole."

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c. *History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery*. By Major Francis Duncan. John Murray. London. 3rd edition. 1879. 2 vols. See vol. ii. pp. 167 and 237-40.

d. *History of the British Standing Army from A.D. 1600 to 1700*. By Colonel Clifford Walton. Harrison & Sons. London. 1894. See p. 591-2. NEUX.

320. OLD SONGS ABOUT SOLDIERS. (Vol. vi. 249; vii. 69, 193, 250; viii. 143, 212.) From *Bentley's Miscellany*. 1843. vol. xiv, p. 501.

THE WAR-SONG OF THE GALLANT EIGHTY-EIGHTH.

COME now, brave boys, we're on for marching,
Where there's fighting and divarsion;
Where cannons roar, and men are dying,
March, brave boys, there's no denying!
Love, farewell!

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Hark! 'tis the Colonel gaily crying,
"March, brave boys, there's no denying,
Colours flying, drums are bayting,
March, brave boys, there's no retrayting!"
Love, farewell!

The Major cries, "Boys, are yez ready?"
"Yes, your honour, firm and steady;
Give every man his flask of powdher,
And his firelock on his shouldher!"
Love, farewell!

The mother cries, "Boys, do not wrong me,
Do not take my daughters from me!
If you do, I will tormint yez!
After death my ghost will haunt yez!"
Love, farewell!

"Oh, Molly, dear, you're young and tinder,
And when I'm gone you won't surrinder,
But howld out like an auncient Roman,
And live and die an honest woman."
Love, farewell!

"Oh, Molly, darling, grieve no more, I
'M going to fight for Ireland's glory;
If I come back, I'll come victorious;
If I die, my sowl in glory is!"
Love, farewell!

There are several songs, indexed as 'Military', in a *Pedlar's Pack of Ballads and Songs*, by W. H. Logan. W. Paterson. Edinburgh. 1869. Crown 8vo. pp. xvi. 480.

The battle of Almanza	page 82	The Disappointed Lady	page 100
The Runaway Bride	,, 84	Bonnet o' Blue	,, 101
The Sodger's return	,, 87	Battle of Waterloo	,, 106
The Valiant M'Craws	,, 88	The British Grenadiers	,, 109
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The "illustrative notes" to these songs state that *Aitcheson's Carabineers* was published at Edinburgh in 1821 in a privately printed book entitled *Songs of the Edinburgh Squadron*, and that it was sung to the air of *The British Grenadiers*.

"Aitcheson was Aitcheson of Dromore. 'The Edinburgh Squadron' means the Royal Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry, the members of which are composed of local gentlemen." J. H. L.

321. MAJOR MONSOON. (vol. ix. 182.) 'Major Monsoon' is a character in Lever's *Charles O'Malley*. The author, in his preface to the edition of 1872, says:—

"With the exception of the quality of courage, I never met a man who contained within himself so many of the traits of Falstaff as the individual who furnished me with Major Monsoon." x x x x x "To show that I did not entirely fail in giving my Major some faint resemblance to the great original from whom I copied him, I may mention that he was speedily recognised in print by the Marquis of Londonderry, the well-known Sir Charles Stuart of the Peninsular campaign." CAMBRIDGE.

322. THE SASH AS AN ARTICLE OF UNIFORM DRESS. (vol. ix. 181.) The following replies to sections *b*, *c*, *e*, and *f*, of this Question may be of assistance:—

b. The *Clothing Regulation of* 1747 directs that officers of infantry regiments should

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wear the sash over the right shoulder, and officers of cavalry regiments over the left shoulder. N.C.Os of both infantry and cavalry to wear sashes round the waist. Contemporary pictorial evidence indicates that officers had worn their sashes thus for fifteen or twenty years previously. Apparently, however, General Officers wore the sash round the waist during this period. The first clear instance of infantry regimental officers wearing the sash round the waist is that of the 85th Foot of 1759-63. (*Inspection Report on that regiment.*) The *Clothing Warrant of December* 1768 directed the sashes of officers and N.C.Os. of both cavalry and infantry to be worn round the waist. No exception is made for Highlanders, but there was only one Highland Regiment at the time.

c. Probably the 42nd did not adopt the sash round the waist on account of the sporran. Probably, also, these officers had always worn the sash over the left shoulder because they carried their swords in a baldrick or shoulder-belt, unlike other infantry. The subsequently raised Highland corps followed suit. There appears to be no regulation until a much later date.

e. Serjeants of infantry wore the sash over the right shoulder from 1855 or '56, when all sashes were removed from the waist to the shoulder, officers over the left, N.C.Os. over the right. (But Staff-Serjeants of Highlanders wore them over the left shoulder because they had a shoulder-belt over the right one.)

f. As to the 13th Foot, the serjeants were authorised to wear the sash over the left by H. G. letter of 3 April, 1865, in view of "the length of time the custom of wearing the sash on the right side had existed," i.e. tied on the right side. This permission was obtained by Lord Mark Kerr. If his application has been preserved at the War Office, it might throw some light on the matter. P. W. R.

323. BLACK (NEGRO) DRUMMERS, or BANDSMEN, IN THE ARMY. (vol. iv. 136; v. 44, 140.) In *Records of the 54th West Norfolk Regiment*, published at Roorkee in 1881, the following extract from the Notes of Major John Norman, who served in the Regiment for nearly 32 years—1821 to 1853—retiring on full pay in the latter year, occurs (pp. 45-6):—

"About the Bands—the orders were very frequent about their strength, but none about their clothing, which was according to the taste of the Commanding Officer, and frequently fantastical. They were reduced at one time to 14 performers, but had seldom less than five or six time-beaters, bass and tenor drums, often a pair of kettle-drums, cymbals, triangles, and a tambourine. Many Regiments had negroes for this duty, dressed with turbans, and they usually had silver stocks and bracelets. The tambourine and cymbal players were selected for their activity, and had plenty of room given them.

"The band was dressed like lancers, sky-blue Cossack trousers, red vests, and loose white jackets, with a lancer cap. A gigantic negro called Thompson carried an instrument called Turkish-bells in front of the band. His instrument was lost in Arracan 1824-5."

'Turkish-bells' is, apparently, a variation of 'Jingling Johnnie' and '*Glockenspiel*'. See *Journal*, vol ii. pp. 152 and 171.

Norman joined the 54th Foot in 1821. The regiment left Arracan in December, 1825. His notes on the Band, therefore, refer to the period 1821-5. NEUX.

324. THE SALTER'S YEOMANRY. (vol. ix. 183.) From a "List of the Officers of the Militia and of the Yeomanry Cavalry and Volunteer Infantry of the United Kingdom. War Office. 20 September, 1825," the following extract is made:—

"Yeomanry Cavalry and Volunteer Infantry of Ireland."

"Londonderry. Salter's Infantry."

"Captain Thomas Paterson. 31 October, 1796."

Why was this Infantry unit designated "Salter's"? Was "Salter" a place or a person? H. M. McC.

HERE ENDS VOLUME IX.

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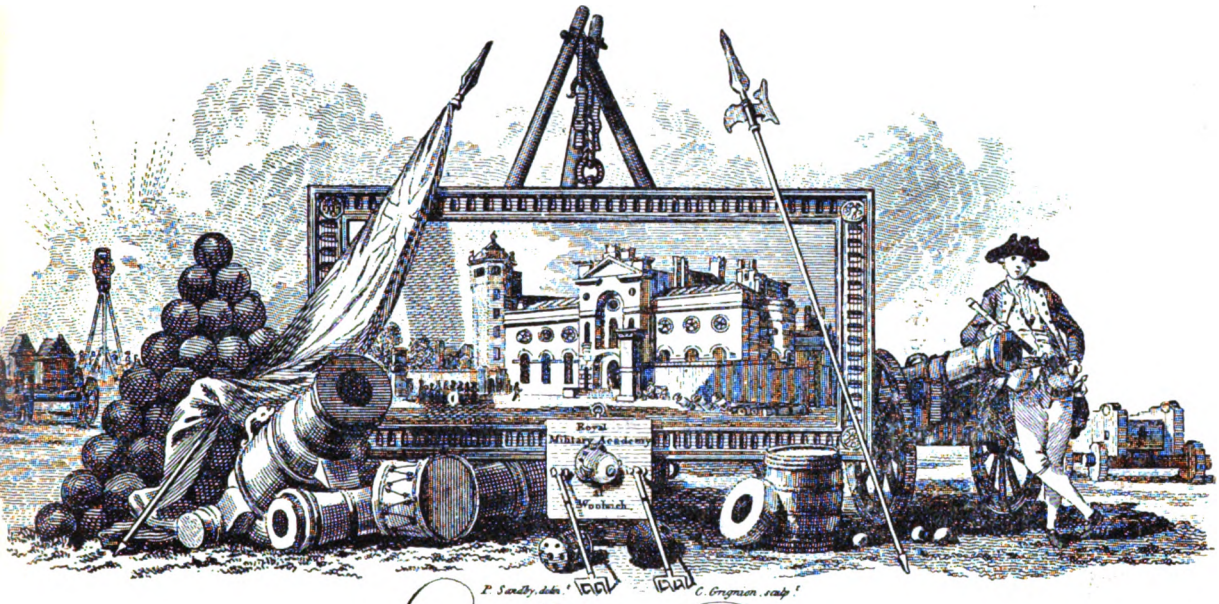

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ERRATA IN VOL. IX.

Page 175. In line 2, for "(July-December, 1929)," read "(January to June, 1930)."
,, Note 222. 2nd line of last para. but one. For "Baron Francis de Rottenburg, K.H.", read "Francis, Baron de Rottenburg, K.C.H."
195. Footnote 13. In line 1 for "as" read "was."

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THE SOCIETY FOR ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The Ninth Annual General Meeting was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W.1, on Thursday, June 25th, 1931, Brig.-General Sir James Edmonds, C.B., C.M.G. (*Chairman of the Council*), presiding.

The following Members were present :—

Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., etc.
Lieut.-Gen. Sir Alfred Codrington, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.
Brig.-Gen. W. C. Staveley, C.B.
Col. G. R. Codrington, D.S.O., O.B.E.
Lieut.-Col. F. H. Neish.
Lieut.-Col. J. H. Leslie (*Hon. Editor*).
Lieut.-Col. J. H. Gettins, D.S.O.
Lieut.-Col. Lewis Butler.
Lieut.-Col. R. J. L. Ogilby, D.S.O.
Major E. W. H. Fyers, T.D.
Major Colin MacRae, C.B.E.
Capt. H. Oakes-Jones, M.B.E., F.S.A.
Capt. L. Timpson.
Capt. C. T. Atkinson.
Col. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E.
G. H. Dauglish, Esq.
A. S. White, Esq. (*Hon. Secretary*).

Notice of Meeting.

The Hon. Secretary read the Notice convening the Meeting.

Minutes.

The Minutes of the Eighth Annual General Meeting, held on July 14th, 1930, having been printed and circulated to all Members, were taken as read and approved.

Report by the Chairman of the Council.

The Chairman recalled the great success of the Society's Festival dinner, at which its Patron, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, was present, held after the annual meeting last year. He congratulated Lieut.-Colonel Leslie for its excellent organization in every detail.

Membership of the Society was gradually creeping up year by year, 359, 424, 447, 501 to 513 in 1930. The Society had to deplore the death of one of its Vice-Presidents and one of its most enthusiastic members, the late Lieut.-General Sir Hastings Anderson.

Owing to the expenditure on the journal in 1930 (£532 as it was a special year), the loss on the dinner and cost of designing and making blocks for the badge, the balance had dropped from £186 to £40. During the present year, until the position was recovered, the number of coloured plates in the Journal would be reduced, and the cost per number limited to £90.

A desire had been expressed for a card of membership. It would be useful to members desiring access to libraries; so one had been designed, and was available.

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At a Council meeting it had been decided that the scope of the Society's work should be extended to cover operations to the end of the South African War (1902), and to cover articles of equipment to date.

With reference to the resolution passed at the last Annual Meeting, and Captain Liddel-Hart's article, "Some Proposals," which appeared in the Journal (vol. ix., 244), an offer had been received from Colonel Sir Morgan Crofton to compile a list of sources of Marlborough's campaign, which had been gladly accepted.

Balance Sheet.

The Balance Sheet, as printed and circulated, was adopted.

Election of Council.

The following Members were elected to the Council in accordance with Rule XII :—

Lieut.-Gen. Sir G. F. MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. } Retiring Members re-elected.
W. Y. Baldry, Esq., O.B.E. }

Lieut.-Col. Lewis Butler, a Retiring Member, having intimated that he did not wish to stand for re-election, it was decided that the vacancy should be left to the Council to fill.

Vote of Thanks to Lieut.-Col. Lewis Butler.

Brig.-Gen. Sir James Edmonds moved, and Lieut.-Col. J. H. Leslie seconded, a Vote of Thanks to Lieut.-Col. Lewis Butler for his services on the Council since the foundation of the Society. Carried unanimously.

Vote of Thanks to Contributors.

A Vote of Thanks to contributors to the *Journal* was moved by Capt. C. T. Atkinson, seconded by Capt. H. Oakes-Jones, and carried unanimously.

Honorary Membership.

The question of Honorary Membership being raised, it was decided, on a motion by Lieut.-Col. J. H. Leslie, seconded by Capt. C. T. Atkinson, that it be left to the discretion of the Council to elect certain contributors to Honorary Membership of the Society.

Vote of Thanks to Editor, Secretary and Auditor.

A Vote of Thanks to the Honorary Editor, Honorary Secretary and Honorary Auditor, was moved by Brig.-Gen. Sir James Edmonds, seconded by Major E. W. H. Fyers, and carried unanimously.

Vote of Thanks to Chairman.

The Meeting terminated with a cordial Vote of Thanks to Brig.-Gen. Sir James Edmonds, for presiding.

A. S. WHITE,

Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.

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JOURNAL of the SOCIETY for ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME TEN—1931.

THE BADGE OF THE SOCIETY.

THE BLAZON.

On a roundle azure, in base a wall, embattled and masoned proper, issuant therefrom a rising sun in splendour or, over all two swords in saltire gules, hilts and pommels or, interlaced with a scroll fesswise, thereon the motto of the Society, *' Præterita Explorando Discimus,'* the wall charged with a hand-grenade gold fired proper between two crosses crosslets sable, the whole within a collar bearing the words

" THE SOCIETY FOR ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH."

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1st Lieutenant W. J. GRAY.
In the full-dress uniform of the Bengal Artillery.
From a coloured photograph, circa 1853.

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VOLUME X. JANUARY, 1931. No. 39.

THE MARCH OF THE SIEGE-TRAIN FROM FEROZEPORE TO DELHI—AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1857.

THE JOURNAL OF 1ST LIEUTENANT W. J. GRAY, BENGAL ARTILLERY.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

INTRODUCTION.

1st Lieutenant William John Gray was the second son of General James Clarke Charnock Gray, Hon. East India Company's service, on the Bengal Establishment.

He was an Addiscombe Cadet, and was commissioned as 2nd Lieutenant in the Bengal Artillery on 8 December, 1843.

He sailed from England on 9 January, 1844, arriving at Calcutta on 30 May.

His services in the field were :—

a. The Sutlej campaign. 1845-6. Medal for Aliwal, 1846 (1)—dark blue ribbon, with red borders.

b. The Punjab campaign. 1848-9. Medal, with clasps for Chilianwala and Goojerat—dark blue ribbon, with yellow borders.

c. The Indian Mutiny. 1857. Medal, with clasp for Delhi—white ribbon, with two red vertical stripes, forming five stripes, each ¼ inch wide.

At the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny in May, 1857, Gray was stationed at Sialkote, Punjab, then being adjutant of the 8th battalion, Artillery.

He has left the following short record of events :—

1857.

May 14. Heard of Mutiny at Meerut and Delhi. Dawes's Troop (2) and Bourchier's Battery (3) were got ready for service : arrangements were made for the proper protection of our guns by H.M.'s 52nd Reg[t].

1. Four medals were issued for this campaign, each bearing the name of a battle, Moodkee—1845; Ferozeshah—1845; Aliwal—1846; Sobraon—1846. Except for the name and year of the battle in the exergue the medals were identical in design.

Clasps were added for a 2nd, 3rd, or 4th battle, this being the first instance of clasps being given with an Indian medal. The Moodkee medal might carry clasps for the subsequent three battles; the Ferozeshah medal for two, and the Aliwal medal for one. The medal for Moodkee, the last of the battles, could carry no clasp.

It will be noted in the illustration that Gray's medal has a blank clasp. No other instance of this is known.

2. The 3rd Troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery, commanded by Captain (bt.-Lieut.-Colonel) Michael Dawes. In 1931, the 58th Field Battery, R.A.

3. No. 3 Company, 1st Brigade, Bengal Foot Artillery, commanded by Captain George Bourchier. In 1931, the 53rd Field Battery, R.A. Bourchier wrote (published in 1858) *Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoy Army during the Mutiny of* 1857.

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THE WAR MEDALS OF 1ST LIEUTENANT W. J. GRAY, BENGAL ARTILLERY.

"Sutlej" Campaign. 1845-6. | "Punjab" Campaign. 1848-9. | Indian Mutiny. 1857-8.

The medals, Journal, and letters, have been placed at the disposal of the Society through the kindness of the Misses Gray and Mr. W. B. Gray, daughters and son of Major-General W. J. Gray, Bengal Artillery.

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The N.I. Regiments' Lines were between us and the European Infantry.

May 25. A force from Sialkote moved out to form a portion of a moveable column under Brig^r. Chamberlain. Two hundred men of the 52nd and two of Dawes's guns were got back by Brig^r. Brind (1) for the protection of Sialkote. I slept in our regimental schoolroom so as to be near these guns, which were placed under my command.

A few days after, these guns and the 200 Europeans were taken away to join the Moveable Column, and then Sialkote was left truly to the tender mercies of the Wing, 9th Cavalry, and 46th N.I., and, as might have been expected, those corps broke out into open mutiny on the 9th July.

July.

July 3. Ordered to Lahore and left, dawk (2), with Gaitskell (3), Ellen [Mrs. Gray] and children remaining behind with Dr. and Mrs. Colin Graham (4).

10. Heard of the outbreak at Sialkote [on] 9 July. [The 9th Bengal Light Cavalry and the 46th Bengal N.I. See *History of the Sepoy War in India*, by Sir John Kaye. vol. ii (1870). pp. 628-30.] Got permission to go over (5): started two days after: arrived on the 15th, found all the family well, cooped up with other ladies and children in one room in the Fort. Learnt particulars of the death of several officers: found our house had been plundered of all it had contained. Ellen and the children had little in the way of linen.

17. I started with Ellen and children, with Mrs. Graham, Mrs. Bishop (6) and two children, for Lahore, where we arrived on the 19th, after the hottest day and night I ever remembered having experienced in India.

July 19. Our third boy, Henry McArthur, died from the exposure of the previous day. We got very fair quarters at Lahore thro' Col. M. Smith's kindness(7). Mrs. Graham and Mrs. Bishop shared them with us.

On 3 August, Gray was appointed Deputy-Commissary of Ordnance, to command the Siege-Train which was being prepared at Ferozepore to march to Delhi, and it is at this point that his Journal of the march commences.

---

1. James Brind, C.B., Bengal Artillery, commanding the station. He was shot by his orderly on 9 July, when the troops at Sialkote mutinied, and died in the Fort on the following day.

2. Or Dâk, meaning 'Post', i.e. transport by relays of men and horses, and hence the 'mail' or 'letter-post', as well as any arrangement for travelling, or for transmitting articles by such relays. To 'lay a dak' means to arrange for relays of horses, or dooli-bearers, to be posted on a road when a journey has to be undertaken. 'Dâk Gharh' is the Post Office, and 'Dâk wallah' the postman.

He "is at Calcutta, and we heard this morning that he has settled to come up dawk (or travelling day and night in a palanquin)". *Up the Country*. By the *Hon.* Miss Emily Eden. 1837.

3. Lieut.-Colonel Frederick Gaitskell, Bengal Artillery; commanding the 8th Battalion.

4. John Colin Graham, M.D., Bengal Medical Department, Medical Store-keeper, Sialkote. Killed by mutineers on 9 July.

5. i.e. to Sialkote, about 100 miles, via Amritsar. 6. Widow of Captain William Louis Mosheim Bishop, 46th Bengal N.I., killed by mutineers on 9 July.

7. Lieut.-Colonel Matthew Smith, 81st (Loyal Lincoln Volunteers) Foot. See *ante*, vol. ix, p. 12.*n*.

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The Siege-Train consisted of :—

6 24 pounder guns.	6 8 inch howitzers.
8 18 do.	4 10 inch mortars.

At Ludhiana on 16 August, the following additions were made to the 'train' from Fort Phillour :—

4 8 inch mortars.
6 5½ do.

See *History of the Bengal Artillery.* By Major-General F. W. Stubbs, Bengal Artillery. vol. iii (published in 1895), pp. 281 and 299.

The Escort of the Siege-Train was composed of infantry only—a few men, possibly of the 61st Foot,* and a Wing of the 1st Belooch Battalion (Bombay establishment), under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Robert Farquhar.

This battalion left Karachi in May, 1857, after the outbreak of the Mutiny, arriving at Mooltan on 8 July. The Headquarters and right wing marched thence on 27 July to Ferozepore, where it joined the Siege-train, forming part of its escort to Delhi.

Colonel Farquhar is mentioned in Gray's Journal—24 August— as 'commanding the escort'.

The distances from place to place, as given at the head of each day's entry, are taken from the Survey of India map; they differ slightly, at times, from those recorded in the 'journal'.

The temperature, as recorded daily, is presumed to be 'shade maximum'.

---

* The right wing (5 companies) of this regiment had left Ferozepore on 13 June, reaching Delhi—268½ miles—on 1 July, an average of nearly 15 miles a day, which for that time of the year was a good performance.

It is recorded in a contemporary newspaper that "The wing is armed with the Enfield rifle. With such, they say, they can make good practice at 900 yards. They are dressed in dust-coloured uniforms."

Three more companies, under the command of Major (bt. Lieut.-Colonel) Henry Garner Rainey, reached Delhi from Ferozepore on 14 August, having left "a small depot at that station, under Captain Greig".

Lieutenant John Sloman, of the 61st, wrote from Delhi :—"As our white clothes showed the dirt and dust so soon, they have all been dyed a sort of blueish brown colour, known out here as 'Karky'. It is a great improvement and a distinct advantage as now we know our men from others at a glance".

[Information furnished by Captain R. M. Grazebrook, O.B.E., M.C., 2nd Battalion, The Gloucestershire Regiment, formerly the 61st Foot.]

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THE JOURNAL.

3 August, 1857. Monday. Lahore to Kanakatha, due S.—15 miles.

Marched from Citadel [i.e. Fort], Lahore, en route to Ferozepore. Started at ½ past 4 a.m. Arrived at Kanakatha at 9 o'clock. Road very bad, except for single horsemen and foot-travellers—distance about 15 miles.

Did not find the march fatiguing or hot, the weather being cloudy and a cool breeze blowing—a good deal of jungle on either side of the road.

On arriving at Kana, found my servants had got everything snug in a Road-Serjeant's (1) house, which, though somewhat dilapidated, afforded me very fair shelter; it consisted of one room, containing a table, a couple of chairs, and a punka. Thermometer 90°.

4 August, 1857. Tuesday. Kanakatha to Looleeanee—9 miles.

Marched at ½ past 4 a.m. and arrived at Looleeanee at 7 o'clock—distance about 9 miles; the road was better than yesterday; a good deal of jungle still on both sides of the road.

Met a Moofsid (2) being taken into Lahore. On arriving at the Parao (3) found shelter in some outhouses, containing a table and some chairs; no punka. The outhouse very clean, and, in these days of trouble, not to be despised.

5 August, 1857. Wednesday. Loolleeanee to Kasur—9½ miles.

Marched at 4 o'clock, arrived at 7—distance about 8 miles; found shelter with Mr. Thomas (4), Ass[t] Commissioner of Kasur; quite a luxury getting into a good house for the day, which proved to be intensely hot.

The road was pretty fair, low jungle on each side, abounding apparently in black and grey partridge; saw some deer.

The Mosque in which Mr. Thomas was living, is visible from the first mile from Looleeanee. Took a drive in the evening, had a good dinner and slept like a top.

6 August, 1857. Thursday. Kasur to Ferozepore—14½ miles.

Marched at ½ past 2 o'clock a.m.; arrived at the right bank [Gandasing Wala] Sutlej river at 5 o'clock. Found that no arrangements had been made to transport my baggage to the other side. The dâk boat (5) fortunately was available, into which we got after a delay of an hour and a quarter; it took me 2½ hours to reach the left bank, there being three distinct branches of the river to cross. I anticipated a good deal of bother but had really nothing to complain of.

Arrived at Ferozepore at ½ past 10 o'clock; grilling hot. Found that all the residents were living either in the Fort, or the European barracks—had a terrible hunt to find an Artillery officer; at last got to Woodcocks's (6) house, just in time for breakfast, at which I was ashamed to sit down

1. A subordinate rank in the Department of Public Works.
2. Musfid—a rebel. 3. Encamping ground.
4. W. R. Thomas, uncovenanted—see *ante*, vol. ix, p. 13. *n*.
5. 'Mail' boat. 6. Captain Samuel Charles Woodcock, Bengal Artillery.

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in company with ladies, being (as I decidedly felt myself) in a state of dirt, not having a change of linen by me.

I passed a very pleasant day, and at night slept well in a serjeant's room in the barracks.

7 and 8 August, 1857. Friday and Saturday. Ferozepore.

Busy preparing Siege-train. Out all day.

9 August, 1857. Sunday. Ferozepore.

Moved into camp, near Sadr Bazar.

10 August, 1857. Monday. Ferozepore, due E., to Ghal— 14 miles.
To Delhi—254½ do.

Marched at 2 o'clock. Parked (7) the leading gun at ½ past 6 o'clock. Had no end of bother in trying to keep the powder hackeries (8) separate from the others, but failed to do so.

Drew up powder hackeries in two sides of a square to windward and away from all the other gharries (9).

Mr. Johnson, S.C. (10), came up with the last sound hackery at 10 o'clock, reporting that some 14 were behind, broken and unable to keep up —sent off spare carts and bullocks.

Thirty-eight elephants joined the Train from Delhi. 152 bullocks ordered to return to Ferozepore (11).

The road from Ferozepore to Gull, 14 miles, pucka and in good order. Parao on the left; no trees; encamping ground good. Found shelter at the Bardasht Khana (12).

Thermometer 92°.

11 August, 1857. Tuesday. Gull to Dugroo— 14½ miles.
To Delhi—240 do.

Park commenced to move at 12 o'clock [midnight]. The hackeries were fairly on the march by 2.30; leading gun parked at Dugroo, a good 14 miles, at 6.30.

On passing along the line observed a gharee laden with shot on fire, which was almost immediately put out.

Gave strict orders about powder gharees being regularly greased—told off a Lohar (13) and Burhai (14) to go round daily and examine all the hackeries and to have such as required repairs, repaired at once.

Bombardier Marshall, on duty on the rear, made his report at ¼ to 12 o'clock—7 hackeries broken down. Spare hackeries and store-carts sent out under Mr. Johnson.

Entertained (15) 4 4-bullock hackeries. Removed tents from hackeries

7. To arrange guns, etc., in a compact and orderly way in the 'gun-park'. 'Park', as a noun, means the space in an encampment occupied by the artillery—guns, vehicles, and stores belonging thereto—the space occupied being usually known as the 'gun-park'. The word is the same as that now in every-day use in connexion with motor-cars.

8. Hackery. A two-wheeled country cart, drawn by bullocks.

9. A carriage, of any kind.

10. Sub-Conductor, Ordnance Commissariat Department.

11. Showing that one elephant is equal to 4 bullock-power in draft.

12. A supply house for food, fuel, etc., on an encamping ground.

13. Black-smith. 14. Carpenter. 15. Engaged for service.

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to spare elephants, thereby securing spare hackeries for to-morrow's march; impossible to move so large a number of hackeries (661), without having spare hackeries to replace broken ones. Greased carts.

Found shelter as usual in the Serai (16)—thermometer 92°.

Had a dust-storm with slight fall of rain, enough to make the weather more pleasant.

12 August, 1857. Wednesday. Dugroo to Nisma— 13½ miles.
To Delhi—226½ do.

Marched at the same hour to Nisma, distance 13 miles. Leading gun parked at 5 o'clock—hackeries well up.

Sirdar (17) Munglee made his report at 11.30—4 more hackeries smashed. Ordered Thanadar (18) to procure ten 4-bullock hackeries.

Inspected bores and vents of guns—all correct. Encamping ground heavy and bad.

Found shelter in the Serai; a good Dak Bungalow (19) and Road-Serjeant's house here, but some distance from the Parao. A dust-storm all day—thermometer 94°.

13 August, 1857. Thursday. Nisma to Jagraon— 11¾ miles.
To Delhi—214¾ do.

Marched at the same hour as yesterday to Jagraon, distance about 11 miles. Leading gun parked before sun-rise.

Ground very bad, sandy and heavy.

Sirdar Munglee made his report at 11 o'clock—5 more gharees smashed.

Ordered bullocks to be sold, the Ghareewans (20) appearing to break them on purpose, to get off to their villages close by.

Greased wheels of guns.

Put up at the Serai, West Moorcha. Thermometer 96°.

The Serai is shut in with trees, pleasant in the day, but very close at night.

Met 9th Irregular Cavalry, under Campbell, 52nd (21) with Drummond, 38th (22), Acting Adjutant. This corps was sent away from Delhi under suspicion.

There's a nice Road-Serjeant's house here, about a mile from the Parao.

14 August, 1857. Friday. Jagraon to Dakhuh— 14 miles.
To Delhi—200¾ do.

Marched to Dakhuh, 11 miles. Leading gun parked before sun-rise. Encamping ground good, but rather low and swampy.

Drew up 192 hackeries along the road side, four abreast; depth of ground occupies 270 paces. Munglee Sirdar made his report at 11 o'clock —one powder hackery broke down, but repaired and brought into camp; another hackery, with shot and shell, on fire.

16. A building, being an enclosed yard, with chambers around it, for the accommodation of travellers, with their pack animals.

17. Leader or head man. 18. Person in charge of a village police-station—*thana*.

19. A house furnished with beds, chairs, tables, bath, etc., for the accommodation of travellers, generally maintained by Government. 20. A gharee driver.

21. Captain Herbert Lowe Campbell, 52nd Bengal N.I.—mutinied at Jubbulpore.

22. Lieutenant William Littleton Powys Drummond, 38th Bengal Light Infantry (Volunteers)—mutinied at Jullunder.

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No shelter of any kind; pitched my tent for the first time. Rained hard from 12 till 5 o'clock. Made powder carts all tight and waterproof.

Tent all right. Thermometer 86°.

15 August, 1857. Saturday. Dakah to Ludhiana— 11 miles.
To Delhi—189¾ do.

Marched to Ludhiana, about 10 miles. Parked leading gun before sunrise.

Encamping ground very bad. Munglee Sirdar made his report before 10 o'clock. Hackeries well up and only two broken.

Rain. Thermometer 86°.

Heard from Ellen (23) dated 14th instant.

16 August, 1857. Sunday. Ludhiana.

Halted to take over guns (mortars) and stores from Dobbin (24), and Mr. Harris (25). 85 hackeries added to the convoy and 19 store-carts, etc.

Out all day; had a heavy fall of rain; cleared up in the evening. Reports despatched to the different authorities.

Thermometer 84°.

17 August, 1857. Monday. Ludhiana to Douraki Serai— 12½ miles.
To Delhi—177¼ do.

[From Ludhiana the road turns S.E.]

Marched to Douraki Serai, 13 miles; arrived in good time; last hackery up by 10.30.

Encamping ground very bad; parked hackeries with shot and shell, etc., on the right and left of the road. Two powder hackeries on fire; their owners fined and licked for not greasing wheels. Oiled elephant's harness.

Pitched my tent, there being no shelter near the camp. There's a Road-Serjeant's bungalow near the old Serai. No rain.

Thermometer 88°. Heard from Lewis (26).

18 August, 1857. Tuesday. Douraki Serai to Khanna ki Serai— 13¾ miles.
To Delhi—163½ do.

Marched to Khanna ki Serai, 14¼ miles. Leading gun parked about sunrise. Drew up miscellaneous hackeries, right and left of the road.

Munglee Sirdar made his report at 10 o'clock—7 hackeries broken, 3 powder hackeries on fire; detailed 4 Klashies (27) to see that the Ghareewans of powder hackeries greased wheels daily.

Received 34 hackeries from Ricketts (28), laden with shot.

Encamping ground bad, no trees; a Dak Bungalow some way from

23. Mrs. Gray, in Fort Lahore. This shows that the postal service must have been quite normal. From Lahore to Ludhiana, via Ferozepore or Amritsar, is about 130 miles.
24. 1st Lieutenant George Miller Dobbin, Bengal Artillery.
25. William Harris, Conductor, Ordnance Commissariat Department, Ludhiana.
26. Captain Henry Lewis, Bengal Artillery; Commissary, 1st class, Ordnance Commissariat Department, Ferozepore. 27. A tent-pitcher.
28. George Henry Mildmay Ricketts, Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana.

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camp. Found shelter in an upper room at the Thanadar's.

Slight shower of rain. Thermometer 96°.

19 August, 1857. Wednesday. Kanaki Serai to Barah— 10½ miles.
To Delhi—153 do.

Marched to Barah—10 miles. Leading gun up at 3 o'clock. Munglee Sirdar made his report at ½ past 9—4 hackeries broken, screw shaft broken.

Encamping ground good but swampy—drew up hackeries on the sides of the road. Greased gun-wheels. Inspected bores and vents. Found shelter in the Serai; it has two Boorjas (29) with verandahs.

Thermometer 90°. No of hackeries 657.

20 August, 1857. Thursday. Barah to Urghama— 11 miles.
To Delhi—142 do.

Marched to Urghama, 11¾ miles. Leading gun parked before sunrise.

Passed one katcha bridge; guns and hackeries passed over without difficulty.

Encamping ground very bad; has two or three jhils, here and there; unable to draw up powder hackeries regularly; 9 hackeries broken down; sent out store-carts which did not come in till near sunset.

Inspected elephants—3 sick.

Found shelter in a Serai similar to that at Barah, except that it was very damp, from the roof being in a totally leaky state.

Sheriff of the 35th (30) came in for a few minutes, was on his way by Express Cart to Delhi.

Had a chat with a man by name Hazara Singh, Motboor (31) of Urghama, a very shrewd sensible fellow.

Met some staunch men of the 57th N.I. (32) returning to Ferozepore from command (33)with H.M.'s 61st regiment (34); they seemed downcast and much ashamed of what had occurred with their brethren; were looked upon by all whom they passed, with a good deal of curiosity and suspicion—evidently as outcasts; sincerely hope they may feel that they are such.

Thermometer 89°.

21 August, 1857. Friday. Urghama to Mogulki Serai— 10½ miles.
To Delhi—131½ do.

Marched at the same hour to Mogulki Serai, 11 miles. Leading gun parked at ½ past 5 o'clock; 2 hackeries broken.

Received reports that the [river] Ghaggar was very low; ordered powder hackeries to march at 4 p.m.; went down ahead to see the state of the river; found it as reported.

On returning to camp, about sunset, ordered off all the shot hackeries, to be followed at an interval of one hour, by the carts with miscellaneous stores.

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29. *Burj*. A bastion, or tower, in the corners of a serai.
30. Lieutenant John Pringle Sherriff, 35th Bengal N.I.—disarmed at Sialkote.
31. *Mutbir*. A leading and trusted man. 32. 57th Bengal N.I
33. 'On command', i.e. absent, on duty, from regimental headquarters.
34. 61st Foot—in 1931 The Gloucestershire Regiment, 2nd Battalion.

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Passed 4 kutcha bridges between Urghama and Mogulki Serai, all very good and strong.

Pitched my tent, but slept in the Road-Serjeant's bungalow.

22 August, 1857. Saturday. Mogulki Serai to Umballa Cantonment—
—11 miles.
To Delhi—120½ do.

[Crossing of the river Ghaggar.]

Marched with guns at 2½ a.m. to Umballa; distance 11 miles.

Passed one kutcha bridge; found most of the hackeries had got over the Ghaggar.

Arrived at Umballa about 7 o'clock. Powder carts were all parked; also a number of the shot carts.

Made usual reports; despatched telegraph message to Johnson.

Pitched my tent, but moved into a bungalow close by, when I found myself nearly washed out by the rain.

23 August, 1857. Sunday. Umballa Cantonment.

Halted. Wrote for spare hackeries; got 20. Changed some 50 Government bullocks; applied for camels for conveyance of jhools (35); got none.

Captain Macpherson (36) wishes some 120 maunds (37) of atta (38) for the elephants to be carried on spare elephants, etc.; declined to do so; applied for carriage—got none; reported the matter to the Brigadier.

I left the atta under charge of a gomashta (39) to be returned to Captain Macpherson.

Started off powder hackeries at 2 p.m., for Shahabad, followed by the rest of the hackeries; all the hackeries had moved off by 7 p.m.

24 August, 1857. Monday. Umballa to Shahabad— 11½ miles.
To Delhi—109 do.

[Crossing of the river Markanda. From Umballa the road to Delhi bears due S.]

Marched with the guns at 12 o'clock (midnight) for Shahabad, 13¾ miles; the road very bad the whole of the way; never saw anything so disgraceful.

On arriving at the river Markanda, thought that it was not fordable. It was then ½ past 5 o'clock—rising rapidly; moved off all the powder hackeries from the low ground on to the raised road. Knocked off work, seeing it was useless attempting to cross, when it was with difficulty that an elephant could stem the current.

Crossed over with the Major and Mr. Knowles; found shelter in a Road-Serjeant's bungalow. Had breakfast; ordered elephant and went out to see state of river; no improvement.

Went in with K. to his house, to wait patiently for the subsiding of

35. A coarse blanket used as a covering for animals.
36. Captain Roderick Donald Macpherson, Deputy-Assistant-Commissary-General, 1st class, Commissariat Department, Umballa.
37. A weight—about 82 lbs. 38. Flour. 39. An agent, or small contractor.

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the water. Sent elephants to bring over my traps and those of Belooch Battalion (40).

At about ½ past 6 p.m., river had fallen to about 4½ feet; went down and ordered over shot hackeries; brought over two Europeans of H.M.'s 61st; returned to the bungalow; had a good dinner and slept like a top, reporting the state of matters to Colonel Farquhar, commanding the escort (41).

25 August, 1857. Tuesday. Shahabad.

Halted. Went to the river; found hackeries crossing over, but with great difficulty, the water being over the wheels. However, continued to send over shot hackeries; sent over some guns, a very difficult job; moving them down to the river, a 24 pounder sunk axle-tree deep; could not move it with 7 elephants and 2 drag ropes; was obliged to dig it out. Crossed over the greatest part of the shot hackeries and 18 guns; had got store-carts ready to pass over the powder, when down came the rain in buckets, compelling us to knock off work—the river rose again and put an end to further operations.

The rain to-day was heavier than we had yet had it, cleared up towards evening. I went to the Ghat (42) but found river running deep and fast.

Ordered all the elephants to be taken across by gunfire (43) next morning to bring over all the powder and fixed ammunition.

Ordered Masalla (44) for hathis [elephants] that had been at work; reported the state of things to Colonel Farquhar; wrote to Johnson to the same effect; also to Lewis.

26 August, 1857. Wednesday. Shahabad.

Proceeded to the Ghat at ½ past 5 o'clock; found the river had gone down very much, admitting of powder hackeries being sent over by merely taking out some of the barrels in rear; found that six barrels could be packed on one elephant—4 across and two along his back. The hackeries were all over by about 12 o'clock, when I returned to the bungalow and had breakfast.

Visited the park in the evening and issued instructions about the march. Had heavy rain about 7 o'clock. Thermometer 87°.

27 August, 1857. Thursday. Shahabad to Peepli—14½ miles.
To Delhi—94½ do.

Marched at 2 o'clock for Peepli; distance 14½ miles. Guns delayed on the road by having to cross a deep stream, 4 miles from Shahabad.

A 24 pounder stuck for about two hours; obliged to dig it out. Arrived in camp at 10 a.m., somewhat knocked up; had breakfast and out again.

No more bad roads; no easy job lugging heavy guns over katcha roads during the 'rains'.

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40. The 1st Belooch Battalion, Bombay Establishment.
41. Lieut.-Colonel Robert Farquhar, Commandant, 1st Belooch Battalion.
42. A landing-place; the path of descent to a river; the place of a ferry.
43. The firing of a cannon to proclaim the break and close of a day, the time varying at different places and at different seasons of the year.
44. *Misala*—spices, condiments, etc.

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Heard, on arrival in camp, that the rebels had sent out a force of 6,000 men on the 24th to intercept the Train.

Nicholson with 2,000 men gave them a good drubbing, boning some 10 or 12 guns. [See *ante*—vol. ix. p. 209.]

Found shelter in a Road Serjeant's bungalow, the best we have come across.

28 August, 1857. Friday. Peepli to Batana— 8½ miles.
To Delhi—86 do.

Marched to Batana, 8½ miles. Guns did not start till 3 o'clock, tho' ordered at 1. The Jemadars (45) of elephants at fault; warned them that if it occurred again, I would make them see the last hackery into camp.

Arrived in camp at 6 o'clock—ground low and swampy.

Pitched my tent. Greased wheels of guns. Inspected bores and vents; all correct.

29 August, 1857. Saturday. Batana to Karnal—12¾ miles.
To Delhi—73¼ do.

Marched into Karnal, 11¾ miles. Encamped near the Dâk Bungalow. Found an escort of 260 men of the 8th Foot (46). No hackeries broken. Made usual reports to the different authorities; received 25 boxes of 9 pounder common [shell] from Mr. Conductor Byrnes. Greased wheels of store-carts, etc., and sent on all the shot and shell hackeries at 5 o'clock; completed counting ditto.

Dined with Mr. Le Bas (47); heard good reports about garrison at Lucknow. Sir H. L. (48) is said not to be dead; sincerely hope he may not be.

30 August, 1857. Sunday. Karnal to Gharaunda—10 miles.
To Delhi—63¼ do.

Marched to Gharaunda, 10 miles; encamping ground good.

Had European sentries over powder hackeries and guns; no one allowed to enter the Park. One hackery broken down.

Got ready an 18 pounder and a howitzer for immediate service should 'Pandy' attempt to molest us.

Pitched my tent; had breakfast and tea, instead of dinner, in my tent, the Major having gone off some mile and a half to some bungalow.

Boned a brute of a fakeer (49) begging about the Park; had him walked off sharp to the thana (50). Sent on all but the guns, powder and fixed ammunition hackeries. The last hackery reached camp at 9 a.m., a great improvement.

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45. A man holding superior rank, exercising charge of those under him, in this instance the elephant drivers—mahouts.

46. Detachments of the 8th (The King's) Foot, from Jullunder and Phillour, with Lieutenants Daniel Beere and Frederick Anderson Stebbing, proceeding to Delhi to join the headquarters of the battalion.

47. Probably Charles Theodore Le Bas—Civil and Sessions Judge, Delhi, in 1859.

48. Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B.

49. A member of a religious order of mendicants. 50. Village police station.

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31 August, 1857. Monday. Gharaunda to Panipat— 9¾ miles.
To Delhi—53½ do.

Marched at 1 o'clock a.m. to Panipat, 9¾ miles; got to our ground before day-break; could not park the guns as it was dark.

Encamping ground fair; heard of a detachment of the 60th Rifles, etc., being on the other side of the river Jumna [i.e. on the left flank of the 'train']; sent off 30 elephants to help them across.

Met Hogge (51) and Major Abbott, 74th (52); heard good news about the Lucknow garrison.

No hackeries broken. Pitched tent in compound of Road-Serjeant's bungalow. Sent it on at night and slept in bungalow. Very heavy rain.

1 September, 1857. Tuesday. Panipat to Somalki—10½ miles.
To Delhi—43 do.

Marched to Somalki, 10½ miles; did not get off the ground till past sunrise, having only one elephant per gun; however, got to the new ground before 8 o'clock; good ground. No hackeries broken.

Pitched my tent. Thermometer 94°.

Heard heavy firing towards Delhi.

2 September, 1857. Wednesday. Somalki to Lursauli—11 miles.
To Delhi—32 do.

Marched at 2 o'clock for Lursauli, 11 miles. One elephant only in guns, except 24 pounders: those sent to Campbell had not returned.

Moved powder hackeries in double column of sub-divisions; succeeded pretty well; hope to do better next march.

Parked leading gun at 7 o'clock; all up by 10. No hackeries broken.

Made over six spare hackeries to Colonel Dunsford (53) for the conveyance of Electric Telegraph posts to Rhai.

Sent on shot and shell hackeries under a party of cavalry and infantry of the Jheend Rajah, furnished by Colonel Dunsford. Pitched my tent.

3 September, 1857. Thursday. Lursauli to Rhai—13 miles.
To Delhi—19 do.

Marched at 2 o'clock for Rhai, 13 miles; arrived at ½ past 6 o'clock. On entering the camp saw some cavalry and artillery encamping ahead of us.

Marched powder hackeries in two rows; succeeded very well.

Rhai to Delhi—19 miles.

Marched again at 5.30 p.m. for Camp Delhi, 19 miles; every precaution taken to prevent molestation on the line of march.

Halted two hours at Utteepore. Met two officers of the 6th Light Cavalry. Had tea.

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51. Captain Charles Hogge, Bengal Artillery, Director of Artillery Depot.
52. Herbert Edward Stacey Abbott, 74th Bengal N.I.
53. Captain (bt. Lieut.-Colonel) Henry Frederick Dunsford, 59th Bengal N.I. (disarmed at Amritsar, 9 July), now in command of the troops furnished by the Rajah of Jheend.

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Marched on again at 11 o'clock and reached camp at ½ past 1 o'clock, a.m., much too early.

4 September, 1857. Friday. Camp before Delhi.

It was a beautiful moonlight night; beat up Captain Young, Commissary of Ordnance (54), and set to work parking the guns.

Called on the Major-General; heard I was to lose my appointment [as Commissary of Ordnance]. Glad that I had succeeded in bringing the Train and stores, the powder especially, safe into camp.

Found the camp much sweeter than I expected to see it.

END OF THE JOURNAL.

[As this march of 268½ miles does not appear to have ever received the attention which it certainly deserved, nor to have been mentioned in any published book upon the Indian Mutiny, official or otherwise, the following letters, copied in Gray's own writing, will at least ensure that the way in which it was so successfully carried out, is not entirely lost sight of. It was a very great achievement.]

I.

Letter No. 219. From Major-General G. E. Gowan, Commanding the Lahore Division,
To The Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army.

Lahore Division Head Quarters,
Meean Meer.
15 October, 1857.

Sir, Having observed that no mention is made in the Despatches of Major-General Wilson, commanding the Delhi Field Force, of the services of Lieut. W. J. Gray, in bringing safely to camp a large Siege Train, I deem it right to report, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that this service was performed entirely to my satisfaction.

The Train, encumbered with a large string of hackeries, ultimately numbering 653 (55) of which 166 were laden with powder, performed the journey from Ferozepore to Delhi (23 stages) in 26 days, in the height of the 'rains' and along a road in many places extremely difficult, including the passage of the Ghaggar and Markanda, two very troublesome rivers.

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54. Captain James Young, Bengal Artillery—Department of Public Works, Punjab. Indian Mutiny medal, with clasp 'Delhi'.

55. Captain (bt. Major) O. H. St. G. Anson, 9th Lancers, went out from Delhi Camp, on 2 September, with a small mixed force, to meet the 'train' and to escort it into Camp. He records in a letter of 4 September, that at Rhai, 18½ miles from Delhi, on the previous day, "The siege-train, under the command of Colonel Farquhar, soon came in, and we all encamped there for the day only, for at 5.30 p.m. the train, which was certainly six miles long, started for Delhi Camp". (*With Her Majesty's 9th Lancers during the Indian Mutiny*. Published in 1896. p. 132.)

Colonel Farquhar commanded the 'escort', *not* the 'train'.

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I trust His Excellency will concur with me in thinking that the fact of such having been landed at Delhi in the same efficient state in which they were received, is highly creditable to the zeal and energy of Lieut. Gray, especially as the only Europeans he had were Sub. Conductor, one laboratory man, and two Battalion Serjeants. There was not a single officer of the Ordnance Commissariat available at the time to take charge of the Train.

Lieut. Gray, then on his way to Delhi, was recommended to me as an officer well qualified for the duty, and I appointed him to officiate as Commissary of Ordnance. He performed his duty most efficiently and I beg to recommend him to the favourable notice of His Excellency.

(sd.) G. E. GOWAN, Major-General,
Commanding Lahore Division.

II.

Copy of a letter from Lieut.-Colonel Frederick Gaitskell, Commanding the 8th Battalion, Bengal Artillery.

To the Assistant Adjutant-General, Artillery, Meerut.

Delhi, 26 March, 1858.

Sir, I have to request you will be so good as to lay before the Brigadier-Commandant of the Regiment and, should he approve, for record in your office, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Secretary to Government, Military Department, and a demi-official letter (56) from Lieut.-Colonel Charles Hogge, respecting the conduct of Lieutenant W. J. Gray, Artillery, of the Battalion under my command, while in charge of the Siege Train with stores, which moved from Ferozepore to Delhi in the month of August last.

Having accompanied the Train myself I can add from personal observation my testimony as to the arduous nature of his duties—much increased owing to the scanty assistance that could be spared from the Ferozepore magazine.

On arriving at the Markanda, we found it a raging torrent and it required two days of incessant exertions and exposure all day to ensure the safe transit of the Guns and Stores, and especially the Powder, all of which was most successfully accomplished by Lieut. Gray, and I, therefore, deem it my duty to bring Lieut. Gray's meritorious exertions to the particular notice of the Commandant of the Regiment.

(sd.) F. GAITSKELL, Lieut.-Colonel.
Commanding 8th Battalion, Artillery.

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56. Letter No. III, dated 25 November, 1857, and No. IV, dated 21 December, 1857, which follow.

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III.

Copy of a letter, No. 1373, from the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

To the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army.

Council Chambers, Fort William, Calcutta.
25 November, 1857.

Sir, In acknowledging the receipt of your endorsement, No. 1355, dated 10 November, 1857, forwarding a letter from Major-General G. E. Gowan, C.B., Commanding the Upper Provinces, No. 219, dated 15 October, 1857, recommending Lt. W. J. Gray of Artillery, for favorable notice for his services in conducting a large Siege Train in safety from Ferozepore to Delhi, I am directed to acquaint you for the information of His Excellency the Commander in Chief, that it has been laid before Government and will be reported to the Honble. Court (58).

(sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel.
Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

IV.

Copy of a letter from Lieut.-Colonel Charles Hogge, Bengal Artillery, late Commissary of Ordnance to the Army before Delhi.

To Lieutenant W. J. Gray, Bengal Artillery.

Meerut, 21 December, 1857.

My dear Gray, As you had the charge of the Siege Train from Ferozepore to Delhi, allow me to bear testimony, that the efficient state it arrived in was extremely creditable to you and, considering the time of year and the state of the roads near Umballa, its management must have been an arduous task.

Having had some experience in the fatiguing and harassing duties which involve on the officer in charge of a Siege Train, even when aided by a proper number of Warrant and Non-commd. officers, it is surprizing that with the limited number (viz. 1 Sub.-Conductor and Laboratory man) you could have managed so well, with such a large Train of Ordnance carriages, besides 753 hackeries containing stores. Everything reached camp in perfect order and with the exception of a few shot and shell, unavoidably lost in crossing the Markanda river, I believe everything was correct and according to invoice.

Yours sincerely,
(sd.) C. HOGGE, Lieut.-Colonel,
Late Commissary of Ordnance to the Army before Delhi.

Gray saw no further active service after the Indian Mutiny. He was promoted to the rank of Major-General on 31 December, 1878; retired from the army on 7 June, 1882, and died at Alverstoke, Hants on 3 March, 1895, in his 71st year.

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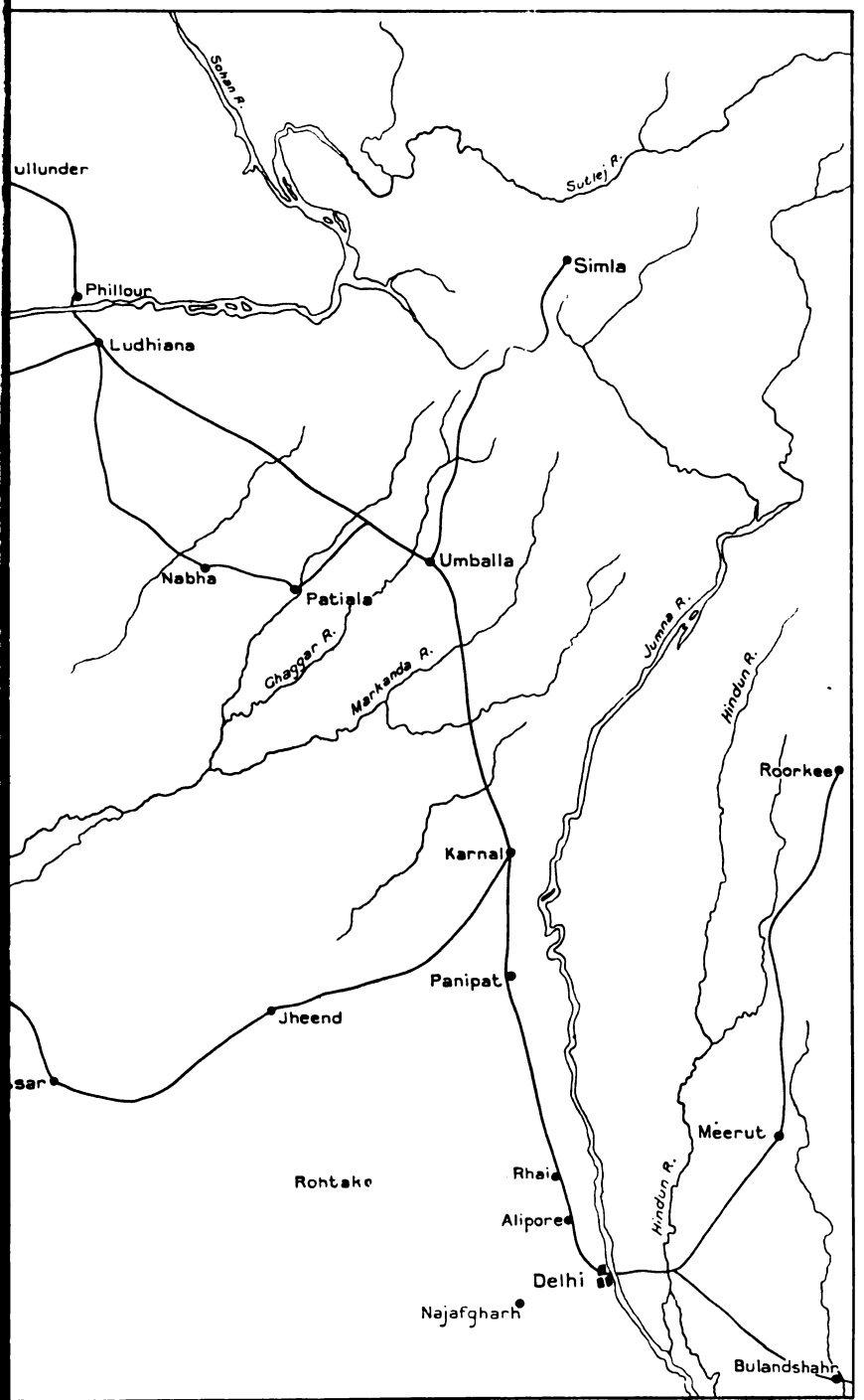
ART of The PUNJAB—INDIA.
ng road from Ferozepore to Delhi—1857.



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A PRISONER OF WAR IN INDIA, 1782-4.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL ROBERT CAMERON.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY COLONEL P. R. CADELL, C.S.I. C.I.E., INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE (Retired).

The following pages contain a portion of a narrative written by Lieut.-Colonel Robert Cameron (1753-1826), of the Honorable East India Company's Army—Madras Infantry—the MS. of which is in the possession of a grand-niece.

The dates of Lieut.-Colonel Cameron's commissions are :—

Ensign	... ...	15 December, 1775.
Lieutenant	... ...	31 October, 1780.
Captain-Lieutenant	...	20 March, 1786.
Captain	... ...	20 December, 1786.
Major	... ...	1 June, 1796.
Lieutenant-Colonel	...	26 December, 1798.

He retired on 7 September, 1803, and died at Ayr on 11 August, 1826.

LIEUT.-COLONEL ROBERT CAMERON.
From a miniature painted in India before 1800.

The first portion of the narrative describes the action in which the force of Colonel Brathwaite (afterwards Major-General Sir John Brathwaite, *Bart.*) was overwhelmed by a vastly superior Mysorean army, on 17 February, 1782, when Cameron was taken prisoner. This is not included in the following extract.

It is, however, of interest in showing that the strictures which have been passed by some historians on Brathwaite's dispositions and watchfulness are undeserved.

Wilks' *History of Southern India,* vol. ii, asserts that Brathwaite refused to give attention to the warnings of Tippoo's approach and was

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thus caught unaware. The narrative of Cameron, who was Brathwaite's Brigade-Major, indicates that there was no such warning, and that Brathwaite was fully vigilant.

Lieut.-Colonel W. J. Wilson in his *History of the Madras Army*—Madras. 1882. vol ii. p. 70—writes that it was "discreditable to the English that Tippoo should have been able to pass such a river as the Coleroon unobserved", and in this censure he is followed by Fortescue—*History of the British Army,* vol iii, p. 466.

Cameron's narrative, however, shows that the river was, at that time, everywhere fordable, and it could have constituted no barrier against a mobile and determined enemy such as Tippoo was. Brathwaite was, in fact, in an impossible position, in an open country, against a foe, superior in numbers and particularly in cavalry, and in heavy artillery. According, moreover, to Robson (*History of Hyder Aley*), Tippoo's force was admitted to the village in rear of Brathwaite's position by the treachery of the local revenue official There can, fortunately, be no question of the heroic conduct of the British Officers and men, and of the Sepoys also, till the latter were overcome by exhaustion, and lack of food. Mill, in his *History of British India,* goes so far as to say that "The annals of war can seldom exhibit a parallel to the firmness and perseverance of this little army."

The description of Cameron's subsequent captivity, which here follows, appears to be the only account extant written by an officer of Brathwaite's Force, though there are several published narratives of the survivors of Colonel Baillie's Force, and of others who were unfortunate enough to fall into the cruel hands of Hyder Ali, or of his son, Tippoo Sultan.

Cameron's account must have been written in 1784, shortly after the release of the prisoners.

Cameron's account makes far less mention of the cruel hardships endured by the prisoners than the other narratives do, and he is curiously silent on two points—the fear of forcible conversion, and the possibility of being murdered in cold blood after Tippoo's accession to the throne, both of which were likely contingencies. In addition to many soldiers and seamen, three military officers and several midshipmen underwent the cruel fate of forcible conversion. As regards murder, Rumley and Frazer of Baillie's force, and Sampson, whose bravery in Brathwaite's action was such that, as Wilks tells us, the battle was always referred to by the Indians as the fight of Brathwaite-Sampson, were foully done to death; while General Matthews, who had surrendered at Bednore on the condition that he and his men should be allowed free passage to Bombay, was poisoned, and eighteen of his officers were either poisoned or killed by violence. When we read of these and other cruelties, we may well say with Beveridge—*History of India,* vol ii—"It makes one's blood boil to think that these execrable deeds were done with impunity".

Some surprise may be felt at the number of captives, both European and Indian. They were mainly composed of the survivors of Baillie's and Brathwaite's forces, and of Matthews' men. But there were also 50 Naval Officers and Petty Officers and 400 Seamen who were, to his eternal

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discredit, handed over by Suffren to the tender mercies of Hyder on 30 June, 1782. Though the number of prisoners brought away by Dallas on the conclusion of peace was, as the narrative shows, very large, a considerable number were retained by Tippoo in violation of the terms of peace. The number of the Europeans thus retained has been estimated at 200. Some of these escaped to the forces of the Nizam or of the Mahrattas, with whom Tippoo was at war in the years subsequent to 1784. Among these were Bristow, the soldier, and Scurry, the sailor, whose stories were afterwards published. Most of the unfortunate captives must, however, have died in captivity.

In addition to the books mentioned above, the following should be consulted :—

a. *History of the services of the Madras Artillery* by Major P. J. Begbie, Madras Artillery. 1852. 2 vols. vol. i., page 201.

b. *Neill's "Blue Caps,"* by Colonel H. C. Wylly. Gale & Polden. Aldershot. n.d. [1922]. 2 vols.

c. *Captives of Tipu.* Survivors' Narratives. Edited by A. W. Lawrence. Jonathan Cape. London. 1929. *The Travellers' Library.*

THE NARRATIVE.

[February, 1782.]

Behold me now a Prisoner with a rope tied round my arm, and a fellow on horseback leading me up and down after stripping off my Hat, Coat, Watch, &c., and parading me for some time. I fell in with a French officer (1) who kindly interfered and took charge of me himself. This Gentleman treated me with the greatest humanity, gave me victuals and drink, and gave me a handkerchief to cover my head, and, when passing along, when I saw my hat offered for sale, he purchased it for me. I staid with him till three o'clock; when I was sent for to Tippoo, he even accompanied me there. I found all the Officers and private Europeans sitting on the ground, and at a little distance, under the shade of a tree, sat Tippoo with his officers.

He seemed to be about thirty, rather fair, with a pleasing countenance. I was the last that came, and they seemed only to have been waiting for me, for we were desired to withdraw immediately. They carried us only a short way and ordered us to sit down and a strong guard was placed over us. When it was near sunset, they brought a carpet which they spread on the ground and over it a white cloth; presently came two large tin kettles, the one with rice, the other with curry; to it then we fell, in the true Eastern style, with our fingers instead of knives, forks, or spoons, and I think I never saw a set of people eat with a better appetite, for some of them had tasted nothing for thirty-six hours before. They brought us

1. Lally and his officers did their best to help the English Officers, as they had done after the destruction of Baillie's Force in September, 1780. Lally, the younger, was an officer of the French Army who served in the armies of the Nizam of Hyderabad, Hyder Ali and Tippoo between 1779 and 1785.

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(which they thought a great indulgence) a bottle of the Country arrack (2) and a small tin cup to drink it out of; we employed the liquor to a better purpose, to the wounds of the several gentlemen, as there was no other relief. About seven we were ordered to *Chillow* (3), come along, when they put us, in number 20, in a house about twelve foot square; this was to serve us for every purpose. However, upon representing the impossibility of existing in such a hole we were taken to another, but very little better; this they assured us was the best house in the village; they indulged us, after a good deal of importunity, with some straw to lay under us. I slept sounder this night than I believe I ever did before, not having shut an eye for forty hours before.

Next morning we were indulged to go into a back yard, and sit under some trees. About nine o'clock they brought us a mess of the same which we had the foregoing evening, but accompanied by some wheaten cakes and congee (4); this food did not go down with that glee it did the evening before. After several messages to the Nabob (5) they sent a surgeon. He came in and after having paid his compliments, pitied our situation and said it was the fortune of war; every moment we expected a box of medicines to come in, but he told us [that] in order to give the speediest assistance he always carried these things about him. He instantly pulled out of his breeches' pocket a parcell with which he said he would cure us all. On examining this parcell we found that his instruments consisted of an old razor, one end of which served as a crooked knife, and the other as a spatula; his Lancets had been once broken but sharpened, and he had a little black plaister wrapped up in a piece of paper. How fortunate for us there were no fractures; one gentleman was obliged to undergo the painful operation of having three toes cut off; they were very much bruised by a cannon shot.

The 20th, they pitched two small tents in a tope (6) and we were obliged to go there; this was by far the pleasantest situation we had been in—we had a full view of the Nabob's own tent, and it was no small amusement to see the people pass to and fro.

The Doctor came this day and in the course of conversation told us that the fleets had engaged and we had got a beating. The Nabob sent for Colonel Brathwaite; he desired that he would send an order to the commanding officer to give up Tanjore and very great offers were made to him if he would consent.

We continued with Tippoo until the 23rd in the morning, when we were sent off, under a guard, to old Hyder (7) then encamped near Conjeveram. Doolies (8) were provided for all the sick and wounded, and horses for the others—such a group! The horses were the poorest ripps (9) you can conceive; large pads as saddles, rope reins, and as we

2. Any spirituous liquor of native manufacture, especially that distilled from the fermented sap of the coco-palm, or from rice and sugar, fermented with the coco-nut juice.
3. *Hindustani*—'chalo', i.e. 'run'. 4. Water in which rice has been boiled.
5. Nawab, i.e Tippoo. 6. *Tamil*—A grove or plantation of trees. 7. Hyder Ali.
8. A litter for sick soldiers, suspended from a pole and carried by four dooli-bearers.
9. An inferior, worthless, or worn-out horse. The earliest quotation in *The Oxford English Dictionary* is 1778.

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passed along we provided ourselves with straw ropes to make stirrups. The doolies in which the sick were carried were only 3½ feet long so that they were obliged to sit double. We were eleven days in performing this march; during all this time the guard over us behaved very well, always put us in one of the best houses in the villages and gave us good victuals; they allowed all our servants that could be found to come along with us. About seven o'clock at night of the 5th March we arrived in Hyder's camp and were all put in the shell of a marquee. In half an hour we were sent for by the Diwan (10) and were accordingly conducted to his tent. [We] were ordered to sit down, while they took our names and rank, and we were told that the Nabob (11) wanted to see us.

About nine o'clock the order came and away we trudged; we were admitted within the kennaut (12) and drawn up in a line in front of the tent. He was sitting on a carpet with cushions around him and a kind of canopy over his head; the tent was lighted up with a number of candles; at some distance sat three functionaries who we suppose were there to see the wild *beasts,* and much in the line sat his Cawns (13) and Principal men. That part of the tent, where he sat, was raised about two feet from the ground, with steps up to it. Colonel Brathwaite was ordered to go forward; they allowed him to go no nearer than the steps; a Dubash (14) that spoke English was interpreter. He was asked several questions, and then Hyder told him to go to his tent and eat, drink and be merry (15), but he took care we should do neither, for they did not send us a morsel of anything that night. The situation we were in while at the tent, though it prevented our being seen, yet we had an opportunity of seeing—there were four girls dancing and singing, accompanied by some men who played on Sittars (16) and together produced a melancholy pleasing tune. He himself appeared an elderly man, black complexion, and a very rough visage; he had not a hair on his face excepting the eyelashes; he had all the hair pulled out with pinchers, never suffering a sharp-edged instrument to come near him; when sitting he appeared to be a very personable man, and spoke in a bold commanding tone. We never saw him after this. Some of the Gentlemen, who were not stripped, had saved some money, and in the morning we got some bread and tyre (17), otherwise we should have been very poorly off, for the

10. Diván, i.e. dewán or minister. 11. In this instance the ruler, Hyder Ali.
12. *Hindustani—kanat*, i.e. the side-wall of a tent, or canvas enclosure.
13. i.e. Khan, an honorific tltie applied to Mahomedans, literally " lord ".
14. An interpreter—do-basha, " two-languaged ".
15. This seems to have been a favourite injunction of Hyder's as Captain the *Hon.* John Lindsay, 73rd Foot, one of the survivors of Baillie's Force, records in his *Journal of an imprisonment in Seringapatam*, that on 11 September, 1780,

> " the guards came in, and in a thundering manner drove us before them, like a flock of sheep, and loading us with blows because our wounds prevented us from walking fast. In this manner we were conducted before Hyder, who, after looking at us all, and taking down our names, desired us now to go to our quarters, and to eat, drink, sleep and be happy." (*Lives of the Lindsays.* By Lord Lindsay. John Murray. London. 1849. vol 3. p. 267.)

16. Citern or cithern. An instrument of the guitar kind, but strung with wire, and played with a plectrum or quill.
17. *Tamul*—' tahir '—the common term in Southern India for curdled milk.

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Circar (18) sent us nothing until 11 o'clock, and when it came it was nothing but rice, a little chilly (19), and salt, with a small quantity of wood to boil it. March is one of the hottest months in the year, and this day I found it more disagreeable than I had ever done before; there were twenty of us all crammed into a small tent, only two fold of thin cloth between us and the sun, nor would they suffer us to open but one side of the door, so that we were almost suffocated; we were denied for some time even water, and when it did come, it was so bad that nothing but the greatest distress could make us drink it, as we saw them bring it from a tank very near our tent, in which was washing horses, bullocks, &c. We found ourselves much worse off by the father [Hyder Ali] and wished ourselves out of camp. By bribing the Sepoys we procured something from the Bazar (20), and [as] the Circar discovered that there was some money amongst us, they sent one of their people to tell if we had money or any silver thing, that we should give an account of it, that they might be taken care of, lest we should lose them on the road; the finesse answered, and every one who had money, &c., gave an account.

Nothing particular happened till the night of 7th March. About nine o'clock, the Circar's people came to the tent, called us out one by one, and took all the money, &c., of which we had given an account, nor would they suffer us to return to the tent, but made us all lie down on the ground at some distance. About twelve at night they returned and gave each of us 50 fanams (21) tied up in a bit of cloth; they told us we were to march off early the next morning. Accordingly the 8th, in the morning at day-break, we were called up to prepare for the road; we were told that Colonel Brathwaite was not to go along with us, for that the Nabob had determined to keep him in [his] camp until he had complied with his desire of writing to the commanding officer at Tanjore (22) to give up that fort.

Six doolies were provided for the worst wounded, and amongst the other thirteen they sent six horses; remonstrating was in vain, such was the huckoum [order] and there was no relief. At sunrise we set out without eating anything and they never allowed us to halt till we had marched thirty miles, which we had not accomplished till after sunset. What the poor gentlemen, who were wounded, suffered that day is inconceivable; it was very hot, the road sandy, and no wind; the men who carried the doolies threw the gentlemen out and would carry them no farther; they were then put on bullocks and from this change suffered excruciating pain; some of the others were so overcome with fatigue and heat that they were obliged to lie down on the road, unable to proceed any further; the inhuman rascals who had the charge of us ordered them to be beat and that, they said, would make them find their feet; but this

18. Circar, i.e. Sarkar, "Government", commonly used for all official management.
19. The pod of the red pepper plant
20. The market place, or street of shops, in a town or camp.
21. Small coins, originally of gold, but later of baser metal, worth about threepence at this time.
22. The chief town of the district in which Brathwaite's action was fought.

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[March, 1782.]

proving ineffectual, they put them on some bullocks and by this means we got to the place where to halt the night.

We had tasted no food all day but drunk copiously of water; to get a place to rest our head was now all we desired, and every one lay down as fast as he came up; about 12 o'clock they brought us some rice and Doll (23) Mullygatanny (24), and being by this time a little refreshed we ate very heartily; the reason they assigned for having marched us so far was that there was no secure place where they could have kept us all night nearer.

We were in hopes that they would have marched us early next morning in which case we should have been able to have got on tolerably well in the cool, but we were told they could not march before 10 o'clock, which practice they invariably followed during the whole of our march.

The second day's march seemed to be more disagreeable to several of the gentlemen than the first, as above one half of those that must walk had their feet so badly blistered by the foregoing march that it was with great pain they could touch the ground; however, march they must, so having previously disposed of all the rice and mullygatanny that was left from the evening repast, we set out and in the afternoon reached the Fort of Arnee. Though we arrived so early, we had nothing given us to eat till half past 10 o'clock, and, what we considered as the hardest thing of any, they would not allow us to spend the fanams which they had given us.

Having given you an account of two days' march, with our bill of fare, you can conceive the rest, as our treatment was uniformly infamous during the whole of the march, which lasted 18 days. Twice we had fowls, but only three among eighteen of us. We had no shirt but the one in which we were taken, and to wash this they denied us; it was twelve days since they had undergone this operation and what with perspiration and dust they were nearly black and, what was worse, *lousy*. We, therefore, came to the resolution that the first water we came to we would halt and not stir, let them do what they would, until we had at least wet our shirts, &c. So soon as we came to a place we thought would answer, we sat down and told them our intentions; the fellow flew into a violent passion and ordered us to be flogged, but none of his people would move, and, luckily for us, he thought he would defile himself if he performed the operation. We had, previous to our determination, secured the interest of the Sepoys by giving them a few fanams. After abusing us plentifully he left us. We stript instantly and to it we went in buffs (25). First washed one thing, and when that was dry another; there was no shade and all of us got burnt; some with very delicate skins was only one blister from neck down, but the inconveniency was nothing compared with the pleasure we felt in getting our clothes washed.

On the 26th March we came in sight of Seringapatam. [The capital of the kingdom of Mysore, during the reigns of Hyder Ali and Tippoo.] Never

23. i.e. dal—split pulse.
24. *Tamil*—Milagu tannir. Pepper water—a soup made with pepper and capsicums.
25. Buffs—archaic " the bare skin " (O.E.D.).

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[March, 1782.]

were a set of poor fellows happier at the prospect of our journey being at an end. When we came near the fort they halted us under some trees on the bank of a river, and word was sent in of our arrival; we continued till three o'clock before there was an order for us to go to the fort; when we got within the outer gate they made us halt again nearly an hour. But at last we were carried to the Ketcheree (26); after our names were taken, we were conducted to a Choultry (27) on the Parade, on which place we remained during the night. In crossing the Parade we thought we saw some very white Moormen (28), but on inquiry we were shocked to hear that the men we saw had been European prisoners and were now employed in exercising (29) a number of small boys that were brought from the Carnatic. [The eastern low portion of the Madras Presidency in which the city of Madras is situated.]

We were now allowed to send to the Bazar for a few things, but having no means of dressing victuals we were obliged to get what we could, and for my own part I made a hearty supper on Hoppers (30), and Ghee (31). Between eleven and twelve at night we were awaked out of our sleep with a noise, the most uncommon we had ever heard, and were greatly alarmed, but our fears subsided when the guards told us that it was the Nabaut (32) or Concert which always beat at mid-day and midnight.

About seven o'clock we were greatly surprised to see the servants of some officers, confined near us, pass by with mutton, fowls, bread and vegetables; it was a sight we had not seen for five weeks and it caused some very pleasing ideas to think that we should have the same means of subsisting as the people for whom these provisions were intended; what caused this great show, as we learned afterwards, was the gentlemen providing for our reception, from a full conviction that we would be put in amongst them. About ten o'clock we saw the Killadaur (33), coming toward us; however, he did not, but, with his retinue, sat himself down in a Choultry near us, and soon after we were called to him; our names and rank were again taken; when that was over we were taken to a little distance, where we saw a large basket of chains and a number of blacksmiths. We were not left long in suspense about what they intended for us. As many of us as there were smiths were taken and equipped with a pair of chains; they were in weight from seven to ten pounds. When all the gentlemen not wounded were secured, we were conducted under a guard of Sepoys to the door of the officers' prison. On our approaching it, our ears were saluted with the sound of chains clanking

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26. Ketcheree—a public office. 27. Choultry—a walled enclosure.

28. Moormen. i.e. Mahomedans. The English in their early days in India often followed the Portuguese custom of calling Moslems "Moors" or "Moormen". The British soldier, up to the time of the Mutiny in 1857, always called the inhabitants of India 'Moors'.

29. i.e. "drilling". 30. Hoppers—thin cakes of rice flour.

31. Boiled butter.

32. *Hindustani*, Naubat. Instruments of music sounding at the gateway of a great man. 33. Killadaur—Fort Commandant.

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to and fro, and on entering the yard we were surrounded by 24 poor fellows with meagre faces dressed in Dungee (34) shirts and long drawers (35)—all condoling with us on our unhappy capture. Through all this disguise I soon recollected some of my old acquaintances; it was a melancholy scene. They were all in irons.

After a few general questions it was inquired if I had dined. I answered in the negative, and was conducted to a Mess table where I found some of my fellow travellers; it was now their hour of drinking tea, and we were presented with a Chatty (36) full of some bread and butter. I never relished anything so much in my life. The Prison, a compound (37) about 60 feet long and 20 broad, was surrounded by a mud wall 20 feet high. This was at some distance from the house and formed an outer yard where was the cook room and the servants' huts. The Prison itself had four rooms at the corners, 16 by 9, and four verandas, three of which were matted in for berths, and the fourth, next to the door, was occupied by the guard; the area in the centre, about 40 by 20, was the place where we sat at tea and the only one where they could take any exercise. The remainder of the evening was taken up in answering the thousand questions put to me by all hands; poor fellows, they had had no communication with the Carnatic for nineteen months and their curiosity was natural. Contrary to the economy of the place, but in honour of their new guests, they had ordered supper, and we were severally invited by the different messes. Having eat heartily of curry and rice and washed it down with a drink of water, I lay down in one of the rooms, [in] a Birth allotted for me, and though it was very cold, and I had no covering, I slept tolerably well till the morning of March 28th, when I was awakened by a rough hollow voice calling out 'Ginti, Ginti, Baur Chillau' (38), on which I turned out and found all the prisoners in the yard and two black rascals counting them; having found our numbers exact we were told to 'Jow' (39), on which the gentlemen dispersed. As the gentlemen, excepting two, were all shaved, it became necessary to undergo that operation, as our beards were a month old. A servant who stood barber for the Prison soon performed this operation, and having borrowed a shirt from one, a pair of drawers from another, I went about cleaning myself. When I came to the drawers I was quite at a loss, nor could I conceive how to get them on. I might have remained so till now had I not been shewn; being equipped, I thought of taking the same amusement as the others, but from my being a novice in chains I was unable, for every step I took the ring struck against my shin so cursedly, that I could move with difficulty; however, I was soon directed to a messmate who was considered as the most ingenious at rigging an iron in its place, and under his management I was soon able to hobble about. He took one of my old boots and, having cut it up, he

34. Dungee. Dungaree. A kind of coarse and inferior cotton cloth.
35. Long drawers. Lower garments, equivalent to pyjamas, but tight at the ankles.
36. An earthern pot, spheroidal in shape.
37. Compound. The enclosed ground which surrounds an Anglo-Indian house, from Malay "Kampong".
38. 'Time! time! move outside'. 39. *Hindustani*—'jao'—go.

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[March, 1782.]

tied part round the small of my leg to prevent the ring from galling me; he then sewed two pieces of leather, one in front and another in rear of the rings and receiving a string through a hole in these leathers he made it fast to a garter tied under my knee by which the rings were suspended and putting another cord through the centre of the chain I tied that round my waist and was thereby enabled to walk pretty decently.

Eight o'clock was the hour for breakfast; some of the messes had congee and butter, some lip (40) and rice, but the greatest number breakfasted with tea, milk, bread and butter. The tea was made out of a herb called Toolsee (41), and when mixed with milk and Jaggery (42) made a tolerable drink. After breakfast some retired to cards, some to backgammon and other amusements, some to mend and make their clothes. A large circle still kept round all we newcomers and kept interrogating us the whole day. About one, I dined on curry and rice and concluded the evening, as I had done the day, in relating the transactions that had happened since their captivity. I began now to make a few inquiries, in my turn, into the rules and economy of this new state of which I had become a member and in which I had a melancholy prospect of continuing long. The allowance the gentlemen of the Prison had from the Circar was one gold fanam paid them every day regularly. All kinds of provisions being very cheap they could have lived very well, had it not been for the impositions of their servants. The gentlemen were divided into four messes and they took a proportionable number of us into each. Each mess had a caterer; it was taken in turn and he continued in office for four weeks; his duty was to superintend the cookery, take care of the pots and chatties and keep the Bazar accounts. On my first arrival the messes were ten and eleven, but, finding much inconveniency from so many together, it was agreed they should separate and reduce the numbers to eight, this being deemed by the most experienced caterers the fittest number. I shall, therefore, give you a week's mess account for that number by which you will be able to see what we saved, as well as how we lived, for though we had a variety of bread dinners, besides these in the Mess bill, yet, as they were nearly of the same expense, I have preferred those I have particularised. Eleven cash (43) was allowed by the mess for breakfast and tea boiled for every one; those who wished for another breakfast drew their allowance daily from the caterer.

1 fanam equals 11½ dubs. 1 dub equals 4 cash.

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40. Lip, probably the pulp of the cocoanut: only found elsewhere in the form "lip-lap."
41. Toolsee—Tulsi, the Basil Plant.
42. *Hindustani*—'Jagri'—coarse sugar made from the sap of the palm tree.
43. Cash. Applied to various coins of low value.

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Sunday.

	f.	d.	c.
Mutton	2	5	0
Bread	0	9	0
Potatoes	0	6	0
Wood	0	6	0
Salt	0	1	0
Mustard	0	0	2
Pepper	0	0	2
Butter	0	1	2
Breakfast	1	10	2
Total	6	5	2

Monday.

	f.	d.	c.
Mutton	1	4	0
Rice	0	4	0
Ghee	0	4	0
Curry Stuff	0	4	0
Wood	0	4	0
Salt	0	1	0
Breakfast	1	10	2
Total	4	8	2

Wednesday.

	f.	d.	c.
Mutton	2	4	2
Bread	0	9	0
Radishes	0	2	0
Greens	0	2	0
Rice and Spice	0	2	0
Wood and Salt	0	5	0
Breakfast	1	10	2
Total	6	1	0 [*sic*]

Friday.

	f.	d.	c.
Fowls	2	0	0
Rice	0	4	0
Ghee	0	6	0
Curry Stuff	0	4	0
Wood	0	4	0
Salt	0	1	0
Breakfast	1	10	2
Total	5	6	2

Summary for week.

	f.	d.	c.
Sunday	6	5	2
Monday	4	8	2
Tuesday	4	8	2
Wednesday	6	1	0
Thursday	4	8	2
Friday	5	6	2
Saturday	4	8	2
Tea for a week	0	3	2
Total	37	5	0 [*sic*]

[The account for Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday is the same as that for Monday.]

Received from the Circar, 56 fanams.

Expended in a week, 37 fanams, 5 dubs.

18f. 6d. 2c., to be divided among eight, is to every one 2f. 3d. 2c. This dividend was paid by the caterer every Sunday morning and went by the name of 'Arrack' money.

[The figures are somewhat difficult to understand owing to there being 11½ dubs in a fanam. The total for Wednesday should strictly be 6 fanams and 2 cash, instead of 6 fanams and 1 dub, while the weekly total should be 37 fanams 4 dubs and 2 cash instead of 37 fanams 5 dubs. As 2 cash, however, represented a value of about one-eighth of a penny, the tendency to take the nearest figure in dubs may be excused!]

In the early ages of this society they were indulged with one bottle of Arrack which they sent for every Sunday morning, and this was paid for out of the savings of the week. When this indulgence was struck off, the overplus money still retained the name of 'Arrack' money. With this sum we were to supply ourselves with clothes, pay a washerman, purchase sugar, and in short every other little article of necessity or luxury. To gentlemen who had only 9 cash a day, we made their allowance equal to ours, to pay for the carriage of litters and for medicine; these two last articles were done by public subscription. It, therefore, required a great deal of economy to make our funds answer all their demands. When any one had, through extravagance, spent all his allowance, and [was] obliged to purchase a piece of cloth, he used to

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take his fanams out of the mess for a fortnight or three weeks, live very low, and by this means recruit his fortune.

Having shown you how we lived, I will now give you an account of what is absolutely necessary for a gentleman prisoner on his first arrival at Seringapatam.

One piece of cloth for shirts, 5½ fans;

2 pieces, coarser, at 4 fans; one to be cut up into drawers, the other into a sheet, towels, pillow-cases, and nightcaps;

3 bamboos to make a cot, 2 fans;

Rope for the bottom, 5 dubs; a mat, 3 dubs;

An earthen washand basin and pot for holding water, 2 dubs;

Straw for stuffing pillows, 1 dub; a pair of slippers, 1 fan;

Tape to sling the chains, 3 dubs.

These articles, amounting to the enormous sum of 7f. 8d., must be got somehow or other; it would have been impossible to have received that sum in prison, and we now discovered that the man who brought us up had stood very much our friend in not allowing us to spend foolishly on the road. [From] the money which had been given us in camp, what remained exactly answered all our immediate wants, and when the cold weather came on, which is very severe, I found it necessary to dispose of a pair of gold sleeve-buttons (all that I had saved from the wreck) in order to purchase a carpet, a country blanket, and some more cloth.

Having finished my bamboo cot, which was considered as the first and most necessary job, [it] being unhealthy to lie on the ground, I now set about making my clothes and soon learned to sew, but that [? the art] of cutting was only to be acquired by practice. Each person in this Society was his own tailor, except a few profound Politicians, who were so busy laying the plans of future campaigns, and censuring those at the helm of affairs, as to have no time to spare for their own necessities; though they could lead armies to victory and drive Hyder to the devil in the course of a month, they could not make, nor even mend a hole in, their own shirts, or wash their own feet. Things of much greater importance to them than their kitt (44) constantly occupied their elevated minds and though they might make excellent generals and governors they were indifferently calculated to make subalterns in an enemies' prison.

The numbers being so considerably increased by our arrival, on application to the Killadaur we had permission to walk in the outer yard, but as this was very dirty, all the filth having been thrown there since their first arrival, we set about it on all hands and the business was soon done, which procured us a walk of 60 feet long. In this walk, as it was open and airy, we spent hours every morning and evening and imputed very justly the good state of health we enjoyed from having had this indulgence.

Our amusements during the day, when not tailoring, were draughts, backgammon, cards, marbles, tops, and, in short, everything we could

44. Kit. The first reference to this term for military equipment given in O.E.D. is from Grose in 1785, i.e. just after the date of this Journal.

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devise; at night we had regular parties at cards. We met as soon as it was dark and played till nine at night, when ten of us always retired to one of the rooms and formed a Robinhood (45) where we canvassed the news which we had heard during the day, as also various other subjects. This meeting seldom broke up till past 11 o'clock. We had a library which consisted of the following books:—

A Prayer Book. Half a volume of the History of the World.
Moliere's Plays—2 half volumes. Barclay's Dictionary—2 volumes.
Goldsmith's History of England—1 volume.
Rapin—1 volume. Jones's Persian Grammar.
Hadley's Moor Grammar. French pamphlets—2.

This library was secured every night in the guard.

We were prohibited the use of liquor, and pen, ink and paper, yet we had abundance of the latter amongst us. A great many of us studied Moors (47) which expended many quires besides what was used for cards, all of which we made ourselves.

While we were writing, one stood sentry to give the alarm when danger approached. When the word *shark* was heard, everyone hid his papers. We had often alarms that the Circar people were coming to search; these reports always caused great confusion and many sheets were destroyed on these occasions.

As we had little property and little money, that universal bone of contention, we had few disputes; our laws were concise and our severest punishment was sending an incorrigable culprit to Coventry (48). Every thing was decided by a majority and it was deemed the great constitutional maxim of the state that no individual had a right to do anything that might affect in any degree the public interest, without the sanction of a majority. No Roman republic was ever more jealous of its liberties and each individual prided himself in that weight he had in the state. But this liberty was entirely confined to the inner yard; out of that we were subject to the caprice, abuse, and to the orders of the meanest scoundrel of the Circar.

During the whole of our miserable confinement there was nothing that gave us more uneasiness than the contradictory accounts we received. One day we were told that the Behaudaur (49) was surrounded and all his army must be taken, and in a day or two after we were told that General Coote (50) was entirely defeated and himself now in prison, at the gate of the Fort, and this fellow even said that he had himself seen him; though we did not believe the first, as near impossible, yet there was too great a probability that the latter might have happened. Six officers out of the 42 died, and all for want of medicine. A small quantity of tartar emetic would have saved them all, but the inhuman rascals would not give us any assistance.

45. Robinhood. This term, obviously meaning a brotherhood or company, is not given in O.E.D.
47. Moors—i.e. Urdu—the language of the Moors or Mussalmans.
48. To exclude a person from the society of which he is a member, on account of objectionable conduct. 49. i.e. Bahadur, or Hero, an epithet of the Nawab.
50. Sir Eyre Coote. Died at Madras, 28 April, 1783.

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[August, 1783.]

The way they were used after death will shew the light they held the Europeans in; they sewed the body in a mat, then tied it to a bamboo and carried it out on the shoulders of two of the lowest caste of them, scraped a hole in the bed of the river, and put them in.

During the whole three years and a half that some of the gentlemen had been in prison there was never a letter of any kind received from the Carnatic. The correspondence I have mentioned was carried on between the different prisons. I have mentioned everything respecting my capture and situation while prisoner. There was so much uniformity in our treatment and in our amusements, that having one day's Journal you may easily suppose the rest. On the 20th August last (51) we had the first report of peace, and the report was better and better every day. During this time we were in the highest spirits and begun preparing for the road, when lo! the report all died away and they even told us that it was all a lie.

In December some prisoners arrived from Mangalore; from them we learned (by means of our washerman who was our constant letter carrier) that a cessation of arms had taken place the 2nd August, and that it had not expired when they were sent away. This renewed our hopes, and about the 23rd December the report of Ambassadors being on the road was revived. They brought them on, and sent them past to Mangalore. All this we believed and imputed the length of time to its having been necessary to correspond with Bengal. About the middle of March [1784] we heard that peace was broken off, and they had begun fighting again This was a cruel stroke to our hopes and we had given up all hopes of being out for another year, when on the 22nd March about 2 o'clock in the afternoon we were surprised by the arrival of the Mier (52) and a Circar Brahmin, accompanied by a smith; they called for Captains Baird, Lindsay and Menteith (53), and told them to tie up their clothes and march, and that their irons would be taken off outside. All the answer we could get to our enquiries where they were going to, was that they were going for their good, and that it would be our turn tomorrow; some were inclined to believe them but the greater part from their known villainy put the worst construction on their business and imagined that peace having broke off they were going to separate us. Misery and dejection was now painted in every countenance and we remained in this state near an hour, when at last, getting the Brahmin alone, we were told that peace was made, that the gentlemen were going to Colonel Brathwaite to consult about what conveyance would be wanted, and that we would join them in the morning. So soon as this was made known, there was such shouting and jumping and rattling of chains that you would have imagined that we

51. i.e. 1783. This dates Cameron's narrative as having been written between April and August, 1784.

52. Amir—Nobleman, or High Official.

53. Captain David Baird, Captain the *Hon.* John Lindsay, of the 73rd Regiment of (Highland) Foot, 1st Battalion, raised by John, Lord MacLeod on 19 December, 1777. It became the 71st on 18 April, 1786. Captain Menteith belonged to the Madras European Regiment, afterwards the Madras European Fusiliers, and later the 1st Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers.

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[March, 1784.]

were all mad, and I believe that there was no small degree of madness amongst us.

After the first transports had a little subsided, it was proposed, and unanimously agreed to, that the Prison should be illuminated and an entertainment of Plantain Fritters [should be provided] for everybody (54). A subscription was immediately opened to defray the expense and a committee was appointed to manage the business and to have everything done in the most elegant manner. By 7 o'clock the Prison was illuminated by fifty lamps; mats were spread in the yard for the accommodation of the company. At 9 we sat down, in number 33, to 60 dozen of Fritters and two very large pots of Sherbet, but the prospect of liberty had produced such an effect upon us that we could not eat; yet we sat up singing till half-past 12 and then broke up, but not to sleep, very few having shut an eye that night and some having never gone to bed at all.

We were all in the yard by times in the morning, in eager expectation for them to come and take off our irons.

Accordingly, about 7 o'clock of the 23rd, the same people who had been with us the former evening were announced; every one pressed eagerly forward endeavouring who should be first unshackled. I was just four days less than two years in irons, during which time I had acquired such a habit of going round anything of any height that stood in my way, that I was many days before I could get quit of the idea that I had irons on. By nine o'clock we were all out, and our baggage tied up, with proper persons to carry it, and after a great deal of parade we were conducted to the Ketcheree and drawn up before the Killadaur, seemingly with no other intention than to look at us. We were immediately dismissed and they conducted us to Colonel Brathwaite's prison: though large, a dismal looking place, where he and Mr. Holmes had been confined

54. Plantains—the cheapest kind of fruit in India. "Plantain fritters", as a dish, are still in vogue, and popular. This event is referred to in a diary, quoted in *The Life of Sir David Baird*, published in 1832:—

> "This tumult having in some degree subsided, a proposal was made, and most heartily embraced, to collect all the ready money in our possession, without the least regard to shares or proportions, and to celebrate our approaching deliverance with a regale of plantain fritters and sherbet—the only articles of luxury we could command, on account of our extreme poverty.
>
> "By nine o'clock at night, supper was announced, consisting of sixty dozen of plantain fritters, and a large chatty of sherbet; every one being seated on the ground, the repast was received with the utmost content and satisfaction. Friends and toasts were drunk as long as our chatty stood out; and such was the agitation of our minds, there was not one of us who felt the least inclination or, indeed, who possessed the power, to compose himself to sleep". (vol.i. p.66.)

136 years later—October, 1920—similar feelings seem to have been aroused by the announcement of the imminent release from prison of members of the British Mission with the White Army in Russia—14 in number, under the command of Major L. Vining, Royal Engineers.

They were held prisoners of war in Moscow by the Bolsheviks (Soviet Government). Major Vining records in his Diary, dated October, 1920:—

> "The Mission have gone completely off their heads, we are mad—howling mad—with delight; we have been told officially by a representative from the [Soviet] Foreign Office that we leave Moscow for England on the 20th [October, 1920]. We cannot stop singing; nothing matters; everyone loves us and we love everyone; home is in sight; we cannot realise it."

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[24 March, 1784.]

above twelve months. Here we found the three gentlemen that had left us the preceding evening. Colonel Brathwaite showed us a letter from one of the Commissioners acquainting him that the treaty of peace had been signed on the 13th March and that all the prisoners at Seringapatam would be delivered to him. The officers being collected from the different prisons, our number was increased to 42, some of them in a very indifferent state of health. We were told that we must walk out to a place prepared for us, about two miles from the Fort, where we were to halt for the night and in the morning that conveyances of all kinds would be furnished for both officers and men. As we wished of all things to get out of the Fort, we closed with the proposal immediately, and about five o'clock we marched out of the Fort, the officers in front, followed by the private Europeans and Sepoys, handcuffed two and two. On our reaching the barrier gate we were told that we must be counted, and Colonel B. gave a receipt accordingly, and took his post at the gate and all the prisoners as they passed by he counted; this took up so much time that before we got to the place assigned for us, it was past 9 at night, and many of the gentlemen were more fatigued than if they had at another time marched twenty miles.

The Killadaur was to have been out to visit Colonel B. immediately on his reaching the Choultry. He did not come but said that he would be out in the morning to see us off. The morning of the 24th came and then we were informed we were to stay till next day; the horses, &c., were not ready. We were very well satisfied to stay this day as we would have now an opportunity of purchasing some few things which we wanted for the road, and which we were enabled to do, having received 2 Pagodas (55) each—part of 400 Pagodas sent up in the letter to Col. B.

On the morning of the 25th we were told that every thing was ready for us, but on enquiry it was found that there was only three doolies for the sick officers and five for the privates, and to convey all the rest of the officers there was only sixteen horses; allowing for those who must ride, there remained barely a horse between three; remonstrating was all in vain, and as our only and first wish was to get out of the villains' hands we resolved to proceed. This way of sending us off gave us no favourable idea of the peace, especially as they told us that our fanam a day was struck off and that we were to receive only 1 dub and a measure of rice; this was treating us worse than during the war. We bore all, however, without repining and thanked God that we had got off at all. We were destined for Bangalore where we were told that all the prisoners were to be assembled and handed over to our own people. We arrived at Bangalore on the 1st of April and found that some prisoners had arrived, but that we were not to be put amongst them; they were kept in the fort, and we were put into the Pettah (56). This evening I received a letter

55. 1 pagoda is equivalent of 42 fanams. 56. A walled town, outside a fort.

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[16 April, 1784.]

from my friend Foulis (57) from the fort, giving an account of himself and fellow prisoners; they did not know for a certainty that peace was concluded. He, with 19 more officers, had been brought in handcuffed from a hill fort about 30 miles distant—and had been put in among about 20 more, from whom they had been separated about twelve months before. Though we did not doubt of the peace, yet we did not relish being again put into prison. Submit we must.

We remained here till the 15th, in the greatest suspense. About ten o'clock that day we were ordered to march, and as our baggage was very light and easily packed we were very soon off. After passing through the same ceremony before the Killadaur, and with worse accommodations, we cheerfully set out, as we were informed that we should join our own people the next day, and then we should be provided with everything. We soon reached a Fort about 15 miles from Bangalore (58) where we were to halt for the night. This night was a terrible one; at sunset it began to rain and poured the greater part of the night, accompanied with very quick and severe flashes of lightning; when the rain ceased the wind blew so strong and cold that we could not keep ourselves from shivering, and requested that we might be allowed to proceed. Contrary to our expectation, they agreed, and forward we set; just as the sun rose we could perceive an English Jack (60) flying at a considerable distance. All resistance on the part of our guards was now in vain; they attempted to stop us, but we pushed forward, taking along with us the man who carried their colours and the Drummer. Our eagerness was soon rewarded; we found this to be the escort that had been with the Commissioners, and, they returning by sea, this party was destined to conduct the prisoners down, having brought with them for this purpose Liquors, Clothes, Hats and Shoes. It was a joyful meeting; we found that Lieutenant Dallas (59), who commanded the party, had already collected 120 Officers, King's and Company (61), and about 800 privates, mostly taken on the Malabar coast, with about 2,000 Sepoys belonging to the Bombay Establishment. In the evening, the officers and men who were confined in the Fort of Bangalore arrived. This was the last party, and our numbers now were 197 officers, military and navy, 1,100 soldiers and sailors, with 3,000 Sepoys. Such a force as this twenty years ago would have marched through all India. Lieutenant Dallas had with him 60 horses, part of the escort; they were all dismounted for the accommodation of the officers, and the Surgeon brought 70 Doolies. The Circar furnished some carts to bring on such as were lame. We halted one day in order to have everything put in as good order

57. Archibald Foulis, Madras Infantry.
58. Other accounts show this to have been Ooscottah, i.e. Hos-Cottah or New Fort.
59. Thomas Dallas, later Lieut.-General. See 'D.N.B.'
60. The Jack was properly the small union flag flown from the Jack Staff at the bow of a ship. Here he, doubtless, means the Union Flag.
61. i.e. The Honorable East India Company's troops.

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as possible, and on the 18th we marched; there was no regularity; everyone went as fast, or as slow, as he pleased, and some were at the new ground before others had set out. With so few accommodations and so ill-provided with everything it is surprising how we got on, arriving at Vellore in ten days, having in that time performed a journey of 120 miles. There was cover for all the officers, but none for the men; it was lucky that it rained but twice during the time. There were 4 Officers and a Surgeon belonging to the Escort; each of them took as many to their tables and tents as they could accommodate. I was an old acquaintance of the Surgeon's. To the other Officers there was served out a bottle of Liquor every day between two, and Beef and Mutton to every Mess. The privates had also beef and Liquor occasionally. Only two Europeans died during this long and fatiguing march.

I have at last brought myself to a place of safety and as nothing any way worthy of attention has happened since, I shall conclude this long and unconnected narrative, which though it has cost me some time and trouble in order to recollect the circumstances, yet I fear it will not give you any amusement; should it, however, give you any entertainment, the end I intended will be answered, and my trouble tripply repaid.

[The End.]

THE PAPERS OF GENERAL THE RT. HON. SIR GEORGE MURRAY, G.C.B., G.C.H.

By M. R. Dobie, Assistant in the National Library of Scotland, formerly Intelligence Officer in Northern France and Germany.

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1. Among the manuscripts of the National Library of Scotland there is a very large collection of papers of General Sir George Murray, Wellington's Quartermaster General. These papers, which were presented in 1910 by Miss Murray Gartshore of Ravelston, with the consent of the family, cover Murray's campaigns and official career from 1793 to 1846, and contain useful material for the history of the time, particularly for the Peninsular War. So far as the present writer knows, the bulk of them has not been published. Wellington's letters and others of the more important appear in the *Dispatches* and *Supplementary Dispatches*, but even among these it is occasionally possible to correct a date from the Murray Papers. In all, there must be from 9,000 to 10,000 documents, in addition to about a hundred manuscript volumes of various sizes (General Orders, letter-books, distribution-books, etc.) and over 150 maps and plans.

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2. The object of this article is to call attention to the papers as a source for military history; the events of Murray's own career will be mentioned only as a framework to the account of the papers. His biography will be found, with discrepancies, astonishing in the case of one who lived so recently, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Royal Military Calendar* (3rd edition, 1820, vol. iii, p. 191), the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1846, pt. ii), Chambers's *Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, Hart's *Annual Army List* for 1846, William Anderson's *The Scottish Nation*, the Marchioness of Tullibardine's *A Military History of Perthshire* (1908), the *Description of the British and Foreign Orders of Knighthood and Decorations conferred on the Rt. Hon. General Sir George Murray* published by Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd., in 1910, and a memorandum, in Murray's handwriting but not necessarily drafted by him, describing his career to about 1835.

3. George Murray, the second son of Sir William Murray, *Bart.*, of Ochtertyre in Perthshire, was born in 1772 and educated at the High School and University of Edinburgh. Although delicate and apparently studious, he was bent on an Army career, and, after receiving a commission as Ensign in the 71th Foot—12 March, 1789—and in the 34th 'on transfer'—5 June, 1789—he was appointed, still as Ensign, to the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards on 7 July, 1790.

4. With the Guards, he saw his first active service in the Netherlands campaign of 1793-5, taking part in several of the principal actions and sieges. This campaign is represented among the papers only by a few dispositions, including the arrangements for working-parties, etc., at the siege of Valenciennes in 1793. There are also some copies of "dislocations" (distribution-lists) and orders of march, dating from the retreat to Bremen of early 1795, but these seem to have been obtained by Murray later, for use on the Hanoverian expedition of 1805-6.

5. In 1795, as A.D.C. to Major-General Alexander Campbell, he first took part in the abortive expedition to Quiberon and then started with that of Abercromby for the West Indies. Whether he actually got so far as the West Indies at this time is uncertain. There is a book of Abercromby's General Orders from 18 March to 12 June, 1796 (including the capture of St. Lucia and the beginning of the expedition to St. Vincent), with "Geo. Murray, 3rd Guards" written on it; but he may have obtained this later—possibly for guidance on his subsequent service in that area.

6. In 1799, Murray, now a captain in his regiment and a lieutenant-colonel in the Army, was employed on the Quartermaster General's staff in the expedition to Holland, and was wounded on the Helder, but he has left no papers from this campaign.

7. In 1800, he was appointed to the Quartermaster General's department with the force destined for Egypt under Abercromby, and, after visiting the Grand Vizier at Jaffa to arrange for co-operation between the British and Turkish troops, he took part in the Egyptian fighting of 1801. From this campaign we have some orders and statistics, with copies of

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intercepted French documents, such as Menou's orders for the battle of 21 March, 1801, and a report from the *Génie* to Kléber, dated 1799, on the defences of Alexandria.

8. After a period of study at the Senior Department of the Royal Military College at High Wycombe, Murray was sent to the West Indies in 1802 as Adjutant General, and remained there until 1803. The papers consist of returns of strengths, health, rations, etc., and several memoranda on the individual islands, the Maroon rising, and the use of coloured troops.

9. On the Hanoverian campaign of Don and Cathcart (1805-6), Murray was again in the Quartermaster General's department, and we have much about anchorages, disembarkation, communications and supplies.

10. The papers become considerably fuller with the expedition of 1807 to Rügen and Copenhagen, on which Murray served as Quartermaster General, and, on the fall of Copenhagen, was one of the three officers who fixed the terms of pacification. The competence of his office was far more extensive at that time than it is to-day, and, while there is a good deal in the papers about "Q" matters in the modern sense, they contain much about operations in general—orders, reports, arrangements with the Navy for landing troops, plans for attacking Copenhagen, a proclamation to the Danish people, etc.

11. In the intervals between these campaigns, Murray served in England, as A.D.C. to Campbell in 1797 and as A.Q.M.G. at the Horse Guards in 1803, but spent more time in Ireland, first as Campbell's A.D.C. (1798) and later as D.Q.M.G. (1804-8). From Ireland, we have papers about the organisation and duties of the Quartermaster General's department and the defence of the country.

12. In 1808, Murray was sent to Stockholm on a diplomatic mission, at the same time acting at Quartermaster General to the force under Sir John Moore. The papers deal almost entirely with matters of policy, and include full accounts of Murray's conversations with the erratic King of Sweden.

13. In the autumn of 1808, Murray accompanied Moore's troops to Portugal as Quartermaster General, and in March, 1809, he was appointed to Wellesley's forces in the same capacity, having received the brevet of Colonel. As the war progressed, Wellington seems to have taken him more and more into his confidence and to have given him increasing responsibility. The papers now become voluminous. Murray saw the whole war through, to the final embarkation of the troops, except the year 1812, when he was Quartermaster General in Ireland, and, except for this and a few other bare patches, a continuous series of letters, orders, memoranda, "dislocations," reports (including many from officers of the Royal Staff Corps), and intercepted French letter-books, makes it possible to follow operations in detail. Even the year 1812 is bridged over by the letters with which Murray's friends at the front kept him supplied with news. For Moore's campaign, that of Fuentes de Oñoro, the advance to Vittoria and the battle

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itself, the fighting in the Pyrenees, and the operations before Toulouse, the documents are especially full, and sometimes number over twenty a day.

14. Among the masses of original letters, both official and private, from almost every British officer of importance, many of the Spanish and Portuguese leaders, and some French generals, there are many which throw light on the personalities of the war, the difficulties, and the general conditions of soldiering. One may mention, as examples, those of Wellesley expressing his dissatisfaction after Vimeiro, of Moore and his generals (particularly Anstruther) discussing plans of campaign at the end of 1808, of Alava voicing the general opinion of Headquarters about Willoughby Gordon (who took Murray's place in 1812), and of Sir John Murray defending his conduct at Tarragona.

15. The many maps include the decorative existing productions with which the Staff had to work at first, sketches of country made by British officers for the purpose of operations, and plans of battlefields taken shortly after the event. There are a few topical pamphlets printed in Spain during the war. There are also some interesting relics—Long's famous copy of Cole's letter of 26 July, 1813, which Hill sent after Wellington, for fear that the original might miss him at Headquarters; the map of Toulouse used by Soult; a sample of shirting proposed for the clothing of the troops; a booklet of Spanish weights and measures, with coloured pictures of coins, evidently for the use of the Army.

16. At the end of 1814, Murray, now a Major-General and a K.B., was appointed to the staff of the Army in America, with the local rank of Lieut.-General. He reached Canada early in 1815, and for a few months was commander of the troops in Upper Canada and civil governor of that province. Perhaps the chief interest of the papers lies in what they tell about the conditions of settlement in the country, but they also give information about the recall of Prevost, army administration, communications, dealings with the Indians, the possibilities of a naval establishment on Lake Huron, the American War (Sackett's Harbour, New Orleans), and relations with the Americans after the Peace of Ghent. The maps are mainly intended to show communications and concessions.

17. On Napoleon's escape from Elba, Murray was recalled to Europe. Arriving too late for Waterloo, he joined Wellington in France as Chief of the General Staff of the Allied Army of Occupation and Quartermaster General to the British contingent, with the local rank of Lieut.-General (1815-18). The papers of this period present the whole organization and conduct of the Occupation—the rights of the Allied forces in respect of subsistence, exemption from taxation, etc., their relations with the civil authorities, the quartering of the troops, hospitals, autumn manœuvres, the temporary handing-over and maintenance of certain French fortresses, and the final evacuation. Both principles and practice afford interesting material for comparison with the situation in the British zone in France during the last war and in the occupied Rhineland afterwards.

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18. Buried among endless states and inventories, we find all the minor problems which were to arise when British troops were quartered in the same districts a hundred years later, and the incidents have as familiar a sound as the names of the places where they occurred—damage done by troops to the Château at Labuissière, a brawl in an estaminet near Lillers, officers hunting over crops near Frévent and joy-riding in requisitioned transport from La Bassée to Lille, trouble about a billet at St. Pol, a "difficult" French *commandant de place* at St. Omer, exorbitant prices charged to a mess by the tradesmen at Hazebrouck.

19. Some of the letters set forth the views of the generals commanding the Allied contingents. There are some interesting reports on the political and economic situation in various parts of France. Henry Hardinge, attached to Prussian Headquarters at Sedan, gives several informative (and very funny) accounts of the Prussian Army and its emotional commander, Count von Zieten.

20. Returning home after the Occupation, covered with honours by the Allied sovereigns, Murray became in succession Governor of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst (1819-24), Lieutenant General of the Ordnance (1824), Commander of the Forces in Ireland and a Privy Councillor in that kingdom (1825-8), Colonial Secretary and a Privy Councillor of the United Kingdom (1828-30), and Master General of the Ordnance (1834-5 and 1841-6). He represented Perthshire in Parliament from 1824 to 1832 and again in 1836. He was made a Lieutenant-General in 1825 and a General in 1841. He died in 1846. The documents which he wrote and received while holding the offices mentioned above are naturally crammed with information about the military and colonial history of the early nineteenth century. Among the purely military matters, one may mention—only to give an idea of the variety, and without any attempt to be exhaustive—punishments in the British and foreign armies, the regulations regarding the payment of military honours to Roman Catholic ceremonies, the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, Forsyth's percussion-lock, Warner's "invisible shell", the defence of the River Shannon, Russian military colleges, and the American Army.

21. Murray's correspondents at this time include royalties and distinguished soldiers and civilians of various nations, besides the parents of youths who seek admission to Sandhurst or have got into scrapes there, half-pay officers begging desperately for employment, and inventors of engines of doubtful military value. Among much rubbish, there must be some useful biographical material. One could, for example, reconstruct much of the life of Sir Thomas Mitchell, the Australian explorer, from his correspondence with his early patron, Murray.

22. The information which crops up all through the papers is by no means confined to the matters with which Murray was officially concerned at the time when they were written. In the last period, we find many letters discussing the Peninsular War, including some about Napier's *History* and a long correspondence with Mitchell about the maps which he

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was drawing for Wyld's atlas of the war. Elsewhere, there are copies of papers of the Portuguese campaigns of 1762 and 1796-8, which were taken by Murray for use while serving in the same country. There are descriptions by eye-witnesses of the operations at Alkmaar in 1799, Ganteaume's Mediterranean cruise of 1801 (by Captain Hallowell of the *Swiftsure*), the capture of Surinam in 1804, that of Cape Town in 1806, and the march on Cabul of 1843.

GENERAL THE RT. HON. SIR GEORGE MURRAY, G.C.B., G.C.H.

After the picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence.
Engraved by H. Meyer and published in 1841.

23. This report has dealt only with military matters. Murray's civil duties and varied activities involved him in correspondence which provides much material for other aspects of the history of the time.

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Major-General SIR DAVID OCHTERLONY, Bart., G.C.B. 1758-1825.

BY MAJOR F. G. CARDEW, INDIAN ARMY, RETIRED LIST.

A century or so ago few names were more honoured in the army of India than that of David Ochterlony. He had brought to a brilliantly successful conclusion a war in which others had met with reverses and even disaster; he had ruled with patriarchal sway vast territories only lately rescued from anarchy and devastation, and his qualities both as leader and ruler had gained for him a special place in the affections of the Indian soldiery. His name was too outlandish to be mastered by them without a twist so they turned it into "Lony Akhtar Sahib" and in this curious form it was a household word in the home of every Sepoy of the Bengal army for many years after Ochterlony himself was dead. But to-day he is almost forgotten even in the country of his triumphs and the dust of many conflicts has obliterated the memory of his successes. Yet he was so good a soldier that he deserved more lasting fame and it is well worth attempting to recall something of his career and to rescue his name from unmerited neglect.

Although himself born in New England where his father had settled, Ochterlony was typical of the numerous company of Scotsmen who, towards the close of the eighteenth century, sought in the service of the East India Company a life of action and adventure, the love of which was engendered by the environment of centuries, but which was no longer to be found among their native hills. His forbears had for many generations held lands in Forfar and there his father, David Ochterlony the elder, was born, the second son of Alexander Ochterlony of Pitforthy. This elder David took to a sea-faring life and in 1752, being then the master of a trading vessel, he settled at Boston, Massachusetts, where five years later he married Katherine, daughter of Mr. Andrew Tyler of that city. His wife's mother was a sister of that Lieutenant-General William Pepperell who, for his gallant capture of Louisburg from the French in 1745 was created a baronet and was always afterwards known as "the hero of Louisburg." From such vigorous stock on both sides it was that David Ochterlony was born on February 12, 1758.

Three other children, two sons and a daughter, were born during the next seven years, but in August, 1765, their father died at St. Vincent in the course of a trading voyage to the West Indian Islands and their mother was left with a young family and a plentiful crop of debts. In these difficult circumstances Mrs. Ochterlony shortly afterwards made her way to friends in London and here, in 1770, she married Mr. Isaac Heard, then Lancaster Herald and later Garter King of Arms and a Knight of Hanover. Of this marriage there were no children, but Sir Isaac Heard seems to

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have been a kind step-father to his wife's family and to the end of his life he was on affectionate terms with his eldest step-son.

David Ochterlony was twelve years old at the date of his mother's re-marriage. Seven years later, on leaving school, he was given a military cadetship in the service of the East India Company and in the autumn of 1777 he left England never to return. He arrived in Calcutta early in 1778 and on February 7 of that year he received his first commission as Ensign and was posted to the 31st Bengal Native Infantry, a regiment which three years later was renumbered the 24th.

The time was a critical one for the British in India. Hostilities were in progress with the powerful Mahratta Confederacy in Central India as well as against their ally in the South, Hyder Ali of Mysore, and the latter was soon to receive valuable assistance both by sea and land from the forces of the French. Fort St. George, the chief settlement in Madras, was the point most seriously threatened. The Government there was inefficient and the garrison weak and when, in 1780, Hyder Ali advanced into the Company's territory with forces of overwhelming strength the safety of Fort St. George was in considerable peril. An urgent call was sent to Calcutta for assistance in men and money. Warren Hastings, the Governor General, responded with a determination which overcame all obstacles. Fifteen lakhs of rupees in gold and a small force of infantry and artillery were despatched by sea with as little delay as possible and, more valuable still, the veteran commander-in-chief Sir Eyre Coote in person accompanied the reinforcement, it being rightly considered that his reputation would do much to restore the failing confidence of the local government and troops. Furthermore, it was determined that a force of eight battalions of sepoys with a company of artillery should proceed to Madras by land. The 24th Native Infantry, in which David Ochterlony was now a lieutenant, was one of the battalions detailed for this undertaking and the command of the force was given to Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse, a distinguished officer of the Bengal Artillery, and a devoted friend of Hastings. To this latter fact we are indebted for an interesting series of letters preserved in the Hastings' correspondence, which gives graphic details of the adventures of the little force during the four years of its absence from Bengal.

It is a long record of dangers and hardships. At the very outset the detachment experienced a frightful outbreak of cholera which carried off some hundreds of the troops and followers and created so much terror that many more were lost by desertion than by the disease. Even the British ranks were demoralized by the conditions of the service and Pearse on several occasions had to deal with disloyalty and insubordination among his officers as well as to raise the drooping spirits of his troops. It was a bad school for a young man and it is probable that David Ochterlony was infected with some of the spirit of captious discontent which seems to have been rife among the officers of the force, although, of course, he gained valuable experience of active service. Through the hottest months

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of the year the force marched southwards for a thousand miles and it was not until August 3 that at length it effected a junction with the main army of Madras under Sir Eyre Coote. The Bengal detachment was now divided up among the brigades of the army, the 24th Bengal Infantry being posted to the 4th Brigade under Colonel Owen.

Two years of desultory campaigning followed. There were few important actions, but there was constant and harassing marching and counter-marching, incessant exposure to the inclement weather, often with very inadequate tentage, very often with shortage of provisions and always with shortage of pay for the troops. Early in 1782 the French began seriously to take part in the war and in April they captured the important fortified position of Cuddalore. Still the campaign dragged on without any concentrated effort to obtain a decision, the Madras Government nullifying all Coote's energy by their jealousy and inefficiency. At length, in the autumn of 1782, the Commander-in-Chief fell sick and to the dismay of the army he died in the following April before he could resume the command. His place was taken by Major-General James Stuart, and this officer, after months of squabbling with the local government, made a serious move for the recovery of Cuddalore in June, 1783. On the thirteenth of that month the French were vigorously attacked, a great part of the outworks of the place were captured, and the enemy was compelled to retire into the fort. Twelve days later, on the morning of June 25th, the French made a vigorous sortie. The brunt of their attack was borne by the 4th Brigade and especially by the 24th Bengal Infantry. It was the first time that Bengal Sepoys had met the French in hand-to-hand fighting but they stood the test with distinction and the attack was decisively repulsed. The losses on the British side included Major Cotgrave and Lieutenant Grueber of the Bengal detachment killed and "Lieutenant Arthurlony" missing. David Ochterlony had, indeed, been wounded and was a prisoner, but, fortunately for him, his experience of captivity was not prolonged. Within a few days news was received of the conclusion of peace between England and France and on July 5th the cessation of hostilities was announced, and prisoners on both sides were released. Meanwhile he was cared for by the French surgeons, although he and other British officers in like case seem to have been rather refractory patients. "Captain Lindsay is dead of an indigestion due to his own intemperance," wrote the French commander, Count de Bussy to Major-General Stuart on June 26th, "and I cannot conceal from you that Captain Cole and the Lieutenants Trail, McKenzie, Ochterlony and even the Bengal Sepoys will not submit to the regime prescribed by our surgeons which their situation so immediately requires*." The conclusion of peace with France was shortly followed by overtures from Tippoo Sahib who had succeeded Hyder Ali as ruler of Mysore, and in August a cessation of hostilities was arranged. The Bengal detachment was now re-united under the command of Colonel Pearse, and all ranks looked for a speedy return to their own presidency. The Madras

* Madras Select Consultations July-Aug. 1763, fol. 3250.

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Government, however, was in no hurry to let them go and, notwithstanding repeated requests from Bengal, they were detained until, after protracted negotiations, peace with Tippoo Sahib was definitely settled in March, 1784.

This prolongation of a service of which all ranks were heartily weary caused increasing discontent. The officers again began to show a spirit of insubordination towards superior authority and on one occasion David Ochterlony, who was now back with his regiment and in the appointment of quarter-master, was among the malcontents. Colonel Pearse mentions the occurrence briefly in a letter to Warren Hastings, but the terms in which he writes show his liking for, and good opinion of Ochterlony and his consequent annoyance at the incident. He had himself, he says, made express application for Ochterlony's reinstatement in his appointment (i.e. after being taken prisoner) and the conduct of the latter was, therefore, "a piece of ingratitude from one I least expected it." The point at issue, however, was unimportant, and Pearse adds: "I do not mean to injure Lt. Ochterlony in the least, I only hope to prevent his getting the better of me*."

It was inevitable that such incidents among the British officers must be reflected in the conduct of the men. The discontent among the Sepoys was increased by the failure to pay them with any sort of regularity so that at Christmas, 1783, they were almost in open mutiny, from which, indeed, they were only restrained by the personal influence of Colonel Pearse.

At length, as has been stated, peace was concluded with Tippoo Sahib in March, 1784. Preparations were immediately put in hand for the Bengal detachment to begin its homeward march, but even now there were further vexatious delays so that it was not until late in April that a start was made. On May 4th Pearse wrote from Nellore: "Thank God we are at last relieved from slavery and set free. We moved on the 22 April about four miles and yesterday reached this place. . . . . From all Madras Europeans good Lord deliver us.†" The deliverance had, however, been so long delayed that the unfortunate detachment was soon faced with a further difficulty. After a terribly trying march through the heat of May (the hottest month of the year in that part of India) the torrential rains of the monsoon set in and Colonel Pearse had to choose between pursuing the march in most unhealthy conditions or halting until the rains were over. He wisely decided on delay and it was not until October that progress was resumed. From that time onward no further obstacle intervened, and at last Midnapore was reached on January 1st, 1785. "With the old year," wrote Pearse to Hastings, "we closed our labours, arriving safe at the very ground from whence we began them." The detachment, reduced from 5,000 to less than 2,000 men, had well earned the honours which were awarded to it. Hastings was on the eve of leaving India but he found time to visit the camp to welcome his old

* Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 29161, fol. 23.
† Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 29163, fol. 310.

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friend and to thank all ranks for the services they had rendered in the past four years.

As has been mentioned above, Ochterlony had been quartermaster of his battalion during the campaign and it may be inferred that his work had earned the approval of his superiors, for not long after his return to Bengal he was selected to be a Deputy Judge Advocate General and was posted to Dinapore. Here he remained for a number of years without incident. It was a quiet backwater, but the period was an uneventful one in Northern India, and Ochterlony did not miss much chance of more distinguished employment. In 1793, and again in 1794, his name appears among the signatories of petitions to the King and to the Court of Directors praying for improved conditions in the military service of the Company, and it is probable that his good sense and experience were of value in the preparation of the case. The grievances complained of were serious and of long standing. They included (1) slowness of promotion, (2) inadequacy of rank as compared with the duties performed (battalions being commanded by captains and subalterns, and regiments by majors and captains), (3) supersession by junior officers of the King's army, (4) the anomalous and inequitable rule which forbade the advancement of any officer of the Company above the rank of colonel, and, above all, (5) the inhuman prohibition against the return of an officer to England except on the absolute resignation of service and pay. As the petitioners declared: "In harshness and severity this regulation stands unequalled." There could be no doubt about the justice of the petitioners' cause. Despite the very high casualty rate which prevailed in India in those days the slowness of promotion destroyed all hopes of reasonable advancement. David Ochterlony himself had at the date of the petition got sixteen years' service and he was still a lieutenant. So it was not surprising that he and others risked official displeasure in laying their grievances before the authorities. In the result some of the objects of the petitioners were attained, including an acceleration of promotion. Ochterlony did not become a captain until 1796 but only four years later he was promoted to major. He was then still Deputy Judge Advocate General at Dinapore, but in the following year, 1801, he left that appointment and joined the 12th Bengal Native Infantry, in the lists of which his name had been borne since his promotion to captain in 1796.

His return to regimental duty coincided with another crisis in the affairs of the British in India. The hostility of the Mahratta chiefs had been increasing for some years past and it was evident that war must again break out before long. The British forces in Bombay and the Deccan were under the command of Major General Arthur Wellesley, but it was on the army of Bengal that the brunt of the coming struggle must inevitably fall, for it was in the north that the most formidable of the Mahratta forces were concentrated. There in the country between the Ganges and the Jumna and adjacent to the British borders were cantoned the so-called regular troops, the force trained and officered by Europeans,

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which was originally raised for the service of the Maharajah Sindhia by General de Boigne and which was now commanded by his successor General Perron. The British forces in Bengal were commanded by General Gerard Lake, who had only lately landed in the country. The strength available for the field was only about ten thousand in all, a force dangerously small for the task that lay before it. Lake determined that its efficiency should make up for its lack of numbers. He took up his quarters at Cawnpore (then a frontier town) and devoted himself to the tasks of actively superintending the training of his troops and the preparations for the coming war. In the course of these duties he made a point of personally acquainting himself with his officers and studying their qualifications, and it was in these circumstances that he first met David Ochterlony, now commanding the 2nd battalion of the 12th Bengal Infantry.

Towards the end of 1802 Lake was compelled to undertake operations against certain zamindars in the border country who had been troublesome and who (if their strongholds were left intact) would be a danger to the army when it took the field against the Mahrattas. The 12th Bengal Infantry was included in the force employed on this service, and when in February, 1803, after the capture of the fortress of Bijgarh, Lake desired to garrison the place and to consolidate the British position there, he selected the Twelfth for the purpose because of his confidence in its commander. "I am happy to think," he wrote to the Governor General, "I have placed the most excellent officers at these forts and that they are fortunately blessed with conciliatory dispositions and strong minds, two essential requisites for the preservation of peace and good order in this country."*

Ochterlony was not long in justifying his selection. His position close to the Mahratta border and within a few miles of important posts held by Perron's troops at Aligarh, Koel and Agra, gave him special opportunities for obtaining information of movements and preparations among the Mahratta forces. He was also able, no hostilities having as yet broken out between the English and Mahrattas, to get into touch with the European officers, especially the British officers, serving in Perron's corps, and to ascertain quietly what attitude they would probably adopt in the event of an outbreak of war. The information thus obtained he communicated privately to General Lake, and the latter sent the letters on to Lord Wellesley with the following testimony to the value of his correspondent: "I have ever found him useful, intelligent, and much to be depended on. He is an uncommon good officer and did me great and good service on our last journey up the country. I wish I had many like him."

Meanwhile it became certain that the Mahrattas had determined upon war. Early in August, all efforts for a peaceful settlement having failed, the British Resident at Sindhia's court was recalled and on August 29 General Lake entered Mahratta territory. The order of battle of Lake's force shows the 2nd—12th Bengal Infantry under the command of Major Ochterlony, but as a matter of fact he ceased to command the battalion

* Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 13742, p. 7.

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before the first shot of the campaign was fired. Only six days before hostilities began General Lake wrote as follows to Lord Wellesley: "I have this day directed my Adjutant General to recommend for the situation of Deputy Adjutant General Major Ochterlony, an officer in whom I have great confidence as you may have perceived by the letters I had the honor to send your Lordship. I have looked round the Army and . . . . . I am convinced that Major O. is the most calculated to fill the station. The only thing I have to regret in selecting him for the appointment is taking so excellent an officer from the command of a battalion. . . . . I have been guided in this instance by my own eyes and observation. I trust your Lordship will confirm his appointment as I do believe it will be for the good of the service."*

As Deputy Adjutant General of the field army, Ochterlony (now a lieutenant-colonel) was present at the brilliant capture of Aligarh on September 4th, in the rapid advance to the neighbourhood of Delhi, and at the complete defeat there of the Mahratta forces on September 11th and the entry into Delhi on September 14th, 1803. Here his brief service with the headquarters staff in the field came to an end. It was necessary to find an officer with special qualifications to act as Resident at the court of the old emperor of Delhi, now freed from the tyranny of his Mahratta conquerers. For this delicate and important post Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony appeared to be particularly well fitted and he was accordingly nominated thereto by the Commander-in-Chief.

During the ensuing twelve months Ochterlony carried out the duties of Resident at Delhi, while the campaign against the Mahrattas was pursued by General Lake with brilliant success. Sindhia's army was completely destroyed at Laswari on November 1st, the great fort of Gwalior was captured on February 4th, and shortly afterwards both Sindhia and the Rajah of Berar were reduced by these successes and by the victorious progress of General Wellesley in the Deccan to sue for peace. The only prince of importance who remained in arms against the British was Jaswant Rao Holkar, the Rajah of Indore. To watch his movements and to protect the territory of Jaipur the Commander-in-Chief detached a mixed force under Colonel Monson of the 76th Foot. Holkar, in May, 1804, fell back before Monson's approach. The latter advanced incautiously until he was beyond the reach of reinforcements when Holkar suddenly turned on him. Monson retreated precipitately but was impeded by swollen rivers and the hostility of the country people who harassed him incessantly. He at length extricated his force and reached the protection of Agra fort on the 31st August, but not without suffering severe losses and being compelled to abandon the whole of his baggage. Lake (who had meanwhile been raised to the peerage for his successes in the previous year) hastened to support Agra and endeavoured to bring the Mahrattas to battle, but Holkar, while occupying the attention of the English with his cavalry, despatched his whole force of infantry and guns to attack Delhi.

* B.M. Add. MSS. 13742, p. 103.

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The only garrison actually at Delhi when warning was received of the impending danger was one battalion of Bengal Infantry forming the Emperor's escort and furnishing the Resident's guard. In the surrounding districts and engaged in endeavouring to control the Sikhs and the disorderly elements in the population of the country there were one and a half other regular battalions, about twelve hundred irregular infantry which had been taken over from Sindhia's service, and a body of about a thousand irregular horse. The officer commanding the whole was Lieut.-Colonel William Burn of the 2nd—14th Bengal Infantry. As soon as Colonel Ochterlony heard of the intention of the Mahrattas he summoned the outlying troops to return to Delhi immediately. Colonel Burn was with his battalion at Saharanpur. He hastened back in forced marches and was attacked by the country people on the way, losing much of his baggage but reaching Delhi on September 5th, 1804. When the whole force was concentrated it was sadly inadequate for the defence of a city wall some seven miles in circumference and pierced by several gates, and Burn, therefore, at first took up a position outside Delhi and proposed to meet the Mahratta attack in the open. The enemy was very slow in his advance and throughout September Burn's troops succeeded in keeping the advance parties of the Mahrattas at a distance. Meanwhile, Ochterlony was working hard to put the city walls and gates into some sort of defensible condition, for he was doubtful from the first of the possibility of resisting a serious attack in the field. At length the pressure of the enemy's numbers became overwhelming and the necessity for withdrawal within the walls was accentuated by the unsteadiness of the irregular levies. On October 7th Colonel Burn retired within the city and on the same day the whole of the irregular horse deserted to the enemy. It was now a serious question whether the little force of some 2,500 men with eleven guns could possibly hold the city of Delhi and whether it would not be advisable to defend only the fort with the royal palace. But both Ochterlony and Burn were determined to save the town if possible. The defensive works carried out by the former made the task less hopeless and it was confidently expected that succour would not be long delayed. Nevertheless, so great was the extent of wall to be watched that no relief of guards was possible. The men had to cook and eat their food at the spot allotted to each detachment and little rest was obtainable either by officers or men so long as the siege lasted. The Mahrattas brought up heavy guns and in two days made three practicable breaches in the walls, but in this crisis a sortie by 300 picked men under Lieutenant John Rose was successful in spiking the guns and inflicting such loss on the enemy that the garrison was able to repair the breaches unmolested. An attempt was then made with guns and mining at another point, but the defence was so vigorous that the Mahrattas did not venture to press their attack. At length, on October 15th, the approach of General Lake's army brought the siege to an end. The Mahrattas hastened to retreat, and three days later Lake marched into Delhi.

Although it is true that the attempt on Delhi was not pressed home with much vigour, yet it is equally certain that this was largely due to the

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bold and confident attitude of the defenders. When again it is considered that nearly half of the little garrison was composed of levies of very doubtful loyalty, the successful defence of this great city against a force of 10,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, with 160 guns, cannot but be regarded as a very fine feat of arms, reflecting the highest credit on the determination and foresight of the commanders and on the bravery and endurance of all ranks.

Lord Lake was not slow to express to the Governor General his appreciation of the conduct of all concerned in the defence of Delhi, and Ochterlony very shortly afterwards received a valuable proof of Lord Wellesley's approval. His appointment as Resident during the past year had been only a temporary one. It now became necessary to make a more permanent arrangement and the Governor General at first selected an officer, Lieutenant Colonel Scott, who was a good deal senior to Ochterlony and who had had some years' experience in a similar post at Resident at Lucknow. But Colonel Scott died suddenly in October, 1804, before he could take up his new duties, and Lord Wellesley thereupon decided to confirm Colonel Ochterlony in the appointment, conveying his decision in a letter from the Chief Secretary to Government, which concluded as follows:—

"In nominating you for this important station His Excellency in "Council is desirous of affording a public testimony of his approbation "of your conduct during your residence at the Court of his Majesty "under the immediate authority of His Excellency the Commander-in-"Chief, and especially of manifesting the high sense which the Governor "General in Council entertains of the judgment, firmness, and activity "displayed by you in conducting the arrangements for the late successful "defence of the city and fortress of Delhi."*

This was indeed a splendid reward for a junior lieutenant colonel. The appointment of Resident at the Court of the Emperor was one carrying immense prestige as well as responsibility; it was highly paid (the emoluments were fixed in the spring of 1805 at about 8,000 rupees a month); it was, moreover, so far as could be foreseen, likely to be permanent, and its holder could look forward to its prolonged tenure in affluence and comfort. The duties were thoroughly congenial to Ochterlony. He was always sympathetic with the natives of India and readily gained their affection and confidence. At the same time he was as quick to grasp the difficult problems of a frontier province beset with turbulent and unfriendly neighbours as he was firm and courageous in dealing with such problems.

Nevertheless, in the early months of his tenure of the post of Resident it seems that his discretion did not quite keep pace with his capacity, or rather his lack of experience in so responsible a position led him to commit an indiscretion which is at first sight surprising.

* B.M. Add. MSS. 13578.

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At the beginning of 1805 Lord Lake embarked on a campaign against the fortress of Bhurtpore which was marked by several unsuccessful attempts to carry that place by assault. This lack of success of course had some reactions in the still unsettled districts wherein lay the work of the Delhi Resident, and Ochterlony appears to have taken an unduly gloomy view of the situation and to have been ill-advised in giving open expression to his opinions. The consequence was that in April, 1805, he received an official letter from the Chief Secretary to Government, calling his attention to the spirit of despondency which pervaded his correspondence, cautioning him against giving credence to pessimistic rumours, and pointing out the injury to the public service which must result if a person in the position of the Resident at Delhi displayed such anxiety and depression. At the same time the Chief Secretary, by order of Lord Wellesley, repeated these warnings in a private letter, earnestly cautioning Ochterlony "against the pernicious and dangerous effects" which the "extremely despondent and querulous tone" of his communications was calculated to produce.* The warning, doubtless, had its effect: at any rate Lord Wellesley had no occasion to repeat it: but the incident is noticeable because this readiness to take an unfavourable view of the actions of his superiors was throughout his career a weakness in Ochterlony's conduct and more than once got him into trouble.

In spite of the foregoing episode Lord Wellesley was a very good friend to Ochterlony and it was a serious loss to the latter when Lord Wellesley left India in the autumn of 1805. Pending the arrival of his successor, the office of Governor General was temporarily filled by the senior member of Council, Sir George Barlow, a thorough bureaucrat and a man essentially out of harmony with the whole spirit of Lord Wellesley's policy. Nevertheless, it cannot have occurred to Ochterlony that the change at the head of the Government would directly affect him or modify the tenure of his appointment. His astonishment and indignation may, therefore, be imagined when, without any warning or explanation, he received at the end of January, 1806, the following curt notification from the Deputy Secretary to Government in the Political Department:—"Sir, I am directed to inform you that the Hon^ble. the Governor General has been pleased to appoint Mr. A. Seton to be Resident at Delhi and to desire that you will deliver over charge of the Residency to that Gentleman immediately after his arrival at Delhi.—I have the honour, etc., etc."† It would be impossible to imagine a more outrageous manner of removing an officer from a position for which he had been specially selected by reason of his meritorious service, and the duties of which he had performed with complete success. It was not to be expected that Ochterlony would endure such treatment without protest. He laid his case before Lord Lake, who took it up warmly and immediately addressed a remonstrance to Sir George Barlow. After describing his previous acquaintance with Colonel Ochterlony, the high opinion which he had formed of his qualities, and the

* B.M. Add. MSS. 13578.
† B.M. Add. MSS. 13578.

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excellent results obtained by him since his appointment as Resident at Delhi, Lord Lake concluded: "I must view with concern . . . . a measure which threatens to affect so deeply the character and future prospects in life of an officer whom I consider to have constituted by his exertions when acting under my authority and control the highest claims upon my gratitude and upon that of his country."*

This protest was unavailing. Sir George Barlow replied at immense length, disclaiming, of course, any intention of reflecting on Colonel Ochterlony's qualities, but insisting that in time of peace it was desirable that the Resident at Delhi should be a civilian possessed of qualifications and experience such as Colonel Ochterlony could not be expected to possess and "which are foreign to the habits of life and the ordinary duties of his profession."

Lord Lake answered this mass of verbiage by urging that in common justice some compensating appointment should be found for Colonel Ochterlony and "that it should be made in the most public and marked manner, not more with a view of preventing the smallest imputation attaching to Lieutenant Colonel Ochterlony's character than of maintaining unimpaired that confidence which ought to inspire each public officer."

The result of this vigorous advocacy was that Lieut.-Colonel Ochterlony was appointed to command the fortress and station of Allahabad, and that the announcement of his appointment was accompanied with a somewhat wordy panegyric of his "zeal, integrity and ability," "the firmness, energy and activity displayed by him during that crisis of difficulty and danger when the city of Delhi was besieged by the collective force of Jeswunt Rao Holkar" and so on. But soft words butter no parsnips. Ochterlony always resented deeply his removal from Delhi and years afterwards wrote of having been "dismissed ignominiously." He remained in the inactive obscurity of Allahabad for the next two years.

In 1808 the necessity for some settlement of our relations with the Sikhs, which Ochterlony had foreseen when he was at Delhi, compelled the Government of Bengal (now under Lord Minto) to take action. They were also prompted by alarming advices from home. In the words of a memorandum on the subject, which to-day can scarcely be read without a smile: "H.M.'s Ministers were in possession of intelligence which led them to believe that the Ruler of France, having established Peace on the Continent of Europe, had begun to turn his serious attention to the British Empire in the East." To meet the threatened danger the Indian Government decided to send envoys to the courts of Persia, Kabul, and Lahore, and to invite the co-operation of the rulers of these countries against the common foe. For the mission to Lahore a young civil servant, Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, was selected, and in order to support his embassy a military force was assembled on the south bank of the Sutlej the command of which was given to Lieut.-Colonel Ochterlony. The

* B.M. Add. MSS. 13578.

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acquaintance which thus arose between Metcalfe and Ochterlony developed into close and affectionate friendship which was only terminated by death.

Of Metcalfe's embassy it is unnecessary to say much. On his arrival at Lahore in September, 1808, he explained to Ranjit Singh and his ministers the object of his mission, when (it is solemnly recorded) they "appeared totally ignorant of the designs of the French." Four months later news was received from Europe showing that the danger of a French invasion was "practically" at an end, and some other explanation had to be found for the retention of Ochterlony's detachment on the Sikh frontier. Ranjit Singh, however, himself supplied a reason for the British attitude by his incursions across the Sutlej into territory which had always been recognised as being subsidiary to Delhi. Even after the withdrawal of Metcalfe's embassy, therefore, and the conclusion of a treaty of friendship with Ranjit Singh, Ochterlony's detachment was still maintained at Ludhianah to protect the interests of the cis-Sutlej Sikhs.

Ochterlony's task here was not an easy one. He had to maintain the authority of an alien power among a people of doubtful friendliness, while the neighbours whose hostility was scarcely concealed were of the same race and religion as our new subjects. He succeeded by a nicely adjusted conjunction of firmness and conciliation which throughout his career marked his dealings with the peoples of India, but his work was nearly brought to a sudden end by an unfortunate incident which was partly due to his hasty resentment of control. It appears that the foolish action of certain junior officers (not of Ochterlony's force) provoked the people of a small country town to a display of hostility. On this, the Commander-in-Chief (General Hewett), who was in camp in the neighbourhood, sent a stringent (and, probably, injudicious) order to Ochterlony directing that any officer who might encounter signs of a hostile attitude among the people was forthwith to take summary punitive measures. It is quite clear that such action would quickly have made Ochterlony's position impossible; moreover, it was exactly the sort of order that was calculated to arouse his resentment. But instead of taking proper steps to urge his view of the matter, he fired off a letter to the Adjutant General submitting his resignation of his appointment because "no reliance, even on occasions the most trivial, is placed in my discretion." The next day he wrote again reiterating his request to resign. In such circumstances the Commander-in-Chief had no alternative but to submit the facts to the Government of India, and he accordingly forwarded the correspondence to the Chief Secretary. The Governor General was equally without choice in the matter and was obliged to uphold the authority of the Commander-in-Chief. But in accepting Ochterlony's resignation, the Chief Secretary expressed the Governor General's great regret at what had occurred and his belief that Ochterlony's action had been prompted by a genuine desire for the interests of the State. At the same time the Chief Secretary wrote direct to Ochterlony again expressing Lord Minto's regret and adding his cordial appreciation of his valuable work. It is evident from the tone of these letters that the Governor General was of opinion that Ochterlony's view of the question at

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issue was correct, but that he had put himself in the wrong by his impetuous and insubordinate attitude towards the Commander-in-Chief. This is made more certain by what followed. Ochterlony wrote an apologetic letter to the Military Secretary which (with a good deal of magnanimity) General Hewett caused to be forwarded to Government with his support. He also wrote in a similar apologetic strain to the Chief Secretary to Government. The Governor General accepted with alacrity General Hewett's recommendation that Ochterlony's resignation should be withdrawn, and the incident closed with a final expression of Lord Minto's approval of his hot-headed subordinate. "There is no alteration," wrote the Chief Secretary, "of those favourable sentiments which induced the Governor General in Council to select you for the duties of your command."* The whole episode is interesting to the observer of Ochterlony's career. It illustrates the weak point in his character which again and again crops up and causes trouble and distress both to his superiors and to himself, but at the same time it affords clear proof of the high estimation in which he was held and which led those under whom he served to overlook his foibles in view of his sterling qualities and the value of his work.

This incident occurred in April, 1809. Thereafter Ochterlony remained at Ludhiana for five years, during which time he not only exercised the command of the mixed force on the Sikh frontier but also did very valuable political work, consolidating the British influence among the cis-Sutlej Sikhs and establishing good relations with Ranjit Singh and with his tributary chiefs.

At this time the Gurkhas, who had within the last fifty years established a despotic military power in Nepal, were becoming every year more aggressive on the British frontiers. They violated the former boundaries of their country, over-ran Kumaon, and the small mountain states bordering on the Punjab, and at length extended their incursions as far as the Sutlej. Continuous efforts were made by the Government of Bengal to check their inroads and to arrive at a peaceful settlement, and with this object Ochterlony was made "Agent for Gurkha Affairs' 'between the Jumna and the Sutlej. In the course of these new duties he not only obtained some knowledge of the Gurkhas themselves but also gained useful experience of the Himalayan foot-hills and made friends among the local people. When, therefore, in 1814 the hostility of the Gurkhas and their incessant outrages in British territory compelled the Government of Bengal to declare war against Nepal, it was natural that one of the columns of the field army should be placed under his command.

It is not necessary to narrate here the whole story of the Nepal war even if space were available. All that is required is an outline of the campaign with special reference to David Ochterlony's share in the operations.

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* India Office. Home Miscs. vol. 595. p. 337.

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The principal military force of the Gurkhas was in the country most recently occupied by them, which was bordered by the Sutlej, and this force was commanded by a leader of much ability named Amar Sing Thapa. The plan drawn up by Lord Moira, who at this time held the two offices of Governor General and Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, contemplated an attack on Amar Sing by converging columns from Ludhiana and Saharanpur; a third column operating from Gorakhpur was to cut the communications between the Gurkha force and Nepal, and when Khatmandu, the capital, had thus been isolated, a fourth and stronger force was to move into Nepal from Patna with Khatmandu as its objective. The column which was based on Ludhiana was placed under the command of Colonel Ochterlony, and, strange to say, although it was designed for a direct attack upon the enemy's principal army, it was the only one of the columns which did not include any British units. The fact was that everybody from the Governor General downwards entirely underestimated the difficulties of the coming campaign and the value of the enemy. The prevailing idea was that as soon as the advancing columns threatened the communications between Amar Sing and Nepal he would hasten eastwards and thus would encounter not Ochterlony's column but that from Saharanpur. The date at first fixed for the opening of the campaign was the 1st November, 1814, but in the quite erroneous belief that Amar Sing was endeavouring to escape, the movement was hurried on. Detachments of the Saharanpur column moved forward on the 20th October; the column concentrated at Dehra Dun on the 25th, and on the 31st an attack was launched against the stockaded fort of Kalanga. The attempt was a complete failure. The commander of the column, Major General Gillespie, was killed and the force fell back to Dehra with the loss of many casualties and with seriously impaired *moral*. Four weeks later another attempt was made against Kalanga but with no better success.

These unfortunate events greatly increased the difficulty of the task which fell to the lot of Colonel Ochterlony. His opponent, Amar Sing Thapa, held a number of stockaded posts on a succession of lofty ridges behind which his main force was concentrated at Arki, a few miles west of where Simla now stands. The distance in a straight line from Ochterlony's advanced base at Rupar to Amar Sing's position was trifling, but the intervening country was extraordinarily difficult—a tumbled mass of hills rising range behind range from the plains of the Punjab to a height of six thousand feet, the precipitous sides covered with scrub and forest, the valleys deep, narrow and tortuous, and such paths as existed mere tracks. Ochterlony certainly did not share the prevailing anticipation of a short and easy campaign, and his knowledge of the district justified his misgivings.

He moved to the foot of the hills on October 31st and found that the first obstacle to further progress was the fort of Nalagarh a few miles ahead. This he approached with the utmost caution and did not attempt an attack until he had brought up two eighteen-pounders, when, after twenty-four hours' bombardment, the place surrendered on November 5th. This initial success was, in the words of a letter of congratulation from

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the Adjutant General, "most seasonable." The unfortunate reverse at Kalanga had completely demoralised the Indian troops who had taken part in that operation and the news of it had had its effect elsewhere. The day before the attack on Nalagarh, Ochterlony wrote: "The events at Kaylungah are not calculated to excite exultation and I have lived too long in their country to be insensible to the opposite effects they will produce when known on the Goorkas and our own troops."* It may be readily understood, therefore, what a relief the successful operation of November 5th brought both to the commander on the spot and to the authorities at the headquarters of Government.

But the success did not blind Ochterlony to the difficulties before him. "Every stockade of the Goorkas has hitherto been spoken of equally contemptuously," he wrote, "but I feel myself necessitated to consider them as extremely formidable. . . . . It would seem that the character and operations of the war should be changed and instead of small detachments with light artillery our force should be concentrated and . . . . no one should move without a gun or guns."* And again: "Our progress will be slow but I trust it will be certain, and I hope His Excellency will approve a determination I have formed not to be hurried into any attempt that may occasion more eventual delay. . . . . I cannot accuse myself of unnecessary caution still less of unnecessary delay." To this he received an immediate and satisfactory reply. Lord Moira had had some experience of jungle warfare and knew its difficulties, and the Adjutant General wrote on November 19th: "The Commander-in-Chief entirely concurs in the general view which you have taken of the character the war has now assumed."

On the death of Major General Gillespie the command of the Saharanpur column devolved upon Colonel Mawbey of the 53rd Foot and the general direction of its operations was assigned to Colonel Ochterlony. The latter wrote to Mawbey urging the importance of the reduction of Kalanga so as to allow of a movement to Nahan, the capital of Sirmoor, which would give useful support to the operations against Amar Sing. Meanwhile, in default of any such co-operation or support, Ochterlony proceeded methodically with his campaign.

The immediate result of the capture of Nalagarh was that Amar Sing Thapa moved forward from Arki to meet Ochterlony's advance and took up a strong position at Ramgarh. More than a month was occupied in preparations for an attack on this stronghold, in making roads practicable for guns and in cautiously surveying the approaches. Twice orders were actually issued for an attack and twice they were countermanded, the second time in consequence of the arrival of news of the renewed failure before Kalanga. Meanwhile Ochterlony, with immense labour and over incredibly bad roads, moved his force round the Gurkha position and placed himself astride of Amar Sing's communications with Arki and Nepal. Then

* India Office. Home Miscs. 643, pp. 172, 183, etc.

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at last, on the 27th December, an outlying spur of the Ramgarh position was successfully attacked and was held against a violent counter-attack on the 30th, in which the Gurkhas suffered considerable loss. Even now, however, the main position was still intact and it was evident that a direct assault would be a hazardous and costly undertaking. Ochterlony thereupon decided to make a further turning movement which should more completely isolate his opponent. On the 16th January, 1815, leaving a sufficient force to hold the captured stockade, he moved with his main body east and north until he was in such a position as entirely to cut off Amar Sing from the base of his supplies. The Gurkha leader, thus outmanœuvred, fell back on his last position on the lofty heights of the Malaun ridge, leaving only a detachment at Ramgarh.

Up to this time Ochterlony had sustained the whole brunt of the campaign. The other three columns had either been entirely inactive or had suffered more or less serious reverses. Mawbey had, it is true, reached Nahan on December 24th, the Gurkhas having evacuated Kalanga which had been rendered untenable by the previous fighting there. But so far from any further support being forthcoming for Ochterlony, the unlucky Saharanpur column, now commanded by Major General Martindell, could scarcely hold its own, so much was it weakened by casualties in the fighting of the last two months. In front of it was the Gurkha stronghold of Jaitak, but to attack this was beyond the capacity of the column or of its commander, and the best that could be done was to blockade Jaitak with a chain of posts which at any rate demobilised its garrison. The two columns further east had, as has been said, done less than nothing.

In spite, therefore, of his partial successes the prospect which faced Ochterlony at the beginning of the new year was one of immense responsibility and difficulty. Each position to which the Gurkhas retired was more inaccessible than the last, the heights more lofty, the hill sides more precipitous, the forest more impenetrable, the problem of transport more arduous. Moreover, although his troops had not themselves suffered at the hands of the Gurkhas, yet the stories of reverses elsewhere had invested the enemy with a reputation which was an ever-present danger. It was Ochterlony's personality alone which sustained the confidence and endurance of his men.

The months of February and March, 1815, were devoted to the complete occupation of the Ramgarh ridge and other outlying positions so as to confine Amar Sing to the heights about Malaun. In each case the stockades were reduced by artillery fire and although in such difficult country the progress, with the aid of heavy guns, was necessarily slow, yet, as Ochterlony had written in November, it was certain and the losses incurred were few. At last, at the end of March, the whole force was concentrated for the attack of the main stronghold.

The so-called ridge of Malaun is a chain of heights some four miles long extending south-eastward from Malaun to Surajgarh. Almost every peak between these two places was fortified with the exception of two, Deonthal, about 2,000 yards south-east of Malaun, and Raila, about the

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same distance north-west of Surajgarh. Ochterlony determined to seize these two undefended points, thus cutting the Gurkha force in two, and then to press the attack on the main fortress of Malaun. The operation was carried out successfully on April 14-15. Raila was seized without opposition. The column which attacked Deonthal encountered a detachment of the enemy and narrowly escaped a reverse, but eventually reached the objective. Meanwhile two columns made a feint of attacking Malaun, and this succeeded in diverting the attention of the Gurkhas from the main enterprise. Late in the day, when Amar Sing realised what had happened, Deonthal had been occupied in force and the position prepared for defence. On April 16th the Gurkhas made a determined counter-attack, which lasted for two hours, but they were repulsed with heavy loss and retreated in confusion. Amar Sing thereupon abandoned Surajgarh and concentrated all his force at Malaun. Ochterlony immediately prepared to bring up artillery and to reduce the stronghold by blockade, but, meanwhile, the Gurkhas had suffered other reverses elsewhere. A diversion effected by a column of irregulars in Kumaon had been completely successful and had ended in the capitulation of the whole Gurkha force in that district. News of this defeat reached the defenders of Malaun early in May when Ochterlony had already one battery in position ready for a bombardment. The tidings quickly resulted in the demoralization of the garrison. Numbers of them deserted and gave themselves up to the British and at length, on May 15th, Amar Sing Thapa was obliged to capitulate. He surrendered both Malaun and Jaitak, of which his son Ranjur Sing was in command, and agreed to withdraw the whole of the Gurkha forces from all the country west of the river Kali. These events were immediately followed by the arrival of emissaries from Khatmandu to discuss terms of peace, thus bringing the campaign to a conclusion.

This successful end of the war was due to Ochterlony in person. He alone of the commanders in the field had never made a mistake nor suffered a reverse, and by his skilful dispositions and his dogged perseverance he had overcome enormous difficulties, both moral and physical, and had achieved a victory which at times had seemed unattainable. In all the circumstances it is not surprising that honours and rewards were showered upon him by the East India Company and by the Government at home. His promotion to Major General had been announced during the campaign. He was now created a baronet and was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath, being almost the first of the Company's officers to be admitted to that honourable Order. Moreover, an unanimous resolution of the Court of Directors dated the 6th December, 1815, granted to him a pension of £1,000 a year "to commence from the date of the victory over the Nepaulese army, the 16th of April, 1815." In a General Order published by the Governor General on 21st May, 1815, announcing the successful end of the campaign, Lord Moira wrote of Ochterlony: "The unremitting zeal, the sagacious foresight and the admirable decision which he has had the opportunity of displaying, should make him feel himself indebted to the embarrassments he has had to encounter. They have only served to mark in brighter colours the extent of his claim to praise."

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But although Ochterlony's task in defeating the Gurkhas in the field had been triumphantly accomplished, the Government of Nepal was not yet prepared to accept the terms which were offered by Lord Moira, and, after several months of fruitless negotiations, it became evident that a further campaign would be necessary. The Governor General determined that the main operations should be directly against Khatmandu, and Major General Ochterlony was appointed to command the force of nearly twenty thousand men organised for that purpose.

The approaches to Khatmandu passed through country even more difficult than that in which Ochterlony had operated a year before. The hills were no less lofty and precipitous, while the vegetation was more tropical and the forests more dense. Moreover, there was the serious additional danger of a deadly feverish climate. The headquarters of the British force concentrated at Amwa on the edge of the Terai jungle. A road to Khatmandu ran from this place by Parsa, through the difficult Chiriaghati pass to Makwanpur, while lateral roads reached the same place by way of Hariharpur on the east and Ramnagar on the west. Ochterlony detached a brigade right and left by each of these lateral roads and advanced with the two remaining brigades against the Chiriaghati pass, which was known to be strongly defended. The columns moved forward at the beginning of February, 1816, and on the 9th of that month the headquarters reached Bickhakoh at the foot of the Chiriaghati pass after a march of extraordinary difficulty through jungle so dense that it was only by great exertions that a road could be cut for the guns and baggage. These obstacles were small, however, compared with what lay beyond. Reconnaissance soon showed that the Chiriaghati pass was so strongly stockaded that to force it was practically impossible, but an intricate and perilous route was discovered to the left of the main defile by which it was hoped that the pass might be turned. Ochterlony determined to make the attempt and, leaving one brigade to make a demonstration at the foot of the pass, he himself with the remaining brigade on the night of the 10th February undertook this dangerous enterprise. Progress was very slow. The track at first was nothing but the rocky bed of a dry water-course. From this the ascent to the summit of the hill above was so precipitous that, had the place been held by even a small guard, the column could hardly have escaped disaster. But fortune favoured the attempt. The path was quite undefended, and after a night of great anxiety and immense exertion the advance guard of the brigade reached the crest at 8 a.m. on the 11th February. Even then the column had to advance another five miles before water was found, but no opposition was encountered and by evening the whole column was concentrated in rear of the Gurkha position. The undertaking had been successful but Ochterlony fully realised the risks that had been run. "That it [the movement] has been effected," he wrote, "is to be ascribed to great good fortune, as well as to the most persevering labour, the greatest exertion and most persevering fortitude."

For four days the brigade halted while with immense toil a road was made up which supplies were brought, the guns were dragged and even

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elephants were induced to ascend. But by now the news of the danger which threatened their retreat had reached the Gurkhas in the Chiriaghati pass, and on the 15th February Colonel Burnet, commanding the brigade which had been left at the foot of the pass, moved forward and found the defences abandoned. On the 19th the headquarter force was reunited at Hataura, a few miles beyond the Chiriaghati pass.

The Gurkhas meanwhile had fallen back to Makwanpur, a strongly fortified ridge covering the road to Khatmandu. Ochterlony rested his force for a week, and on the 27th, having advanced again, he encamped on level ground below Makwanpur. The next morning he succeeded in occupying the village of Sekhar Khatri at the west end of the ridge, whereupon the whole Gurkha force issued from their defences and endeavoured to recapture the village. There ensued some hours of very sharp fighting but at length the Gurkhas were driven back to their stockades with considerable loss.

On the following day the brigade which had been detached by the western road rejoined headquarters, and on the 1st March the remaining brigade established itself in the fort of Hariharpur which the Gurkhas had evacuated after vigorous resistance. These reverses quickly had their effect at Khatmandu. An envoy was despatched to re-open negotiations with the British commander and on the 3rd March Ochterlony had the satisfaction of reporting to the Government of India that the Gurkhas had agreed to his terms and that hostilities were at an end. The British casualties in the whole campaign did not amount to three hundred killed and wounded.

The triumphant and speedy conclusion of the campaign, so different in every feature from that which had preceded it, was naturally hailed with immense satisfaction by the Governor General and by the authorities in England. A letter from the Secretary to Government conveyed to Sir David Ochterlony the commendation of Lord Moira on his conduct which had been "distinguished by consummate prudence, judgment and discretion . . . . augmenting the claim to public approbation and applause which a long and honourable course of public service has already obtained for you"; while a General Order again testified to his zeal, judgment and energy which "have been brilliantly conspicuous in the late operations." By a unanimous resolution dated the 20th November, 1816, the Court of Directors recorded their thanks to "Major General Sir David Ochterlony Bart. and K.C.B. for the vigour, judgment and effect with which he personally conducted the operations." The Prince Regent conferred on him the Grand Cross of the Bath, an honour up to that time without precedent among the Company's officers; and furthermore granted him an honourable augmentation to his arms, with special reference to his services in the conquest of Nepal (a distinction in which we may perhaps trace the influence of his step-father, Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King of Arms). Finally, by unanimous resolution on the 6th February, 1817, he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, a peculiar honour which retains its prestige even in these degenerate days.

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Before leaving the subject of the Nepal war it should be recalled that one of its direct consequences was the formation of the first three battalions of those Gurkha troops which have since done such conspicuous service for the British Empire. It was remarkable that from the outset of the war any of the enemy soldiers who were captured at once sought to take service with our arms. Ochterlony took advantage of this, treating all prisoners with kindness and consideration and readily accepting their services, with the result that when things began to go ill for the Gurkhas desertions from their ranks rapidly increased. After the fall of Malaun the number of Gurkhas anxious to enlist in the British forces was so large that, at the instance of the General, four battalions of them were formed, three of which still survive in the Indian army. The acquisition of such valuable fighting material is not the least of Ochterlony's claims to be remembered.

The war with Nepal was still in progress when the Government of India was faced with even more serious trouble elsewhere. The Mahrattas had never accepted their defeats at the hands of Lake and Wellesley in 1803-05 as involving their permanent submission. Throughout the succeeding ten years intrigues and local disturbances had kept Rajputana and Central India in a constant state of unrest and when, at the beginning of the Nepal war, the British arms met with checks and reverses the Mahratta chiefs quickly assumed a more hostile and aggressive attitude. These dangers were increased by the activities of the hoards of marauders of every race and creed, known as the Pindaris, who roamed about Central India carrying pillage and devastation wherever they went and reducing the whole country to desert. The outrages of the Pindaris and the hostility of the Mahratta princes rendered military operations by the British inevitable and as soon as peace with the Gurkhas was definitely settled Lord Moira (now created Marquess of Hastings) prepared to take the field in person with an army of eighty-eight thousand men. This force was formed in four divisions of which the reserve division was commanded by Sir David Ochterlony. The several columns assembled in the autumn of 1817, Ochterlony's division being concentrated at Rewari, fifty miles south-west of Delhi. Thence in November he moved to Jaipur with the object of giving general support to the forces acting in Rajputana and specially to protect Delhi. As it fell out Ochterlony was not actively engaged against the Mahrattas, but he quickly got into touch with Amir Khan, the most able and influential of the Pindari leaders, and by a clever combination of manœuvre and negotiation he not only kept his active opponent at a standstill but even succeeded eventually in arranging with him a satisfactory and lasting treaty. He followed this up by effecting the disbandment of the greater part of the Pindari forces, a large number being taken into the British service, and thus he contributed very materially to the successful prosecution of the campaign. When the war was at an end Ochterlony was employed in the task of restoring order in the distracted districts of Rajputana, a work for which his special gifts and experience rendered him peculiarly suitable. Throughout 1818 he held the office of Resident in Rajputana, with command of the troops, co-operating with his friend

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Charles Metcalfe who had for some years been Resident at Delhi. During this time he arranged permanent treaties with several of the great Rajput states, everywhere establishing friendly relations with the chiefs and laying the foundations of that mutual good understanding which has lasted now for over a hundred years. In December, 1818, Metcalfe was summoned by Lord Hastings to a secretarial appointment at Calcutta and Ochterlony thenceforward combined the offices of Resident at Delhi and at Jaiput.

Established once more at Delhi and in his house "Shalimar" which he had bought in 1805, Sir David Ochterlony may be said to have now been at the very climax of his career. Enjoying a great military reputation, a considerable income, a position of the first importance and responsibility, he was, after the Governor General himself, the most prominent figure in the service of the East India Company. His generous qualities of tact and sympathy and his long and intimate acquaintance with Indians gave him a specially favoured position at the court of the old Emperor of Delhi and with the other chiefs. He loved the display and pomp which appeals to the Indian mind; he kept up a great establishment at Shalimar, and wonderful tales, greatly exaggerated, were current of his wealth and lavish splendour. Unfortunately, too, some of his good qualities were exploited by undeserving subordinates, and instances occurred of corruption and extortion by persons in whom he trusted and whom he refused to believe unworthy. In spite, however, of these minor defects, his work at Delhi was valuable to British interests, and the high opinion in which it was held by the Government of India was shown in 1822 when Ochterlony was made Resident in Malwa and Rajputana in addition to his other duties, an appointment which gave him the superintendence of almost the whole of Central India.

But, in the meantime, the years were passing; long residence in India was beginning to tell upon his constitution and his health was giving way. Some letters to Metcalfe, written during this period, give sad evidence of how the shades of the prison-house began to close upon this genial, kind-hearted Scotsman in his rather lonely exile. More than once he is bitterly affronted at decisions of Government contrary to his own advice (his old failing of resentment against unwelcome authority), and he writes immense screeds of complaint to "My dearest Charles" with such endings as "Adieu, I hope this will find you in better humour that it leaves, Your most affect^e. Da Ochterlony"; or again: "You must be sick of this subject but I cannot help it. Shalimar is clothed in most beautiful verdure but all is yellow to Your affect. Da. Ochterlony." Then, towards the end of 1821, he writes: "When I wrote you last I was unwell and the symptoms increased and ever since I have been on my beam ends. . . . . I have been unable to sit up from pain and I suffer not only bodily pain but mental." A year later: "I have been very unwell and the medicines I have taken have either brought on a nervous complaint or I am really and truly incapable of all business or mental exertion"; and in November, 1822: "I have little inclination and less ability for business, and a dreadful and annoying

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distrust of the propriety of the little I do. . . . . "Were it not for a hope that time will remove my apprehensions I should consider it a duty to quit a situation which I feel myself unequal to fill."*

This year, 1822, was a bad one for him. He suffered not only from illness but from private griefs, among which was the loss of his step-father, Sir Isaac Heard, who died in April at the age of 92. Ochterlony's mother had died five years after her son went to India; Alexander Ochterlony, who alone of his brothers and sister survived to maturity, died in 1803. His step-father remained his only link with home life and had always maintained a lively interest in and correspondence with him. When this link was snapped Ochterlony must indeed have felt solitary and forlorn. He seems to have clung all the more closely to his one intimate friend in India with whom he kept up a constant correspondence, and to whom he was always "your most affectionate Da. Ochterlony."

In spite of his troubles, however, he continued to carry on the important duties of his appointment without any serious sign of failing, but in 1823 he suffered a great personal loss in the retirement of Lord Hastings who had always shown confidence in him and on whom, despite occasional differences on minor details, he could always depend for support. Hastings was succeeded as Governor General by Lord Amherst, a man of very different capacity and very different temperament, one who, like Sir George Barlow eighteen years before, was not in sympathy either with Ochterlony's views or his methods. It was not long before this divergence of view led to disastrous consequences. Early in 1825 the Rajah of Bhurtpore died leaving a son of six years old whom Ochterlony had promised to recognise as the heir. The boy was installed as rajah but within a month the government was usurped by a cousin, Durjan Sal, who established himself in the capital and seized the person of the young rajah. Ochterlony acted with all his old decision and promptitude. It was well known that the Jats of Bhurtpore had never forgotten how they had defied Lake's armies in 1805. They regarded themselves as invincible and, moreover, they were esteemed so by most of the chiefs and people of Central India. To allow them now to defy the British authority might have consequences endangering the peace so recently and with such difficulty consolidated. Ochterlony promptly demanded Durjan Sal's submission and, on his summons being disregarded, he mobilised all the troops within his command, and, without consulting the supreme government, prepared to march upon Bhurtpore. No doubt his action exceeded his lawful powers but the circumstances were exceptional. He was responsible for the peace of an immense country. Immediate and vigorous action was, in his opinion, necessary in order to maintain the authority of the British and to avoid bloodshed. Reference to the distant government at Calcutta would involve delay and the opportunity of rapidly accomplishing the object in view would be lost. The event showed that his judgment was sound, and

* India Office. Home Miscs. vol. 738, pp. 765, etc.

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qualified observers in India at the time supported him. "I believe," wrote Bishop Heber, "that he was fully justified by the urgency of the case, but this is one among many proofs . . . . how impossible it is to govern these remote provinces from Calcutta."*

But whatever the urgency, Lord Amherst was not the man to countenance measures so prompt and so drastic. Before Ochterlony could put his force in motion he received a letter from the Government censuring his action and ordering that the troops should return to their stations. Those who have followed the story of his career thus far will realise what a crushing blow this was to a man of his nature. In reply he warmly defended his action, expressed his reliance on the correctness of his judgment and claimed that the experience of forty-eight years entitled him to the confidence of the Governor General. As, however, it was apparent that he did not possess that confidence he tendered his resignation. This was exactly what the Governor General wanted. From the first he had decided to get rid of Ochterlony and he had caused his letter to be so worded as to invite resignation. Even before Sir David's answer was received the Secretary to Government had written offering the appointment at Delhi to another man and that one—of all people—was Sir Charles Metcalfe. The almost indecent alacrity with which Sir David's resignation was accepted completed his humiliation, and the fact that the person selected to take his place was his familiar friend cannot but have added to the bitterness of the blow. It is only fair to Metcalfe to say that he was assured that if he refused the appointment some one else would be found for it and that in no circumstances would Ochterlony be allowed to remain. But this fact, even if known to the latter, brought no consolation. Overwhelmed by his treatment and by the public affront to which he had been subjected, enfeebled by ill health, he was no longer able to resist the depression and exhaustion which for some years past had at intervals attacked him. He found no relief in the seclusion of Shalimar and after some weeks of inaction there, he went for change of scene to Meerut. But his case was a hopeless one and he died suddenly at Meerut on the 14th July, 1825.

The Governor General published on the 28th July a General Order full of glowing eulogy of his talents and achievements, but these praises, though well deserved, came too late. Too late, also, Lord Amherst was to find that the vigorous action which he had condemned in Ochterlony would have been the quickest and surest road to peace. The campaign against Bhurtpore with an army of twenty thousand men, the expenditure of much treasure and a thousand casualties in the British force, as well as many thousands among the defenders, this was the price which had to be paid for the pacific policy of Lord Amherst.

In the army of India Sir David Ochterlony was deeply and sincerely mourned, and the general public testified their recognition of his merits by erecting to his memory a lofty column, 165 feet in height, which is familiar to all who know Calcutta.

* Bishop Heber's Journal, vol. ii. p. 368.

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All that is recorded of Ochterlony and the few remains of his letters reveal him as a very attractive personality, singularly warm hearted and affectionate, impulsive, generous and full of sympathy for those about him. As has been seen he was inclined to resent interference from his superior officers, but this was rather prompted by confidence in his own judgment, than by mere foolish vanity, and it should be added that he generally seems to have been in the right. As a soldier his qualities were of a high order. The campaigns against the Gurkhas showed him to be possessed of more than ordinary military skill both strategic and tactical and a very rare combination of caution and precision with a readiness to take risks when occasion demanded. His last abortive operations against Bhurtpore were characteristic of his vigour and determination in emergency. As a leader he had that capacity for attracting the devotion of his soldiers which has so often been wanting in even the greatest generals, but the possession of which is of such priceless value. Had fortune led Ochterlony to seek a career elsewhere than in India it is likely that his fame would have been wider and more lasting. That his name has been well-nigh forgotten by his countrymen is due not to any shortcomings on his part but to the circumstance that his life and service were devoted to that great dependency which has been called the "Land of Regrets," and which with equal truth may be called the Land of Oblivion.

NOTE.—There exist two portraits of David Ochterlony. The first is a small miniature by a native Indian artist evidently painted soon after Ochterlony's arrival in India and sent home to his mother. On the death of his step-father, Sir Isaac Heard, it passed to Mr. Charles Wild, the nephew of the latter, and it is still in the possession of Mr. Wild's descendants. The other portrait is a half length by A. W. Devis, of which a mezzotint was done by Meyer (there is a copy in the British Museum print room). How this portrait came to be painted is something of a mystery. It was done about 1817, many years after Devis was in India, and as Ochterlony never came home on leave the only possible inference is that it was copied from some portrait, perhaps by an Indian artist, which was painted in India and sent home by Sir David to his step-father. It was in Sir Isaac Heard's possession at the time of his death, and, in accordance with instructions contained in his will, it was then sent out to Ochterlony in India. It now belongs to the present Sir David Ochterlony.

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FRANCIS HAWLEY.
Captain of Grenadiers in the First Regiment of Foot Guards, 1685.

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NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES TO QUESTIONS should be addressed to the EDITOR, 8, PALMERSTON ROAD, SHEFFIELD.

NOTES.

225. TATTOO, or TAPTOO. (vol. iii. 5; vi. 191—under Reply No. 236.) A very late instance—1857—of the use, by a quite young officer, of the original word 'taptoo' instead of its more modern form 'tattoo', occurs in a letter from Lieutenant A. M. Lang, Bengal Engineers, dated 31 October, 1857, when in camp between Lucknow and Cawnpore, during the Indian Mutiny:—

"The Punjabees fraternise with them [93rd Highlanders] vastly, and delight in the pipes. As I walked home from Mess last night, after the pipers had finished playing at Taptoo (*sic*), I found knots of Hielanders and Sikhs and Afghans, each jabbering away in his own language, not in the least understood by one another, but great friends".

NEUX.

226. UNIFORM OF A GRENADIER OFFICER IN THE ARMY OF KING JAMES II. The accompanying illustration and the following details are made from a portrait in oils of Colonel Francis Hawley,—killed at the battle of Steenkirke, 29 July, 1692, then being Lieutenant-Colonel of Lord Fitzhardinge's regiment of Horse—in the possession of Admiral the Honble. R. A. R. Plunkett-Ernle-Erle-Drax, C.B., D.S.O., of Charborough Park, Dorset, where it now hangs. It is of considerable interest, as instead of the figure being, like other military portraits of the end of the 17th century, costumed in full armour and flowing peruke, it is dressed in what evidently represents a real uniform of the British Army at that period. The Cap, an early Grenadier Head-dress, is of bright blue cloth, or velvet, bound with wide gold lace. On the front are the Royal initials, "J" "R", surmounted by the Crown and further ornamented with small golden stars. I have been unable to follow the exact details of the gold embroidery on the very small "little flap".

The Coat is red approaching crimson. The Cuffs, Belts, Pouch and Bayonet scabbard are of the same bright blue as the Cap, adorned with gold lace and embroidery. The lace Neck-cloth has a golden fringe and a pattern worked in it with gold thread. The small close Cuff is a very different affair from the wide ones usual at the time; it was probably peculiar to the Grenadiers for obvious reasons. The buttoned slash above it is also peculiar. The Buttons are gilt and I think the button holes are laced, but they are not very distinct. The substitution of the Plug-Bayonet of the period, but with gilt cross-piece and tip to handle, for an officer's sword, was probably also peculiar to Grenadier Officers, who had begun to carry fusees.

The portrait has an additional interest as shewing the original colour of the facings of the 1st Foot Guards (now the Grenadier Guards), since Colonel Hawley served in that Regiment. Walton in his *History of the British Standing Army* (page 362 and Note 783) states on the authority of the *Travels of Count Cosmo of Tuscany* that "In 1669 the 'Royal livery' was red turned up with light blue.'", so that we see from this painting what that particular shade of blue was. It is curious that in the course of a couple of centuries the facings of royal regiments should have changed from the bright blue of the portrait to the dark, almost black, shade of the present day. There must have been graduations as in the uniform of Naval officers, now of the very darkest blue, though the original mid-eighteenth century coats were not much darker than the pre-war Bavarian military uniforms, while it would appear from various portraits that the earlier 19th century naval uniform coats were of an intermediate shade of blue.

QUESTION. Was the "Colonel's Company" always, or often, the 'Grenadier' Company?

C. FIELD.

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QUESTIONS.

342. THE SENIOR SERVICE. The 'Note' here following appeared in *The Mariner's Mirror* of October, 1930—vol. xvi. p. 421:

How old is the expression "The Senior Service"? *The Oxford English Dictionary* gives:—'The Senior Service: the navy as distinguished from the army', and quotes 1911, *London Magazine*, October, p. 264: "The Admiral turned round . . . . . 'The Army,' he said gaily, 'comes to the rescue of the senior Service . . . . .'" There must surely be earlier references.

The question why the Navy comes before the Army in loyal toasts seems to be almost as old as the hills. It was put to the Editor of *The Naval and Military Gazette*, in 1841; in the issue of 20 February, 1841, is the following:—

"An Old Subscriber writes: 'I shall feel obliged by your opinion as to whether the Navy or Army should take precedence in public toasts, as no one appears to know, either by rule or custom. I have argued the point lately with military men, who could not assign any reason in favour of their own profession taking the lead, although they think it is right. My reasons in favour of the Navy are deduced from England being a maritime nation, and the greatest, owing her very existence to her Navy, etc. Secondly, that the Navy takes precedence by one rank over the Army. Thirdly, that the Navy has Royalty prefixed.'"

The reply of the Editor was:—

"There is no rule on the subject, but good taste and custom have usually assigned precedence to the Navy, as the most natural force of a maritime state."

In the following week's issue, 27 February, 1841, the subject was dealt with in the leading article:—

"In our notes to correspondents last week, we replied to an inquiry whether, in giving toasts, and on other occasions, we should say 'Army and Navy', or 'Navy and Army'.

"Recollecting that in the late Royal Speech the word Naval was placed before that of Military, we should deem that this ought to be considered as an unerring precedent, and that it will be so held henceforward.

"How, or by what means, the *ancient* style of using the words 'Navy and Army' was changed, we have never been able to discover; but certain is it, we believe, that they were always formerly thus placed, for, besides that England had a Navy long before she had a standing Army, her chief bulwark has ever been regarded her Naval superiority, on which our very existence as a first-rate nation wholly depends. Surely then there can be no offence to the sister profession in using the words 'Navy and Army', as was done in days of yore, and we trust that the Royal example will uniformly be followed for the time to come.

"Possibly the modern system of placing the word Army before that of Navy, arose from an arrangement similar to that which is now followed at the different Courts relative to Ambassadors, who take precedence in alphabetical order. The minister of America going before the minister of Belgium—England taking the precedence of the ambassador of France—Prussia that of Russia, and so on, which prevents all disputes, the thing having been fully established by treaties soon after the Peace." D. B. S.

Instances of the use of this expression are asked for, with full references, dates, etc. See *Journal*, vol. ii. 159. ED.

343. ECHELON. In a book entitled *Held by the Bolsheviks*, by Major L. E. Vining, R.E., published in 1924, the following passages occur:—

p. 88. "People are coming to me in numbers asking me to get their trains and echelons away", etc.

92. "General Knox's echelon pulled out last night, with the British Mission personnel."

95. "Our echelon is not yet complete—we are doing the work of getting the echelon together ourselves", etc.

101. "I have been given charge of the echelon, since there are ten British cars on it."

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104. "Each echelon commander is demanding to have his train put on the west-bound track", etc.

In what sense is the word *echelon* used? NEUX.

344. MARINE REGIMENTS IN THE ARMY. In the 18th century there were many 'Marine' Regiments in the British Army. What was their exact status in regard to the Royal Navy? and what duties did they perform

(*a*) On board ship? (*b*) On shore?

Were any special regulations laid down by the Board of Admiralty to govern the performance of such duties, and, if so, where are they to be found? NEUX.

345. FRONTLET. "The Frontlets, tho' used at first, were very soon thrown on one side. Altho' they are a great protection (in fact an indispensable necessary in close quarters) to an officer laying a gun, they are found to be very inconvenient, detracting a good deal from the efficient use of the gun, in so far as they limit the command of observation of the piece.

"Frontlets, with some 2 or 3 additional notches, or sight-holes, to the existing one, would afford just as much protection and be found much more useful."

* * * * * *

"The value of the Frontlet was made apparent here, for the enemy at first kept up a constant and well-directed fire of musketry on the guns thro' the embrasures; the frontlet on my right gun was twice struck whilst in the act of laying the gun and once again by a round shot, fortunately a mere graze, just on the top."

* * * * * *

These two passages occur in an account of the siege of Delhi in September, 1857, written by an artillery officer serving in one of the breaching batteries.

It is obvious that a 'frontlet' was some kind of protecting gun-shield.

No other instance of the word is known. It is not given in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, nor in any technical dictionary, list of warlike stores, etc.

Information in regard to it is asked for. Are other examples of its use known?

GOLUNDAZ.

REPLIES.

325. FLAG-GUN. (vol. i. 78; ii. 4, 61, 113, 160.) Flag-Guns were in use in India as late as 1843, as part of the equipment of a Siege-train of artillery.

A flag was carried on the leading gun of the train. The length of the staff was 14 feet and the flag measured 8 by 5½ feet.

A Union flag, measuring 18 by 12 feet, was also hoisted in the Park; it was carried on the line of march by lascars or coolies.

(*Madras Artillery Records*. vol. iii. 1836-43. The index for 1843 contains 'Bengal Siege Train tables', covering pages 321 to 474, divided in four parts:—

1. The Ordnance and Carriages; also carriages for transporting mortars and stores, with spare carriages and half-wrought materials, etc. 2. Implements.
3. Ammunition and Laboratory stores. 4. General Stores.

The *Records* were printed and published at the Artillery Depot, at St. Thomas's Mount, Madras.) NEUX.

326. SHAVE. (vol. v. 42; ix. 208-9.) In *Hobson-Jobson: being a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, etc., by Yule & Burnell (John Murray. 1886), the Hindustani word *banao* is explained as being used in the sense of 'preparation, fabrication', etc., and as applied to anything fictitious or factitious, quoting 'a cram, a shave, a sham'—p. 100.

Where does this quotation come from? Q. F.

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REVIEWS.

THE BATTLE OF SEDGMOOR. By Maurice Page. The East Gate Press, and Page & Son, Fore Street. Bridgwater. 1930. Crown 8vo. pp. 80. *map*. *Bridgwater Booklets*. No. 4.

A very interesting, readable and compact little book. It is hoped that a second, and expanded, edition may see light in due course.

The list of 'authorities' given in the preface might, with advantage, be more informative. *Nathaniel Wade's Confessions* is too vague, and *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Earl of Monmouth* does not convey the idea that it is to be found in vol. xviii (1891) of *The Proceedings of The Royal Artillery Institution*, Woolwich.

WAR BOOKS. A critical Guide. By Cyril Falls. Peter Davies, Limited. London. 1930. Demy 8vo. pp. xvi. 318.

The compiler says in his preface that his "list will be out of date before it is published", which is perfectly true, and for that reason, if for no other, we ought to be grateful to him for undertaking such a work.

It cannot fail to be of value to readers and writers alike, and although the criticisms are those of one person only, they are informative, short, and conspicuously fair. Supplementary volumes will most certainly be required.

An index of authors would be a helpful addition.

SONGS AND SLANG OF THE BRITISH SOLDIER: 1914-1918. Edited by John Brophy and Eric Partridge. Eric Partridge, Limited. London. 1930. 2nd edition. Revised and enlarged. pp. viii. 222.

This book places on record the songs and language which were in everyday use by soldiers in The Great War.

It is a pity that we have no record of what was sung and said by soldiers 100 years ago, when fighting.

There is no gloss in this book, nor any trace of meiosis in regard to the use of words.

On page 189 *The New English Dictionary* is mentioned as a book of reference. This should, of course, be *The Oxford English Dictionary*—*A* new, not *The*. It is more easily recognised in its abbreviated form "O.E.D.", as officially adopted by the University Press.

It will be a revelation to most soldiers who have ever been in India to learn that Deolali is a "place in India where mental cases are segregated in hospital".

Versions of popular army songs are given, none of which would be listened to for one moment in any respectable tavern in England, or, one hopes, anywhere else in the world.

But what has happened to *The Mulligan Guards*, and *Slatthery's Mounted Fut*? to Percy French's and Bob Martin's songs? good songs with good choruses, with no necessity for any blank spaces, not even for 'damn.'

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THE DIARY AND LETTERS
OF
ARTHUR MOFFATT LANG,

1st LIEUTENANT, BENGAL ENGINEERS, INDIA—1857 TO 1859.

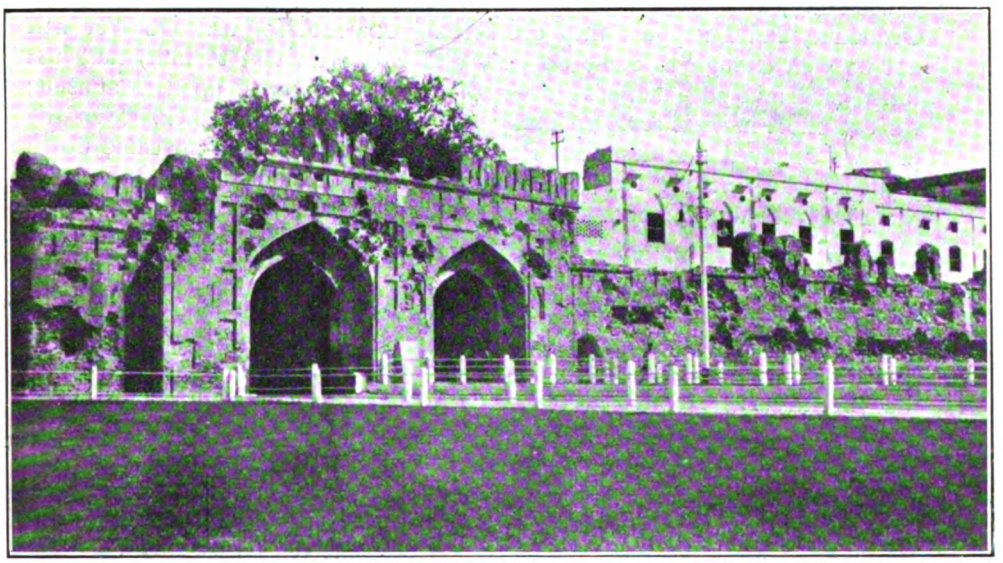
(*Continued from vol.* ix, *page* 213.)

SECTION II. 1857. JULY—OCTOBER. BY COLONEL F. C. MOLESWORTH, HALF-PAY, LATE ROYAL ENGINEERS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The defences at Delhi, on the front selected for attack, consisted of a wall and ditch, which, repaired after the siege, are in practically the same state today as when the besiegers sat down before them, in 1857. The wall is about 24 feet high and 11 feet thick; bastions at intervals flank a dry ditch, 18 feet deep and about 20 to 25 feet broad, unrevetted. The bastions could carry heavy guns and the walls the lighter natures; the walls were loopholed for musketry.

On the river bank was the Water bastion. Some 400 yards to the west, the Kashmir bastion covered the Kashmir Gate, behind which was the Main Guard.



THE KASHMIR GATE—DELHI—1931.

From here the wall stretched due west to the Mori, or Shah, bastion, pierced by the Mori Gate.

At the Shah bastion the wall turned southwards and on this face were the Kabul bastion and gate, the Burn bastion, and the Lahore Gate, and thereafter several others not mentioned in Lang's narrative. The distance between the Water bastion and the Lahore Gate, measured along the wall, was about a mile and a half.

Behind the wall, inside the city, except south of the Kashmir Gate where the public buildings were situated, was a labyrinth of tortuous lanes.

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THE DIARY AND LETTERS—*Continued.*

Letter. 4 September, 1857. Friday. Camp before Delhi.

[Sun rises, 5.44; Sets, 6.18.]

The Siege Train (1) is here at last. Hurrah for that: now we may begin in real earnest. I have been out this morning to see our new heavy guns in the Artillery Park: 22 there are: four 10″ mortars, four 8″ howitzers, six 24 pounder guns, and eight 18 pounder guns, a goodly show, cheering the spirits. Now, 'Mr. Pandy', you may as well shut up! The Beloochees (2), too, have come in, such strange wild-looking fellows: bright dark green, laced with red, red caps with green turbans. I hope they are plucky and ferocious.

Now our work must begin in good earnest and I am happy to say that I am all well again and shall be fit for hard work. I have never been on the sick-list but I was at one time nearly going on, and put myself in the doctor's hands, when, luckily, I made a start the right way and became well again: once getting seedy in this Camp, one generally gets worse and worse and then to rally is very hard work.

Col. Baird-Smith (3) is seated in conclave in the next room with Gen[l] Wilson (4), Nicholson (5), and Major Hogge (6), the Commissary of Ordnance, and I suppose they are settling our fate for us. Gulliver will not be well enough to come on duty and Stewart (next to him) has just fallen sick and so I suppose the right attack devolves upon Maunsell; we are short-handed with so many of our officers falling sick. On the first we received one addition, Pemberton of our Corps, who came down from Roorkee, making No. 27 in the list of Engineer officers. Dacres (7) came in from the Alipore picket on the 1st; on the evening of the 2nd he came and paid me a visit and we strolled in the Head-Quarter Camp and listened to the band.

Yesterday morning (3rd) I was up at 4½ a.m. instructing some of the 8th (8) and 61st (9) in escalading (10). Young C. S. Lane (11) paid me a visit: he was in for two days from Lursauli, where (30 miles from here) the Jheend (12) Rajah's troops defend our rear in an entrenched post. Young Lane and several other officers are doomed to that unsatisfactory service with those troops.

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1. See *ante*, p. 14.
2. See *ante*, p. 4. The 1st Belooch Battalion—in 1931, the 3rd battalion (Queen Mary's Own), 10th Baluch Regiment.
3. See *ante*, vol. ix, pp. 189-93.
4. Brigadier Archdale Wilson, Bengal Artillery, now commanding the Delhi Field Force.
5. See *ante*, vol. ix, p. 81.
6. See *ante*, p. 13, The duties of a Commissary of Ordnance included the supply, issue and care of war material of all kinds.
7. Lieutenant Dacres William Wise, 4th Bengal Light Cavalry, Lang's 1st cousin.
8. In 1931 The King's Regiment (Liverpool), 1st battalion.
9. In 1931 The Gloucestershire Regiment, 2nd battalion.
10. The process of passing troops across a ditch, ascending and descending the sides by means of ladders.
11. Lieut. Charles Stuart Lane, 26th Bengal N.I.
12. An Indian Native State, about 80 miles N.W. from Delhi.

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[4 September, 1857. Friday.]

I dined last night with Dacres at his new 'Plunger' Mess. Hodson (13) himself dined there. H. stayed with you (14) once at Allahabad.

I shall have some more escalading this afternoon: the European soldiers and their officers hate the thought of escalading: I hope the men won't be the less ready to mount for this, or else it will be all up with us poor 'critturs as leads'. I wish there were more of us, for as it is, it seems most probable that the first night of Battery making will expend half of us, and the Assault the survivors. It will be a sad day, that of the Assault, for tho' everyone who survives must exult in heart when all is over, yet how sad will be our next meeting to Mess. So very heavy must be the loss our unfortunate corps must sustain, and we all know one another as friends, who are under fire daily together, and meeting altogether every day at a time when all must feel drawn to one another. I mean to make my will now in favour of Dacres, who will not be exposed during the next week as we shall be, and who will take charge of my things, and prevent everything I have here being rummaged about and sold by auction. I should hate all my traps put up for sale in a camp auction, before at least some friend had weeded out a good many articles.

6 September. Saturday.

Last night a quiet commencement of the work was made by Thackeray who with a lot of Pioneers occupied a natural ravine which runs about three or four hundred yards from the walls and will form a natural 1st Parallel (15) for us: in this he worked at filling sandbags, all ready for the batteries. I expect that to-night nearly all our officers will be out on the work, clearing the ground, and to-morrow night will be commenced the batteries.

I continue my escalade drilling morning and evening and consequently have pleasant regular work and keep well. Sickness is on the increase. Three officers died yesterday, two of cholera and one of fever. The 61st Regiment alone have lost two officers and sixty men of cholera in ten days, and so the sooner the Assault is given the better. Warrand is getting on very well (16), I sat with him for a long time yesterday and wrote letters for him.

This morning a reinforcement from Meerut came in, 200 Riflemen and 100 Artillery recruits. No more are to come, except Wilde's Corps (17) and Maharajah Ranbir Singh's contingent (18), but we can do without these,

13. William Stephen Raikes Hodson, Commandant of "Hodson's Horse", so frequently mentioned in Lang's letters as Hodson's "Plungers". See *ante*, vol. viii, p. 50. He was killed at Lucknow on 12 March, 1858. See 'D.N.B.'

14. Lang's father, Arthur Lang, had been in the Bengal Civil Service.

15. The first trenches to be dug during the attack of a fortress by a besieging force were given the name of 'first parallel', since, of course, they were, roughly, parallel to the front attacked. Trenches, or more usually saps, were then pushed out towards the fortress; the front ends of these were then connected by a second, and sometimes a third parallel. At the siege of Delhi, a great deal of the intermediate trench-work was not carried out, owing to shortness of time.

16. Bengal Engineers—see *ante*, vol. ix, p. 193.

17. The 4th Punjab Infantry—in 1931, the 13th Frontier Force Rifles, 4th battalion (Wilde's).

18. Maharajah Ranbir Singh was the second Maharajah of Jammu-Kashmir.

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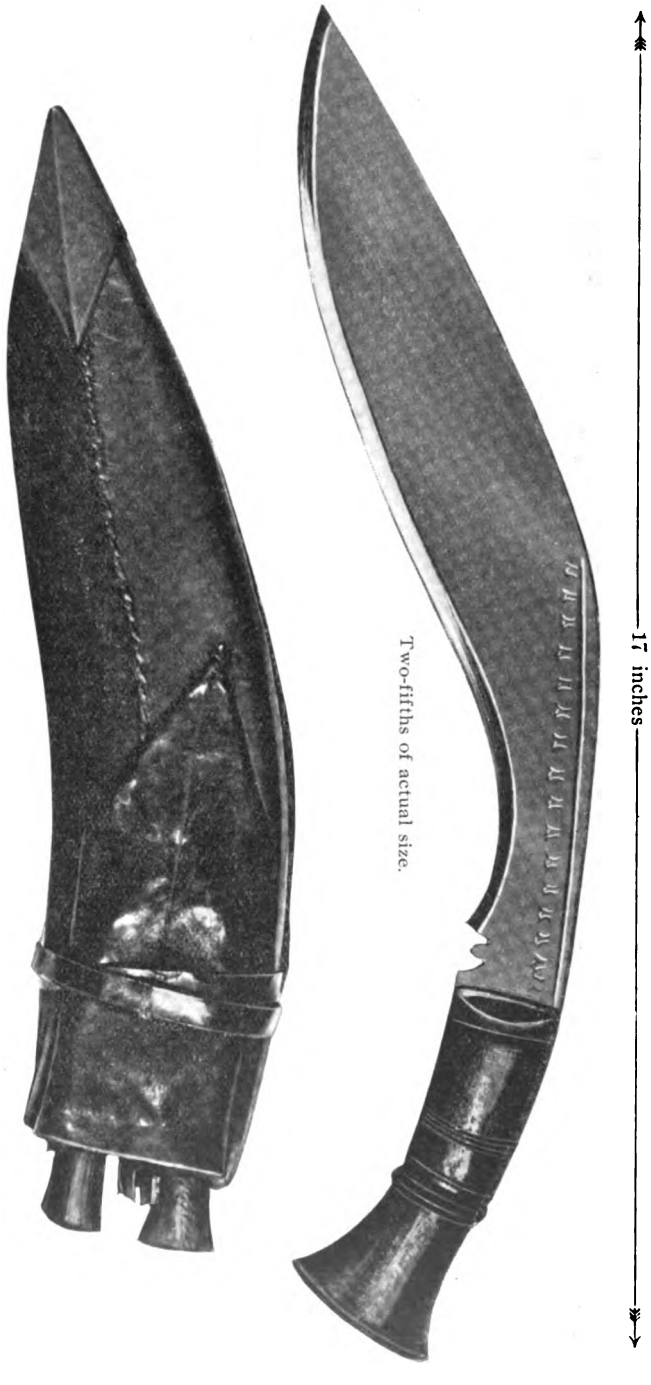

A KUKRI. Weight—unsheathed—1¾ lbs.

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and they will be up in time to guard camp while we go in for the Assault. We have been sharpening our swords, kukries (19), and dirks: my 'favourite fighting sword' Excalibur, has now an edge like a razor and a surface like a mirror.

Letter. 7 September, 1857. Monday.

I will write you a few lines to be despatched by to-morrow's dâk, so as to ensure you a bit of news of me by the Marseilles mail. We are now in the very thick of it, salvoes (20) roaring away all day, and we unlucky Engineer Officers fagging away hard. We opened the attack at 6 p.m. on the 7th, when our covering parties under Col. Greathed (21) of the 8th, with [W. W. H.] Greathed and Murray of ours, advanced up the road to the Kashmir Gate and without opposition occupied a line from the Koodsia Bagh on the left to a point below the Ridge on the right, about 550 yards from the Mori bastion; this line and all in rear was occupied. Then down came the working parties, some 3,000 men of the Line, Europeans and Natives, under about ten or twelve Engineer officers: strings of camels carrying empty sandbags poured down the road and the appearance was as of two or three regiments marching. What 'Pandy' meant by it we can't imagine; he let us do what we liked unopposed, and must have thought himself a precious fool when Battery No. 1 right, and No. 1 left, opened, the one with six and the other with four heavy guns, at dawn of day on the Mori bastion. It was *very, very* creditable work; those two batteries (called No. 1), composed of fascines (22) and sandbags (23), were constructed in one night, magazines made and platforms laid, the guns brought—all by daybreak. My friends Salwey (24) & Charlie Boileau (25) are both in No. 1 right, not to return till Delhi has fallen. Poor Hildebrand (26), one of our Meean Meer Artillery Officers, had his head knocked off by a round shot: a good many [60th] Rifles and Artillery men were hit during the first half-hour after dawn, but then the old Ridge batteries banged away to the rescue and the Mori was *slightly* overmatched. An officer of the Beloochees (who have only arrived a few days) was killed (27). I had 100 of the 8th who were employed in filling sandbags for Battery No. 2 (left), and 100 of the 61st, sandbags for Battery No. 2 (right); 100 Sikhs and 70 Ghoorkhas for filling sandbags and making a traverse (28) across the road

19. A large curved knife, much used by Gurkhas. See illustration.

20. "Any number of guns fired together at the same moment: simultaneous discharge of artillery. This mode of firing is very effective in breaching, the concussion of a number of shot producing considerable destruction either on masonry or earth works. Moreover, such mode of firing affects the spirits of the besieged". Voyle's *Military Dictionary*. 1876.

21. Major (bt.-Lieut.-Colonel) Edward Harris Greathed, 8th, the King's Foot.

22. Long thin bundles of brushwood, used in revetments, for making earth stand at a sleeper slope than it would do naturally.

23. "Bags made of coarse canvas, tarred or untarred: they are filled with earth, and used for revetting the interior slopes of field-works, and to give cover to riflemen firing over a parapet". Voyle's *Military Dictionary*. 1876.

24. Lieut. Edward Salwey, Bengal Artillery. 25. 61st Foot.

26. 1st Lieut. Edward Humfrey Hildebrand, Bengal Artillery.

27. Lieut. Charles Bromhead Bannerman.

28. A short length of parapet, perpendicular to the general line of a trench, to localize the effects of shell-bursts and enfilade fire, or, as in this instance, a short length of undefended trench.

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by the upper gate of Ludlow grounds (29). From 6 p.m. till 5 a.m. I never sat down and I don't remember when I was ever before so tired, going about to my three different parties, urging them on, building sandbags up with my own hands.

Diary. 8 September. Tuesday.

When I woke at 12 I found a note to tell me to be on duty at 1½, p.m. After breakfast, off I started with 100 Beloochis and 80 Wilde's Punjabis, under P. Homfray (30): they worked in the two places as last night. At seven p.m. we stopped and marched back. The fire was very heavy: I sent the Beloochis single file down the road from the corner of Cactus Lane (31) to the corner tower of Ludlow grounds: they ducked and bobbed and lay down, and I had to be rushing about up and down the road, kicking them up and dragging them on.

* * * * * *

Diary. 9 September. Wednesday.

No. 4, a mortar battery behind the Cactus lane in Sir T. Metcalfe's garden, was made out and at daybreak was armed with ten mortars. During the night No. 2 (Right and Left) were half made. I was up at 10 expecting to be on duty. Dacres paid me a visit. I was at duty under Medley at No. 2 Right: Ward, Rigby and I were there and worked away hard until about 6 a.m. We finished three platforms and two magazines and made the battery shotproof. No. 2 battery under Tennant was not so much finished.

Diary. 10 September. Thursday.

Before daybreak the guns (five 8″ howitzers and two 18 pr. guns) were brought into battery.

I was up and dressed by 10. At 1 p.m. I was off again to fill sandbags for No. 2 Right and Left and to lay platforms in No. 2 Right, so I had a party by Ludlow Castle, one in the hollow and one in No. 2 Battery (Right); and as the sun was awfully hot, and 'Pandy' kept up a steady fire, unopposed, over the ground, it was very disagreeable. No. 1 Left (which should have kept down the Kashmir for us) was blazing away in unextinguishable conflagration all the afternoon; our fire had ignited it. As the guns were to have been withdrawn at night it did not so much matter. About five sleepy fellows sat down to Mess.

Diary. 11 September. Friday.

Up late, after dreaming that I was placing parties to work all night. At 1 p.m. with twelve Sappers and 60 Pioneers went to No. 2 Right to make the traverses and epaulments (32) longer. Enfilade (33) from right

29. See *ante*, vol. ix, p. 213.

30. Lieut. Robert Popkin Homfray, 17th Bengal N.I., now attached to the 4th Punjab Rifles (Wilde's). Died on 17 September, from wounds received.

31. Cactus lane runs from the main road, near Ludlow Castle, towards the Jumna, forming the southern edge of Metcalfe's garden.

32. A defensive work to protect a gun from enemy fire, so made that the gun remains on the natural surface of the ground.

33. Hostile fire from a flank

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rear dreadful: the gun-wheels, carriages and trails (34), platform rib-bands (35) and traverses were struck again and again and actually only one man (one of mine) killed. Earle, Gully (36), Salt, and Gray (37), in the battery, banging away at the Kashmir. At 8 p.m., got another party: mending embrasures and lengthening epaulment, jolly time for such work; my six Sappers and I on the parapet got lots of grape plugged at us; all missed, but men in the batteries were hit.

Diary. 12 September, 1857. Saturday.

At 5.30 a.m. I was relieved by Medley. No. 3 did not open fire: *horresco referens*! they say that the embrasures don't bear! however, in a few hours all was rectified and they fired away. Poor Captain Fagan (38) was killed, shot through the head by a bullet. In the evening went to Observatory (39) to watch the fire; all the batteries blazing away. Dined at Mess (last time in that camp).

Fancy the sixth day since I last wrote! But I can't help it: we are worked to the very limit of human power, and writing letters is almost impossible: to Lahore I send just a line to say daily I'm alive, and that is written at any moment, as I come into my tent after a night out, my eyes closing themselves and my senses quite foolish! I fling myself down with the sun up and am too tired to sleep but restlessly, again in excited dreams set parties to work under hot fire, howl at them, urge them on, grape pouring in, and loud guns drowning one's voice. This is splendid, no nonsense about it. We are fighting close up now, hurrying on the most rapid of sieges, working recklessly under fire without approaches or parallels: our big smashing guns roar out together in salvoes and crash into the crumbling walls: it does one good to hear and watch a salvo of 24 pounder guns, pounding the walls, and making the 'deadly breach'.

* * * * * *

Diary. 13 September. Sunday.

Up at 4.0 a.m., and relieved Medley in No. 2 (Right). A dreadfully hot day in that Battery as 'Pandy' had added heavy guns in that new Battery in front of Kishenganj (40) and his 24 pr. balls walked through our traverses in reverse! (41). Some dreadful wounds were received; a rocket killed and mangled two Europeans dreadfully; an 18 pr. ball smashed through a traverse, killed a European and a sapper, and wounded two more Europeans. The walls of Delhi were suffering severely. Both Nos. 2 were knocking down the upper part of the wall 300 yards right and left of the Kashmir bastion, breaching 50 feet of curtain (42) on *our*

34. The hinder part of a gun-carriage, the rear end of which rests on the ground, while the front supports the trunnions of the gun and axle-bearings.
35. Thin strips of wood to keep the planks of the platforms in position.
36. See *ante*, vol. ix. p. **190**.
37. 1st Lieutenants Thomas Henry Salt, and William James Gray, Bengal Artillery.
38. Captain Robert Charles Henry Baines Fagan, Bengal Artillery.
39. On the Ridge. "An ancient Observatory, built by the Rajput astronomer, Rajah Jai Singh, of Jeypur, of somewhat irregular structure, ill-lighted and ill-ventilated, but still a serviceable building".
40. In the suburbs of Delhi. See map. 41. Hostile fire encountered from the rear.
42. The line of parapet connecting two bastions.

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left of Kashmir bastion and somewhat of the face (its own right). In the evening Nicholson and Taylor came down and ordered me to inspect the breach after it got dark. I preferred going when I could see; so went at once to Kudsia Bagh, and, taking four riflemen, crossed the road leading to the river in front of Custom House and slunk up through some trees to foot of glacis (43); leaving my riflemen under a tree, I ran up the glacis and sat on the edge of the counterscarp (44), and examined the appearance. The counterscarp is an earthen slope very steep about 18 feet deep; a ditch of 20 or 25 feet leads to a berm (45) wall 8 feet high: then opposite the curtain the berm is about 15 feet, but opposite the face it is narrow and the rubbish from the face falling left no berm. I ran back, fired at, and coming in was fired at by our own sentries. Then I met Medley: he, I, Heathcote (46), with 26 of his Rifles, went off at 10 p.m. with a short ladder and a rod to measure. Medley, I, and four Rifles went to the edge of the ditch; they lay down and I slipped down to the bottom with the ladder but could not cross as the 'Pandies' were opposite. After studying it well we went back: Medley rode to Camp to report all practicable, as Greathed did, too, as to the Water Bastion's breach.

Letter.

14 September, 1857. Monday. [Sunrise, 5.45. Sunset, 6.2.]

At 2 a.m. I got orders to go to Camp for instructions. There I found in our Mess all our fellows preparing, reading their instructions, and poring over the big map of Delhi with various routes marked, buckling on revolvers, and storing haversacks with flasks and bread, and snatching a few mouthfuls of supper by candlelight.

Column No. 1, under [Brigadier John] Nicholson, was to enter at breach near Kashmir bastion, led by Medley . . . . 75th (47), and face of Kashmir bastion, led by Lang . . . . 1st Fusiliers (48), 250 men.

Column No. 2, under Jones (49), to enter by breach near Water bastion led by Greathed and Hovenden; reserve by Pemberton.

Column No. 3 [under Brigadier George Campbell, 52nd Foot], to enter Kashmir Gate, when it was blown in by Home and Salkeld; Tandy to lead to Jumma Masjid [see *ante*, vol. ix, p. 195] and blow in gates there.

Column No. 4, under Reid (50), to enter by Paharipur (51) and Kishenganj and Lahore Gate, led by Maunsell and Tennant.

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43. Pronounced glasee. A more or less level space on the attackers' side of the ditch of a defensive work, covered by the defenders' fire.

44. Counterscarp. The steep side of the ditch further from the defenders: the nearer side is called the escarp.

45. Berm. A flat space (usually at natural ground level) between the parapet and escarp.

46. Ensign Alfred Heathcote, 60th Rifles.

47. In 1931, The Gordon Highlanders, 1st battalion.

48. The 1st European [Bengal] Fusiliers. Disbanded on 31 July, 1922, then being The Royal Munster Fusiliers, 1st battalion.

49. Brigadier William Jones, 61st Foot.

50. Major Charles Reid, Commandant, Sirmoor Battalion: afterwards G.C.B.

51. A suburb of Delhi, S. from Kishenganj.

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[14 September, 1857. Monday.]

Columns 1, 2, and 3 began to move (just before sunrise) from the road near Ludlow Castle, in the directions I have dotted. First rushed on No. 3, heads low and stooping forward, and running and cheering under showers of grape and musketry; then came Nicholson, with me and my party of 250 Fusiliers, with ladders. At the Custom House Road we turned to the left and made up the glacis to the right face of the Bastion; it was most gloriously exciting; the bullets seemed to pass like a hissing sheet of lead over us, and the noise of the cheering, &c., was so great that I nearly lost my men, who doubled too far down the road before I could turn them, so they got more fire on the glacis than they needed: the edge of the ditch reached, down we slipped; just as I slid down, on my left I saw Medley and the 75th, beginning to swarm their breach, and on my right I saw a column of smoke ascend and heard the explosion of the blowing in of the Kashmir Gate. Up went a little ladder, but once on the berm we instantly saw that there was no place for placing our long ladders, so up we scrambled just a steep crumbling wall of masonry. I have seen it since in cold blood, and wondered how we got up at all. I was just falling backwards on our own bayonets when a Ghoorkha pushed me up luckily, and presently over we were, and, with the 75th and the men from the Water Bastion breach, were tearing down the ramp (52) into the Main Guard (53) behind the Kashmir Gate; here was a little confusion; no one exactly was sure of the way; Nicholson and Taylor ran up towards Skinner's House (54)—wrong way—Pemberton and I and Captain Hay (55) and a few more, led sharp to the right, under the ramparts along narrow lanes, ramparts on our right and mud walls on our left, such a place, but on we rushed, shouting and cheering, while the grape and musketry from each bend, and from every street leading from our left, and from rampart and housetop, knocked down men and officers. It was exciting to madness and I felt no feeling except to rush on and hit: I only wondered how much longer I could possibly go on unhit, when the whole air seemed full of bullets. We took tower after tower, and gun after gun, never stopping; on the Mori I shouted out to line the parapet and give three cheers; bad advice! for we were fired on from our own batteries:

52. A steep slope, often paved, to facilitate the placing of guns in elevated positions.

53. The principal guard on duty in a set of barracks, or fortified place; often applied to the building in which the Guard is posted. The Main-Guard at the Kashmir Gate was the last place to be evacuated by the British on 11 May; some of the defenders eventually reached Meerut in safety.

54. "The house belonged to the Skinner family, and was originally built by James Skinner, a Eurasian who served the Moghal Emperor with great distinction towards the end of the eighteenth century. When Lord Lake broke up that Prince's power, Skinner entered the service of the East India Company and rose to the rank of Major. He was also a C.B. He raised the famous Skinner's Horse . . . . . Skinner married a Muhammadan, so that he had an interest in three religions, Christian, Hindu (since his mother was a Rajput lady) and Muhammadan, and on one occasion, when left on the ground severely wounded, he made a vow that if his life were spared he would build three places of worship—a church, a temple, and a mosque. He fulfilled his vow, and a few years later he built the church at Delhi, and the temple and mosque which are in close proximity to it." *Forty-one years in India.* By Lord Roberts. Edition of 1898. One vol. p. 133.

55. Captain John Charles Hay, 60th N.I., attached to the 1st [Bengal] European Fusiliers.

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[14 September, 1857. Monday.]
we tore strips of white, red and blue from dead 'Pandies'' clothes, and put up an impromptu flag and then rushed along again. We seemed hardly to shoot any, but occasionally in some bend or in some tower caught fellows who were late in flying, I cut at several, but never gave a death blow; to my surprise I didn't seem able to cut hard, but it was of no consequence, as Ghoorkhas' kukri and Europeans' bayonet instantly did the business. So we went swimmingly along until we nearly reached the Lahore [Gate]; then a short check was given by a barricade with a gun firing grape from behind it.

Brig^r. Jones came up and called for the Engineer Officer and asked where the Kabul Gate was; I told him, and he declared that his orders were to stop at the Kabul, and that we ought not to be on so far. We were all shouting for advance; but not a bit; all we could gain was to be allowed to hold our ground. But this was not so easy: as long as we rushed on, cheering and never stopping, all went well: but the check was sad: the men crouching behind corners, and in the archways which support the ramparts, gradually nursed a panic, one by one they tried to get back; we stopped them and staved off the flight for half an hour, but at last out they all came, and sweeping back the officers, made for the Kabul Gate.

It was wonderful to me how I was not hit; both Pemberton and myself got so far all unhurt, whereas of Columns 1 and 2, Medley, Greathed and Hovenden, had all been hit on the glacis.

Presently, while I was up the Canal Street (56) with a party, feeling our position in that direction, Nicholson collected a party and with Pemberton led up again towards the Lahore [Gate]; the men who had once refused, refused again, and, turning, left Nicholson and Pemberton behind, who had to run before pursuing 'Pandies'.

I felt quite dispirited when I saw poor Gen^l. Nicholson (57), to whom we all trusted to get us on, brought back as we feared mortally wounded. Nothing much [? more] was done that day: we didn't know how other columns had fared and we held about 100 yards of the street and had a picket right and left of it in houses.

Meanwhile No. 4 had been totally defeated and repulsed from Kishenganj, leaving dead and wounded behind; Maunsell was dangerously wounded in the head.

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56. Running east from the Kabul Gate; now Queen's Road.

57. This account of Nicholson's fatal wound is at variance with most other narratives, which state that Nicholson was shot through the chest when rallying the men after a temporary check.

He was removed in a litter. Lord Roberts relates in *Forty-one years* how he found Nicholson in his litter at the Kashmir Gate, deserted by his attendants who had gone off to loot. Edition of 1898, p. 130.

The same evening, hearing that General Wilson was considering the advisability of evacuating the City, Nicholson exclaimed 'Thank God I have strength yet to shoot him if necessary'.

He survived in great pain for some days—long enough to hear of the complete capture of the City.

Even before his death, he was actually deified and worshipped by a small sect who called themselves Nikalsainis; the sect persisted into the twentieth century.

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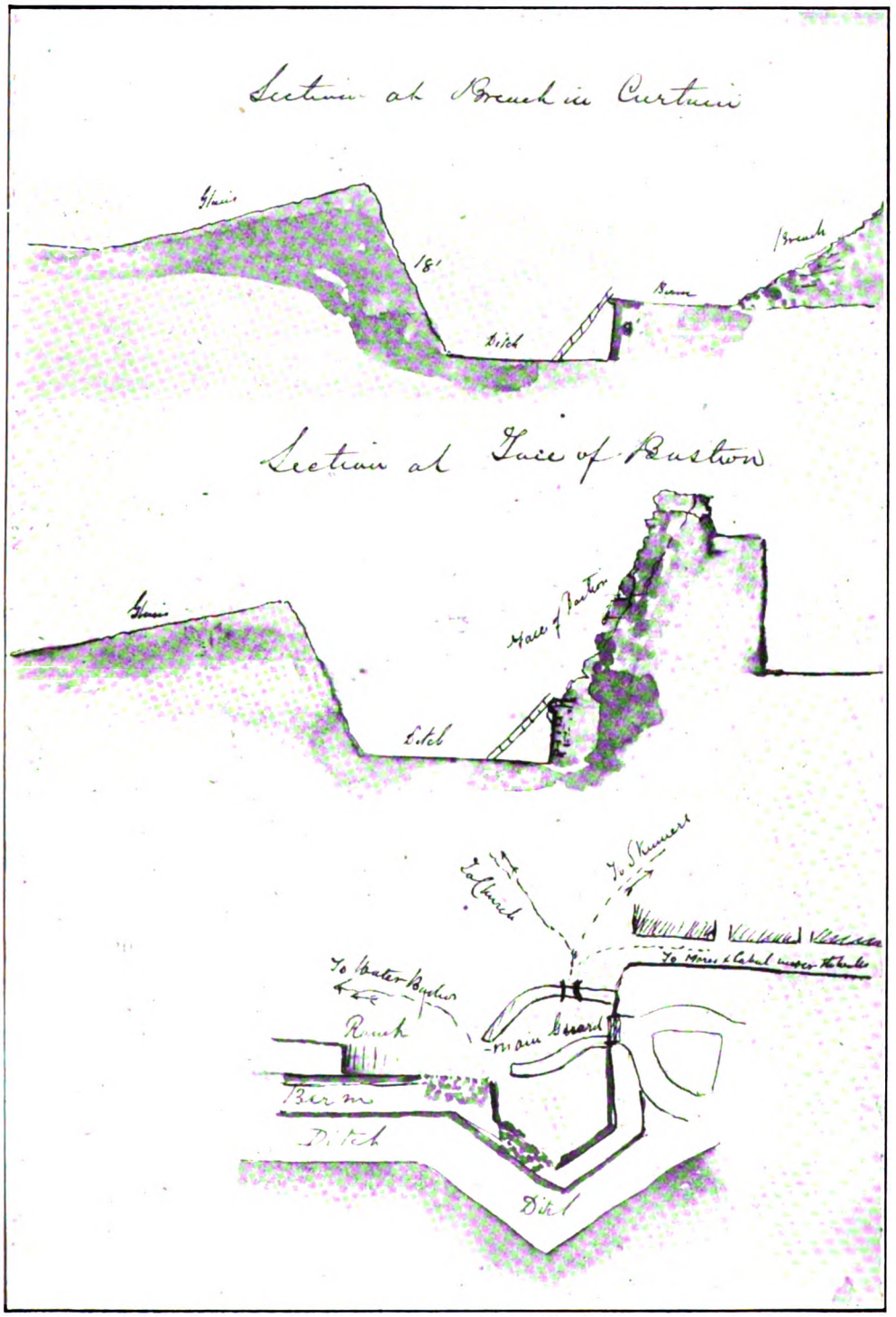

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[14 September, 1857. Monday.]

As to No. 3—Home and two men had rushed to the Gate and flung down powder against it, and then tumbled right and left away into the ditch; Salkeld rushed forward with the match; shot, he still went on, but with his arm nearly knocked off and his leg broken, he fell, throwing up the match gallantly and calling out to a serjeant to catch it; a Sapper serjeant seized it and ran up and was shot dead; another Sapper serjeant seized it and shared his fate; a third, more lucky, succeeded in lighting the slow match, and in went the Gate burying 30 'Pandies' behind it (58).

No. 3 (Tandy and Murray with it) made for the Jumma Masjid but at the south of the Bank were repulsed: Tandy was killed, shot through the heart; and back fled No. 3 to the Church again.

That was the state of affairs on the evening of the 14th.

That evening from the Kabul Gate, Col. Burn (59) took me and all the Sappers I could find, to pick our way from house to house. Pemberton had been taken off to Camp, as he was wounded in the arm, as he and I were laying a mine (60) to blow open the Kabul Gate, if required; so I was the only Engineer officer in that direction and I found out that I had been reported missing, the people at the Kashmir Gate not knowing who were at the Kabul. Col. Burn and I went on taking several houses, first getting on the roof, firing on any inside the next yard; then the Sappers would pick a doorway through a wall and in we would go, search every doorway round, turn out the old men, women and children, and make that house safe, and so on to the next, going obliquely, eastward. Having established an advanced picket in a Serai and adjoining house, as it was very late we stopped and down I fell at once where I was and slept; I was completely done up, and I could not speak, having lost my voice entirely from shouting and cheering during the morning.

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58. "At the head of the third column stood the gallant exploding party, consisting of Lieuts. Salkeld and Home, of the Engineers, Serjeants Carmichael, Burgess and Smith of the Bengal Sappers, Bugler Hawthorn, of the 52nd L.I. (who accompanied the party to sound the advance when the gate was blown in), and eight native Sappers, under Havildar Madhoo, to carry the bags of powder. . . . . There was a gateway outside the ditch, then the drawbridge, which was so much shattered as to be difficult to cross, and behind it the main gate with a wicket, which at that time was standing open. Home and his party passed over what was left of the bridge, deposited the powder bags against the gate, and dropped unhurt into the ditch, only two or three shots having been fired at them. By the time that Salkeld with his party arrived, the garrison had recovered from their panic, and, perceiving how few the assailants were, and what their object was, poured a deadly volley upon the little group at a distance of only ten feet. Salkeld had by this time laid the other four bags, and was about to apply the portfire when he was shot through the arm and leg. He then handed the portfire to Serjeant Burgess, bidding him light the fuse. Burgess was shot dead before he could obey the order, on which Serjeant Carmichael dashed forward, seized the portfire, and succeeded in igniting the train. The next instant he, too, fell mortally wounded. On this, Serjeant Smith pushed forward, but finding the train already ignited, dropped into the ditch, where the bugler had by this time conveyed the wounded Salkeld. . . . . A terrific explosion was followed by the crashing in of the massive gate, which was shattered to pieces, the gallant little bugler Hawthorne sounded the advance, the stormers with a ringing cheer dashed in, and the Kashmir Gate with the Main Guard behind it was secured." History of the Corps of Royal Engineers. Vol. I, pp. 479, 480.

59. Lieut.-Colonel Henry Pelham Burn, attached to the 1st Infantry Brigade.

60. i.e. laying a charge of powder, with a train of the same, so as to be able to blow up the gate if required.

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[With each of the 'storming' columns went a small party of Artillerymen with the object, apparently, of bringing captured guns into immediate action and turning them upon the rebels.

As no other instance is known of artillerymen being employed for this purpose, an extract here follows from a report by Lieutenant W. J. Gray, Bengal Artillery, who was in command of the Artillery party with the 1st 'storming' column (Nicholson's) :—

13 September, 1857. Sunday. Delhi.

"During the night preparations for the assault next morning were made. I had been told by Firth ( ), that I was to command a party of 60 European Foot Artillerymen, to be attached to No. 1 Column of Assault.

"Some difficulty was experienced in getting the requisite number of Foot Artillerymen; however, my party was made up and went in at the main breach.

14 September, 1857.

"The confusion when we got in to the Bastion was great; no one seemed to know where to go, or the roads which led to their allotted goals, as the Magazine, the Jumma Masjid, &c. This arose, no doubt, from the programme of interior operations having been made known to but few of those engaged.

"The Artillery were to turn the guns on the Bastions or on to the enemy, but as most of the guns had either been spiked by our men or disabled by our fire, or the necessary ammunition was not procurable, or could not be found, or a distinct sight of the rebels be obtained, the instructions on this head could not be very promptly carried out.

"After some delay and losing our way, we at last got to the Mori Bastion where we succeeded in securing some ammunition and immediately commenced firing on Kishenganj; repulsed two attacks made by 'Pandy' on the 14th, and a third the day after."]

Letter. 15 September, 1857. Tuesday.

Next morning, 15th, we continued the picking through house principle, but getting on too far, we had to fall back. Pemberton, having had his wound dressed, came back, as the corps was so inefficient [? insufficient] that the slightly wounded had to come on duty at once. We erected parapets on the Picket roof tops with gaily painted doors and sandbags and made a parapet for a 12 pr. gun on the rampart which we turned inwards on the Lahore Gate.

Aislabie (61) took two light guns up one side of the street while the infantry went up the other, and so we held a bit more of the Canal Street. Some of the houses are very pretty; courts in the centre of them with

61. 2nd Lieutenant Rawson Aislabie, Bengal Artillery.

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little canals and fountains, and very pretty shrubs, flowers, and creepers, balconied rooms, gorgeous in barbaric style of gilding and glass; immense mirrors, thick rich carpets and comfortable chairs, elegant furniture, and a scent of attar all about; strange it seemed to see these rooms full of rough soldiers, Europeans and Sikhs. I lay down in the street that night with a low wall of sandbags at my head to save me from bullets.

Letter. 16 September. Wednesday.

Next morning, the 16th, the 61st took the Magazine (62), and I went to the Kashmir Gate to Colonel Baird Smith. He was lying in pain with a sprained arm, and Taylor was done up by fatigue and fever, so Home was acting Head Engineer, and set me to superintend the works in the College and Magazine, where we were putting up a battery to peg away at Salimgarh; heavy and light mortars, too, were playing into the Palace and Salimgarh.

In the evening I rode out of the Kashmir Gate into our new (Engineer) camp at the south (Delhi) end of the Metcalfe park, and felt intensely delighted to see the few survivors, and actually to change my clothes and be clean and comfortable for the first time since I went on duty at 4.0 a.m. on the 13th.

Letter. 17 September. Thursday.

On the morning of the 17th, the 52nd took the Bank—walked quietly into it, but no further advance was made. I fancy that the drunkenness of the Europeans prevents an advance. Though hundreds of rupees' worth of beer, wines and spirits are smashed, still the men get drunk. On the night of the 16th—17th, ten men were caught while lying drunk in a house, bound, tortured, and cut to pieces. Yet this does not deter our men.

Letter. 18 September. Friday.

To-day another advance was made on the Lahore Gate and again were our gallant (?) fellows repulsed. Poor Briscoe of the 75th was killed. When I left the Kabul Gate, only Captain [Browning] Drew, and Lieutenants [William Clive] Justice and [Edward Villiers] Briscoe remained 'unexpended' in the 75th, and now one of them is gone. Taylor won't let any more of us lead parties as the Brigade is barely efficient now and not another can be hit out of our 27 Engineer officers. Taylor, Ward, Thackeray and I were alone unhurt who went in on the 14th, but Geneste and Forbes have since come off Sick List, and the slightly wounded, Home, Champain, Murray and Pemberton, have to come on the roster. If we go on to Gwalior we shall not muster much of an Engineer Brigade.

The city reports as to where the 'Pandies' are gone are, of course, various and lying. Some say that the great mass have marched to join

62. About quarter of a mile S.E. from the Kashmir Gate.
On 11 May it was held by 9 officers and N.C.O.s of the Bengal Ordnance Corps, who fired it when it was on the point of being stormed by the mutineers. The Government college was close to it.

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[18 September, 1857. Friday.]
the Gwalior troops, leaving a few to hold us in check a few days, that they may have a good start. Some men I seized on the night of the 14th—15th declared that two or three regiments had marched in full strength across the bridge. I really think that both Meerut and Agra are threatened, while a few Ghazis keep us at bay in these streets. I think to-morrow we must turn the Lahore Gate.

I went this evening and paid Brigadier Jones a visit in his little house near Kabul Gate and he showed me a plan of the houses through which he would advance to-morrow morning. They are advancing house by house along that zigzag street from Canal Street to the Chandni Chauk. At present both columns or brigades, 1 and 2, are under Brigadier Jones, at and beyond the Kabul Gate—the 8th and 75th, and 1st and 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, and Rothney's [4th Sikh Infantry] and Green's corps [2nd Punjab Infantry].

Letter. 19 September, 1857. Saturday.

On the morning of the 19th I was again sent to help at the Kabul Gate, and there again joined Brig^r. Jones. I found that we held most of the Canal Street, and at Jung Bahadur's house which is on the right of the street, about a quarter of a mile up, we had a very strong picket. Meeting Taylor and Fred. Roberts there, I went with them down a street to the right and we began to make our way, breaking into houses, across or down lanes, occupying and loopholing commanding houses, till we commanded the interior of the Burn bastion (just north of Lahore Gate) and subsequently commanded a mortar in the lane below the ramparts.

I then broke open a door connecting with that lane, and 50 Europeans and 50 Sikhs being formed up, they were ordered to cross about 10 feet of lane to the ramp which led into the bastion. Just as the first men began to start, *one* 'Pandy' musket was fired, on which back rushed our gallant fellows [and] all fired their pieces in the air! Such curs has this sort of fighting made them. We again soothed and encouraged the fools and then in we went without losing a man, and at last held the Bastion at which we had so fatally failed on the 14th when we were carrying all before us. I immediately began to pull down 'Pandy's' sandbag parapets with the Europeans and Sikhs and made a parapet and barricade across the lane, and getting afterwards some Sappers, made a parapet at the head of the ramp, behind which we put a light gun; although they fired grape and musketry into the bastion during the night, only two men were wounded.

Just after we had rushed into the bastion (at dusk) up strolled a 'Pandy' up the ramp. At the top an officer clapped a hand on his shoulder saying 'Kaun hai'? [Who is it?] The startled scoundrel, with a ludicrous expression of dismay, asked 'Yih Angrezi guard hai'? [Is this an English guard'?] Our friend was disarmed and shot; he was a Ghazi (64), and had been out spying and came back to tell his friends that fifty Europeans and fifty Sikhs were coming; rather late his information!

64. Mahomedan fanatics who have devoted themselves to the destruction of infidels.

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Letter. 20 September, 1857. Sunday.

At daybreak I was again off (65) with fifty men, ordered to make my way to the bend in the Chandni Chauk where the Minarets of the Fatehpoorah Masjid stood, conspicuous beacons. After some hours crafty sapping I peered over the parapet wall of a roof and saw opposite me, my mosque, and below me the deserted Chandni Chauk; looking to my right I saw the Lahore Gate and a party craftily emerging there, having sapped their way there. I ran back, got Willes (66) and his 25 of the 2nd Europeans, and what Sikhs I could from the last big house I had occupied, and we descended into the street and marched our gallant little army up the grand but deserted Chandni Chauk, wondering at our finding our way all clear before us. We marched straight up to the Lahore Gate of the Palace; there I spied through chinks in the great big doors and saw four great guns, crammed to the muzzle with grape, pointing, within ten feet of the door. I went back for powder; meanwhile Home had been coming with some and while I was away he blew in the Gate. I joined a party bound for Jumma Masjid and we took that unopposed, in fact, on 20 September Delhi was ours.

In the Palace, Murray and a Rifle private raced to sit first in the crystal throne of the Moghuls in the Diwan-i-Khas (67): British soldiers and Sikhs rummaged all the swell private rooms and marble baths of the Zenana. Our Cavalry rode round the walls, and a small force, just for the name of the thing, marched to and occupied the Delhi Gate. We (Engineer officers) then rode to congratulate Col[l]. Baird Smith and to drink champagne to our conquest, the conquerors in the most memorable siege and storm of Delhi.

Coming out of Salimgarh we saw some poor devils of Bandsmen of the 38th and their wives—Christians who had been imprisoned for four months and were delighted to see the light of our countenances and their own blood again! (68).

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65. On this reconnaissance Lang was accompanied by Roberts, who relates his experiences, in a letter dated 26 September, 1857, from Camp Dadri:—
"The next morning [20 September] we managed to get the Lahore Gate in the same way. I found some 60 old Banias [shop-keepers, traders in a small way] in a house hiding, both from fear of the Sepoys and from us. I put a guard over them, and taking a couple made them show me the best road, telling them at the same time if any accident happened to me the others would all be killed. They put me into a room just over the gate, where I saw the scoundrels of Sepoys lolling about and loading a couple of guns, as if they were going to remain masters of Delhi for ever. However, 2 or 3 Riflemen soon dislodged them, and from that moment we never saw a Sepoy again. Within half an hour we walked up the ".Chandni Chauk" without seeing a soul, almost to the Palace to where our left had advanced. Powder bags were then brought up, and away went the gates of the Great Mogul. In we all rushed, killing every man we came across, which, however, were but few, and that night Headquarters were moved to the Palace, and we dined in the King's small Durbar room." *Letters written during the Indian Mutiny*. By Fred. Roberts. Published in 1924. pp. 67-8.

66. Lieutenant Augustus Willes, 2nd (Bengal) European Fusiliers.

67. Hall of private audience. Entry in Lang's diary. "Lieut. Murray, Engineers, and Rifleman Barney, first sat on the throne in Palace! Entered at Murray's request."

68. Every N.I. Battalion had 4 to 8 drummers, pipers or buglers, sons of British soldiers who had married Indian women.

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Letter. 21 September, 1857. Monday. Delhi.

Hodson galloped out with a handful of 'Plungers' to a place about six miles south of this and captured the King and Queen, &c. Some of us rode about, to the south end of the city, to 'Pandy' camp outside, to Jail (outside there), &c.

Letter. 22 September, 1857. Tuesday. Jhajjar Nawab's Palace.

Early this morning the Engineers' Brigade moved into this place (69) and I got orders that a pursuing column under Col[l]. Greathed (8th, 61st, Coke's, Green's, 2 Troops and 1 Battery, and Cavalry, 2 companies of Punjab Sappers, and Home and I as Engineers, with Lt. Stevenson of the Sappers and a small Park) were to march in pursuit this evening. I am afraid that for the next (how long ?) I must give up hoping for either receiving or sending letters. I fancy Anupshahr (70) is our destination, but, of course, it depends on what we find en route, and perhaps we shall meet and join Havelock's army when it has relieved Lucknow, or even be a part of some grand army which Sir Colin Campbell may command in person.

As I am off again this evening, or to-morrow morning, with the pursuing column after the scoundrels of 'Pandies', I must write you a few lines from Delhi, where I now sit, one of the conquerors! This same Palace is a very ordinary two-storied house, just south of the Delhi (or South) Gate of the King's Palace and near the river bank. I must say that it is a very cool and airy abode, refreshing after our camp on that malarious plain across the Ridge.

We hold all Delhi now completely, having closed all the Gates but three, the Kashmir, Lahore and Calcutta (the last opens out on to the causeway which leads to Bridge of boats). At each of these gates we have a strong force, and all 'Delhi-walas' are turned out and none allowed ever to return.

* * * * * *

Letter. 23 September, 1857. Wednesday.

It was not till 3 a.m. that I could get my servants and camels (which they crushed down with their bundles of loot) to start. We emerged from the Lahore Gate and went to our camp outside Ajmir Gate, which I expected to find struck; but there it lay dark, and I, failing to find my proper locale, flung myself down to sleep till daybreak. I woke then and found Home, and heard that we were to halt, which news pleased worn-out me very much. We joined the Horse Artillery Mess, to which also belonged the rest of the Staff—Wilson (71), Asst. Judge-Advocate-General; Dickens (72), Commissariat; Fred. Roberts, Qr.-Master-General; Norman (73), Adjutant-General, and our Civilian, Clifford (74).

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69. Jhajjar Nawab's Palace.
70. 70 miles E.S.E. from Delhi.
71. Captain Henry Mein Wilson.
72. Captain Arthur Davies Dickens.
73. Lieut. Henry Wylie Norman.
74. Wigram Clifford, killed at Gurgaon on 31 October, 1857.

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[23 September, 1857. Wednesday.]

Our column paraded in the evening :—

2 Troops Horse Artillery (75).
1 Light Field Battery, Artillery (76).
50 Sappers.
2 Companies, 10th and 11th, Punjab Sappers, under Stevenson, 33rd N.I.
9th Lancers.
Squadrons of 1st, 2nd and 4th Punjab Cavalry.
Hodson's 'Plungers'; and Mooltani Horse.
H.M.'s 8th and 75th regiments.
2nd (Green's), and 4th (Wilde's) Punjab Infantry.

The Beloochis accompanied us this far, but go on to Meerut.

Letter. 24 September, 1857. Thursday.

At 3 a.m. we marched in [to Delhi] at Lahore Gate, up Chandni Chauk, out at Calcutta Gate, over Bridge of boats, then two clear miles to the Suspension Bridge over Hindun river, and then another mile to camping ground. Artillery, Sappers, and European Cavalry are on the Meerut road, and the rest on the Aligarh road. No trees sheltered us, and as our tents were not up till the afternoon (mine, one of the first, was not up till 3 p.m.) the sun touched us up as we lay out unsheltered. Luckily the Artillery Mess and Dooly came up at 11, and, without plates, knives or forks, we eat away in picnicing fashion. Some regiments got no food, and the bread for the troops only came up at 8 p.m. The Artillery did not get dinner till 9.0. The Lancers got none! but we shall do better in future. This is different work to the jolly 'peace' marches when half way you find the *chota hazri* (77) by the road-side, coffee, too, and curacoa, and on arrival at your camping ground there is the Mess tent with breakfast all ready when you shall have bathed and dressed.

We march at 3 a.m. to-morrow for Dadri towards Bulandshahr and Aligarh. The Fort of Malagarh we are to take and destroy. We shall, I suppose, find it deserted and simply have to blow it up. If not, we carry entrenching tools for 500 men and ladders for escalading.

Letter. 25 September. Friday. Camp, Ghazi-ud-din-nagar.

Here I am in pursuit and away from the pestilential streets of Delhi. We are making a halt here, as although we marched away from the Ajmir Gate yesterday at 3 a.m., yet it was not until to-day that all our baggage came up, and a halt was most imperatively necessary.

I have for the last three days pitched my tent without *kanauts* [tent-walls] and a cool breeze blows through, pleasant enough. I am very glad

75. 1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal H.A. (Remmington's). In 1931—'F' Battery, R.H.A.
2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, Bengal H.A. (Blunt's). In 1931—57th Field Battery, R.A.

76. 3 Company, 1st Brigade, Bengal Foot Artillery. In 1931—53rd Field Battery, R.A. See *ante*, vol. ix, p. 75, footnote.

77. *Hindustani*—little breakfast. In Madras known as 'early tea' and in recent years so understood in England.

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that we have left that pestilential Delhi with its odours of scents, spices, and dead bodies. Here at least we shall, while marching, have fresh air and change, and a week hence it will be October, which I look on the first of the cold weather months—it is certainly so in the Punjab. This time last year we had begun cricket at Lahore: when shall we have those jolly days again! It seems to me as if war, discomfort, and this unsettled state will last another year, and it will be very long before such a state of things as existed in the civilized happy India of cold-weather 56/57 will be seen again. I hope, however, peace and civilization will soon come again.

Letter. 26 September, 1857. Saturday. Dadri.

We marched at 3 a.m., and got in here between 8 and 9, and our arrangements being better, we (the Artillery Mess) got our breakfast at 9, picnicing on the turf under a tree by the roadside. By 10 my tent was up and I came over to write. Dadri is blazing and smoking away, and this cool breeze which refreshes us, spreads the conflagration.

We hear that Walidad Khan, of Malagarh, is attacking some villages 30 miles from here, the scoundrel; I hope he will defend his fort of Malagarh, that we may kill him and every soul that follows his green standard: anyhow we destroy Malagarh.

We are all getting pretty confident that we are bound for Lucknow and an Oudh campaign with the main army, as we have so much Cavalry and Horse Artillery, of which Havelock and Sir Colin Campbell are so much in want.

* * * * * *

Letter. 27 September, 1857. Sunday. Sekundrabad.

We marched at 2 a.m. and marched 12 miles into Sekundrabad.

* * * * * *

The principal care of the day in such a life as this is to get one's breakfast early, and the next to get the shelter of one's tent as soon as possible: these two points satisfactorily gained, the soldier is satisfied, and living only for the day, does not care what comes next, but eats and sleeps as much and whenever he can. Luckily I belong to the best mess, the Jullunder Troop [Horse Artillery] and we get our breakfast carried in a dooly and generally have our breakfast first, eating it picnic fashion, seated under the shade of some tree by the road side, after which we go off to see if our baggage has come up and our tents are pitched, and then sleep is what is most wanted.

Letter. 28 September, 1857. Monday. Bulandshahr.

According to my usual custom I started on my horse for the march and as soon as the column was fairly off, I dismounted and walked near the head of the column till nearly dawn, and then, sitting down, let most of it march by, and so changing my society walked with some of the rear-guard corps.

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[28 September, 1857. Monday.]

I was so walking with Lane and Osborne of Wilde's Corps, when rumours came down from the front that we were coming on the enemy, so I jumped instanter on my horse and galloped to the front, just in time to join Murray (H.A.) who with two guns, escorted by a Troop of Lancers and Squadron of 1st Punjab Cavalry, was going to advance. It appeared that as Fred Roberts, with an escort of Punjab Cavalry, was feeling his way ahead, to mark out a camp at Bulandshahr, just before dawn, a sowar sentry challenged his men :—

[English translation].

Rebel : Who goes there?
Answer : Cavalry.
Rebel : What regiment?
Answer : What's *your* regiment?
Rebel : Fourteenth,

on which a bullet sent the sentry flying.

Well, on we went along the fine smooth pucca road, over which arched the boughs of the Sissoo and Sirris : this shady road led to the station (civil) of Bulandshahr, and then forking led to the city. At the point of the V a hasty parapet had been thrown up, behind which two or three guns were placed and other guns stood about. However, this we found out afterwards, for the compounds and roads so abound in trees that we could see nothing. "Now," said the guide, "500 yards ahead are the enemy". Round swung Murray's two guns and "Load with Ball," called out Rimmington! Joyful sound! Again the blood danced in one's veins like mercury and I could have laughed with pleasure.

The Lancers filed into the open ploughed land on our right and Major Ouvry (78) called out "Let us have first shot." But no sooner was the word out of his mouth when 'bang' went 'Pandy's' gun, and 'whishhh' came the 9-pounder ball ricocheting like a cricket ball along the smooth hard road : delightful; for just a week we had ceased to hear the perpetual sound of ball. Our two guns answered immediately, and hammer and tongs they went, the arching boughs crashing and falling across the road and the enemy's balls bounding along the road. Up galloped Manderson and Traill with the three other guns of Rimmington's Troop, and, wheeling to the right into the ploughed land, formed line and let fly at the smoke of the enemy's guns. The 1st Punjab Cavalry galloped away to the right and the Lancers to the left, and Bourchier's five 9 pounders and one 24 pounder howitzer, with 8 horses to each, flew across the ploughed fields as if they were Light Horse Artillery and took 'Pandy' in flank, and two guns of Blunt's Troop took position on an open katcha road through the fields on our left : so in twenty minutes we had 13 guns pegging away at 'Pandy's' five or six; but then he knew the ground and could fire straight at us, whereas we were throwing shot and shell at an invisible foe. Presently

78. Major Henry Aimé Ouvry, 9th Lancers.

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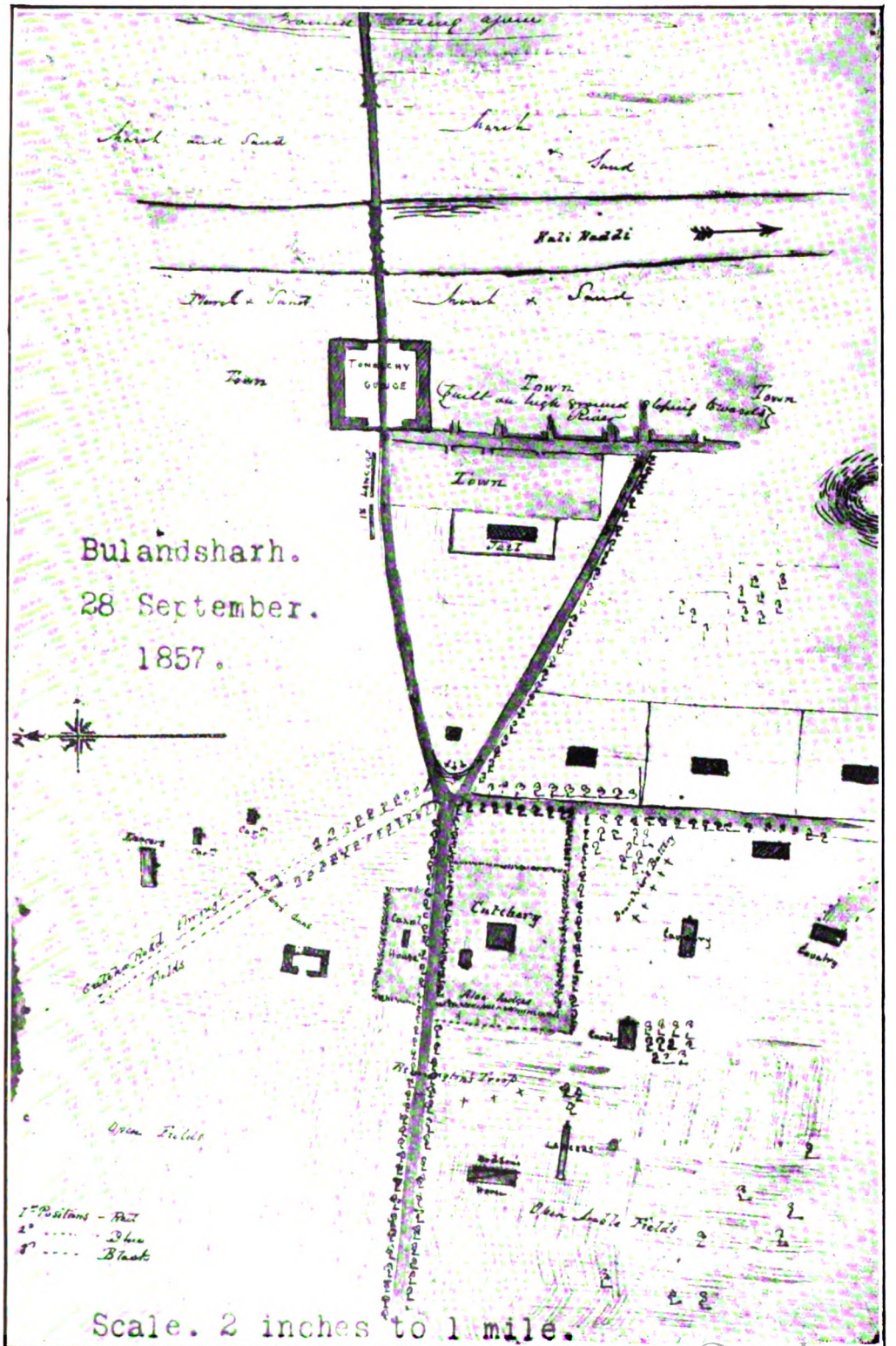

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[28 September, 1857. Monday. Bulandshahr.]
we knew that the 1st Punjab Cavalry were engaged by the return of Captain [Henry White] Best (8th Light Cavalry) with a deep wound across his neck—he ran a sowar through, who, working up the blade, slashed Best's neck nearly through! Meanwhile the 8th, 75th, and Green's Corps had been marching up and keeping hidden, as much as possible, were coming up to our right; 50 of Green's men who had been with the guns had seized one of the station houses on the right, and after some time our Infantry, with a great deal of cheering and no results, and a great deal of Delhi musquetry, took a couple of guns (which 'Pandy' had abandoned!), one a good English 9 pounder and one a native long 3 pounder. Up the two 'V' roads galloped guns and cavalry. On the left at the open gateway of the long half-serai, half-street, "Tonnochy Ganj", Cracklow (1) worked a gun in most plucky style, tho' soon, with two horses killed, one Artillery man killed and five wounded, only two men were working the gun (2). Green's men were supporting him, doing lots of wild musquetry: on the right the Lancers charged through the street from the Right to the Left, doing little execution but fired upon from side streets and houses and having lots of men and horses knocked over and four officers wounded. The 8th had charged to the right and Gough and Younghusband (Hodson's Irregulars and Punjab Cavalry) had killed each their 40 or 50 of the enemy, and nearly taken two guns, which the 8th had pointed out to blind Hugh Gough, who having his eyeglass broken by a ball, could not see and galloped the wrong way! Then the 9th Lancers, a couple of guns and the 8th, charged through Tonnochy Ganj and except catching and shooting 'Pandies' in the streets, the action was over, and with a few sowars I galloped over the bridge to reconnoitre the ground. 'Pandy' had got clear away, though his course was marked by a few deserted gharees, a palki gharee and red coats of 12th and 34th N.I., thrown off in flight.

[Lang's sketch, exact size, reproduced on page 89, is done in colours on a page of the letter.]

I found a place for camp and our troops crossed over, and I for one was not sorry for breakfast, considering we marched at 2 and had been fighting from sunrise till noon; the sun just rose behind the smoke of the first gun fired. Our loss was 47 killed and wounded: no officers killed. It was a very pretty sight and as an independent Staff Officer I could be about everywhere, right, centre and left and propose an order to Colonel Greathed and immediately gallop off to carry it.

That evening we were assembling at Colonel Greathed's tent, a reconnoitring party to ride to Malagharh, 5 miles off, when in came news that the Fort was abandoned.

Letter. 29 September, 1857. Tuesday. Malagarh.

Colonel Greathed, with his Staff and an escort of Punjab Cavalry, rode to Malagarh; it was most pleasant riding in the cool early morning, under shady trees and over smooth turf. The country about is very well

1. 1st Lieut. George Cracklow, Bengal Artillery.
2. These were Serjeant Bernard Diamond and Gunner Richard Fitzgerald, Horse Artillery. For this affair the Victoria Cross was awarded to them. *London Gazette* of 24 April, 1858.

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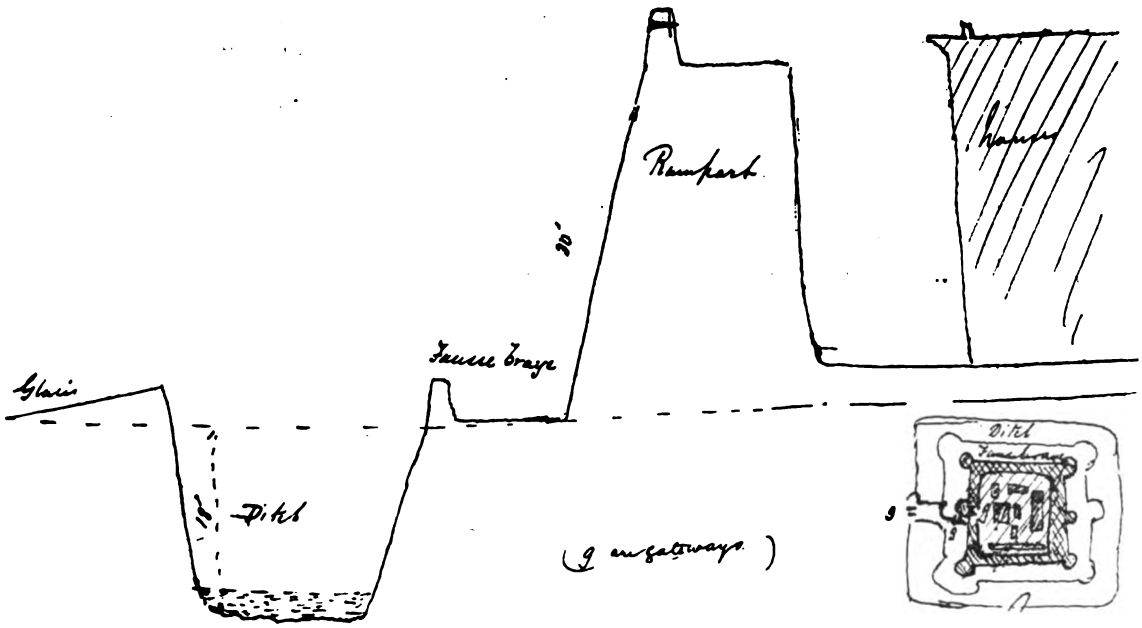
[29 September, 1857. Tuesday. Malagarh.]
wooded and green and pretty. How delighted I felt when I saw the Fort and knew it was deserted and that we had not to take it. Our light guns would have been of no avail against the high thick earthen ramparts. It has a very strong profile indeed, this Malagarh, like this :—



It is rectangular, with round bastions (still higher than the ramparts) and has three gateways all round—no end of corners. I should say it *had*, for we have levelled a long line of rampart, burned one gateway, blown in another and blown in a great bit of the *fausse braye* (3) into the ditch : we are just going to blow in a bit of glacis and the bastion by the gateway.

They are great fun these explosions and we try to get Gough, or any visitors, into places where they will get doses of earth and dust, without being really hurt.

Home and I, with the rest of the Staff, went over the place, saw Walidad's own apartments, those of his ladies, his mosque, his strange native guns (his good ones he has taken away). My servants got me five dozen of first-rate beer, two great cones of loaf sugar, a very good cane bed, &c.

Some of the grape [shot] was telegraph wire, cut into pieces and put into leather bags. Some guns were made from the screw pile ends of Telegraph posts.

Home stayed here and I rode back and got Stevenson and all the Sappers and pickaxes, shovels, &c. We had a capital device to collect coolies. We let the Jât villagers come in, some two or three hundred, to

3. An artificial wall thrown up in front of the main rampart of a defensive work.

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[29 September, 1857. Tuesday. Malagarh.]

loot; laden with plunder they came to pass out of the gates, but our sentries stopped them, lightened them of their loads and provided each man with a pickaxe, shovel or spade, and sent them on to the ramparts to work! The same fate awaits any man whether banya, lambardar, or ryot, who comes to complain of being robbed! One such came to complain, on which his name was taken and he was threatened with hanging, if he did not return with coolies and good goats for us.

We don't seem likely to knock ourselves up by hard marching: Greathed seems to like an independent command and will potter about in districts where no senior officer can supersede him. We shall wait at Bulandshahr till our sick and wounded get back and more ammunition comes out.

Diary. 30 September, 1857. Wednesday. Malagarh.

After a comfortable full night's rest for a change we proceeded with the demolition. Dunlop and Danvers Osborn, from the Meerut Force, came into breakfast with us. Osborn is all well again and is orderly officer to Colonel Farquhar. That officer with his column [from Meerut] of 250 Beloochis, two guns of Dawes's Troop and some Pathan, and Mooltani horse, and Craigie's new Irregulars, marched in about 11 o'clock and pitched outside the Fort.

We had plenty of visitors from Camp, and among them Paulet of the 58th, who has joined Green's Corps. At 11 the Meerut force marched away to Anupshahr, to put salt on Walidad Khan's tail. We had a grand explosion and blew up one round bastion and also a gateway.

Letter. 1 October, 1857. Thursday. Malagarh.

Here I am seated in the cool open room over the river gateway of the stronghold of that scoundrel Walidad Khan (nephew of the King of Delhi and levyer of blackmail and stopper of dâks between Aligarh and Meerut). Here are also Home and Stevenson and Hugh Gough: our garrison consists of a detachment of Hodson's Horse, the 10th and 11th companies of the Punjab Sappers and 50 true Sappers. This is our third day here and our occupation is the demolition of this Fort: we live very well on plunder, on the geese, ducks, and pigeons of Walidad, from whose stores we are also well provided with tables and chairs and plates and dishes; beautiful beer, unlimited in quantity; cones on cones of lump sugar, and numberless great yellow bottles of rose water with which we bathe! In fact we are living in style, conquerors and marauders. Our Camp, from which we are detached, is five miles off on this (the left) bank of the Kali Nuddi opposite Bulandshahr, where they rest after the toils of battle and make very tardy arrangements for sending the sick and wounded back to Delhi or to Meerut.

Diary. 1 October, 1857. Thursday. Malagarh.

Another long night's rest; and after breakfast at our explosions again.

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[1 October, 1857. Thursday. Malagarh.]
The gateway, bastion and the escarp were very successfully blown in and then we hung a barrel of powder under the crown of the Arch, and though the Arch and flooring of the room were cracked, yet the explosion was a failure. The last mine to be blown in was the counterscarp, by which we should make a broad smooth road into the place. Home so enjoyed these explosions, laughing always as he watched us clear off. Baker, Stevenson, and I rushed up on the ruins of the bastion and saw Home run laughing up to the mine; he put his hand out and to our horror instantaneously the mine sprung; down we rushed, put every man to work to scrape and dig. Serjeant Robson, a few feet from poor Home, had been knocked down and bruised, but was not really injured, but of poor Home for a minute or two, we saw no traces. I looked round a little distance and about 20 yards off in the hollow of a chirsah well (4) I recognised his body, all mangled and covered with dust: poor fellow, his legs were broken in two places, his arms broken and one nearly torn off; his death must have been instantaneous. It was like a horrid dream from which I longed to wake. I could not realise that the laughing merry Home, so full of life and happiness just before, was now dead: he escaped the dangers of the blowing in of the Kashmir Gate, to meet his end before a deserted fort. I wrote to Camp and to his brother, and to Taylor. Bushman (5) came down in the evening and the body was sent up to Camp in a dooly.

Reported the fortress as rendered easily takeable and quite indefensible, as the parapet all round was removed, and a corner bastion and the gateway bastion was demolished, the rampart between them levelled, and a broad smooth road made across the ditch. Bushman stayed the night at Malagarh.

Diary. 2 October, 1857. Friday. Malagarh.

Colonel Greathed and Ximenes (6) came out to look at the Fort and agreed that enough was done, [and that] we should march to Bulandshahr in the evening and first fire the place. After breakfast we turned everybody and everything to be preserved out of the place and set fire to all the buildings and blew up the powder houses, which made a most grand explosion.

At 3 marched to our old camping ground and taking up our old Camp, etc., followed the rest into Bulandshahr. Farquhar's column had marched to Phaot and back for nothing and are here to remain about Bulandshahr. Dined at Jullunder Artillery mess.

Diary. 3 October, 1857. Saturday. Khurja.

Marched at 2 a.m. Moon full, or nearly so; shone the whole march till daybreak, soon after which we reached Khurja and encamped. We breakfasted among the trees of a garden and voted it like a picnic: these

4. A well from which the water is drawn by a chursa, a large leather bucket, usually worked by two bullocks, the rope running over a pulley.
5. Asst. Surgeon Frederick Christian Bushman.
6. Lieut. Horace Ximenes, 8th Foot, Orderly Officer to Greathed.

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[3 October, 1857. Saturday. Khurja.]

cool mornings, which are now coming on, are very pleasant. At work with Gordon at adjustment of poor Home's affairs. A kossid from Lucknow (August 24) came in, who said all was well at Lucknow then; that Havelock was marching northwards; that two regiments of sepoys [rebel] held Aligarh. The 8th and Green's went into Khurja in the evening to take all arms there.

Diary. 4 October, 1857. Sunday. Somna.

Marched at 2 a.m.; beautiful moonlight till dawn: got into camp at Somna soon after sunrise.

Diary. 5 October, 1857. Monday. Aligarh.

Again on Monday a fight! We marched at 2 a.m., and after a beautiful moonlight march we came up to Aligarh city about 7; we had heard firing on our advanced guard for some time, and two of Blunt's guns galloped up with Lancers and opened on the enemy at one of the gates.

Letter.

We left Somna at 2 a.m. expecting to find at least two regiments of [rebel] sepoys and some Ghazi Mussalmans at Aligarh, and perhaps reinforcements from Muttra.

At sunrise our advanced cavalry drew fire from the gates of the town, and I joined three guns of Blunt's Troop and some Lancers, which were going to the front.

The sun was well up, and the glare, smoke, and masses of trees, prevented the view being good: I recognised the strange report of the telegraph screw-pile guns and telegraph wire grape [shot] at once.

As at Bulandshahr some artillery and cavalry advanced on the right by a road leading to the city and on the left across the fields to get round the city. Right, centre, and left I visited in succession, to see who was at each place and what was before them. While on the left I heard that on the right an advance had been made and a gun or two taken. Off I galloped and found this true: I passed at a bridge over a nullah, a bullock, and four or five men killed, a screw-pile gun burst, and a native brass 4 or 5 pounder dismounted, and ahead, about 300 yards from one of the city gates, some of our guns, Troop of Lancers, 8th, and Green's.

However, it was a case of halt; so presently Lane and I with 50 Sikhs went forward to reconnoitre and look at a gun which appeared deserted, at the city gate; at 150 yards a man rushed out and fired a dose of grape at us which knocked over one Sikh and then they closed the gates. The Artillery called out for a clear road and we went right and left, and they fired to no purpose ahead.

I went on the roof of what seemed a chapel, a little ahead, to spy, but there were so many trees that I could make out nothing. Meanwhile

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[5 October, 1857. Monday. Aligarh.]

our respected commander had come up and sagely remarking that it was not safe to run one's head against stone walls, actually insisted that this column should turn and follow the other left column, in fact that we should turn our backs on one gun: Even the European Infantry were amazed, and I heard them saying that on seeing the smoke of the gun once, they would be on it before it could fire again. I was so ashamed of seeing such a column march back, that I could take no more pleasure or interest in the affair. We were halted, and sat in inglorious inactivity, sulkily eating our breakfasts, while we envied the left column which, of course, unrestrained, was doing good work. Probyn and his cavalry first returned from their gallop on our right, having killed some 50 of the enemy; then the Civilian, Campbell, returned to say that the 75th were on the other side of the town and entering it at their pleasure there: then at last returned Major Ouvry and Roberts, who had had all the fun; they had pursued for about five miles southwards, and Watson's men had killed nearly 300, chiefly infantry; few sepoys, but Mussalman scoundrels, armed and flying for Akhurabad. The Lancers had started with these Punjab Irregulars, but in four miles had lost one and a half miles! So much for their qualifications as *Light* Cavalry.

By way of a neat finish to the affair, Green's men were sent through and about the town, and we encamped on this Northern front of the place, I suppose to entice Bukht Khan, or anyone, to reoccupy Aligarh, and nullify this morning's work. However, as our casualties were nothing, and about 400 of Mussalman fanatics and sepoys have been killed and we have a few telegraph guns and a largish wrought-iron and a small brass native gun, it will appear as if we had done well at Aligarh.

Tomorrow we march on Akhurabad, but I fancy Watson's sowars must have established so wholesome a dread that the fugitives won't consider Akhurabad far enough off. Some of the 16th Irregulars (on furlough) were in Aligarh this morning.

The health of the troops is capital and the march has wonderfully diminished the list of sick with which we started.

Diary. 6 October, 1857. Tuesday. Akhurabad.

Marched at 3—14 miles into Akhurabad. Crossed the canal just where it branches into two—a most splendid canal it looked, with its broad volume of water, green grass slopes and shady trees all along the banks. Water has been let in and is rushing down the channel again.

The Irregular Cavalry preceded the column and killed about 50 fugitives from Akhurabad, among them the scoundrel Mangal Singh and his brother Mehtab Singh, both very fine large men, and to see their bodies in a garden beyond the town a great many of our fellows went out during the day. I received orders at noon to burn and destroy the place, and so went in with a Company of Sappers for about four or five hours.

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Diary. 7 October, 1857. Wednesday. Akhurabad.

Surprized to find when I woke that the sun was up, for I had given the order to my men to march at 4, when I went to bed. I don't know why we halt.

Diary. 8 October, 1857. Thursday. Bidjeegarh.

Marched at 3, and as soon as we were out of Akhurabad took a turning to the right by a good katcha road, which brought us in, about six miles, to Bidjeegarh and Bursa. We encamped on a fine open plain.

The fort at Bidjeegarh was set fire to by some fellows to the anger of Greathed. The town seems Hindoo and the people very civil.

A letter came in from Fraser [Colonel Hugh Fraser, Bengal Engineers, Chief Commissioner for Agra and its dependices.] urging our pushing on for Agra.

Another Company of the 4th Punjab Infantry, under Grey was sent to Aligarh, and also 50 of Hodson's Horse, under Baker.

After Mess, at 11, the two Troops of Horse Artillery, Lancers, 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab Cavalry, marched for Saidabad, about 21 miles off, to make Agra in two marches. Why can't we?

Diary. 9 October, 1857. Friday. Hathras.

At 2-0, a.m., resumed our march over katcha roads to Hathras, about 12 miles. Here we came on the pucca road (Aligarh to Agra).

At sunset we marched from Hathras and marched all night for Agra, halting at Saidabad and at Khandoulie. At the latter place we found the Cavalry and Horse Artillery encamped; they got under weigh and we all together marched on.

Letter. 10 October, 1857. Saturday. Agra.

Soon after sunrise we saw the Jumna before us, the Bridge of boats, and beyond the towering red walls of the Fort and the city of Agra, and to the left the beautiful Taj. Over we marched and from the ramparts of the Fort the garrison continued to cheer as they saw the gallant warriors coming to aid them: some came out to meet us and actually we saw bonnets and their wearers again, keraniesses (7), who seemed delighted and said 'good Sikhs' when the wild Punjabis passed. We marched through the enclosure before the Delhi Gate and there I met Toby Glover (8), and stayed by him as he saw all his old Punjabi friends march by. The Agra people seemed quite a different race, men who knew not '*Khaki rang*' (9) and Sikhs; who could not believe the 8th and 75th could be European regiments, and wondered at the martial cut-throats of Green's and Wilde's; these two last came in with bands playing and marching beautifully, steady and strong, after their 31 mile march (Europeans had had gharees and elephants). The men went on to camp. i.e. through cantonments on to the Parade Grounds, by the Graveyard.

7. Female half-castes.

8. 1st Lieut. Thomas George Glover, Bengal Engineers, Public Works Department, Punjab.

9. *Rang*—Hindustani—colour.

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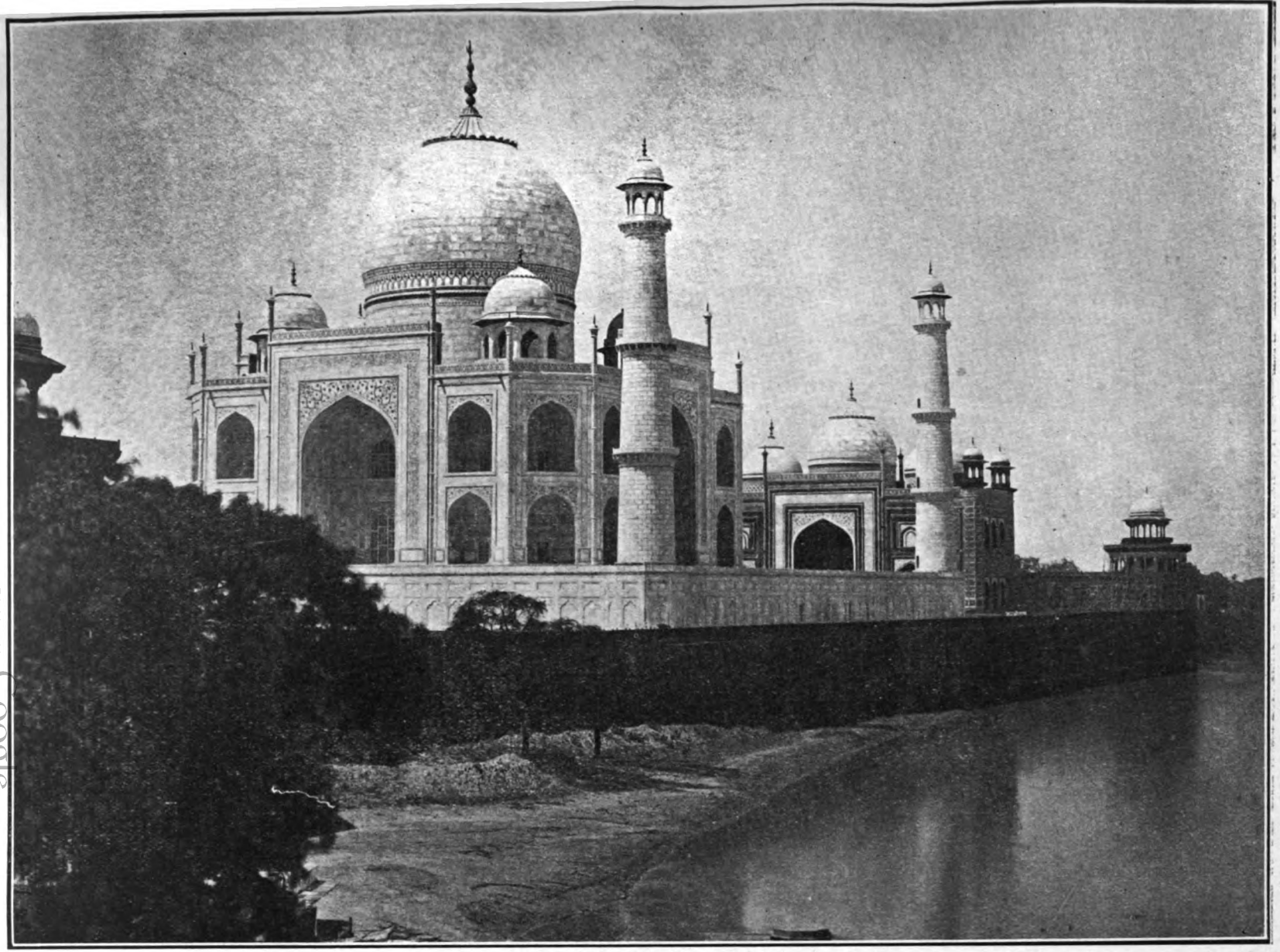

THE TAJ MAHAL. AGRA.

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[10 October, 1857. Saturday. Agra.]

I (with many other officers) went into the Fort, to Coffee-Shop, swimming bath, and breakfast in the society of ladies! As we said, we were returning to the elegancies of life, and it seemed like peace.

[A Ladies' Mess had been established in the Fort, styled 'Buckingham Palace'. Lady Outram, Mrs. Glover, and Mrs. Machell, are mentioned by Lang as belonging to it.]

While we talked like this, in rushed a distracted Agra man to say they were actually fighting in Camp. On went swords and we were off. I saw the 3rd Europeans (9*a*.) falling in (scarlet and white, wonderful sight!), the gates closed, and through the wicket palefaced Keranies and their ladies were pouring inwards. I got a gate open and galloped away as fast as I could thro' non-combatants, camels and baggage making for the Fort. Luckily I didn't meet the Agra Volunteer Horse, who immediately on seeing the enemy's cavalry fled so precipitately that they smashed men and horses of our side and spread wild alarm!

On emerging on the open Parade grounds I saw camp partially pitched, smoke in various directions, and I heard guns banging away, but I couldn't make out affairs at all; presently Norman shouted out 'Look out, cut those men down!' Not seeing anyone to operate on in such an unlikely locality, I wondered: when suddenly between me and the tents passed at full gallop a grey Light Cavalry man, waited on closely by a red-coated Irregular (of Probyn's I thought). Watching the pair, I saw, too late, that they were allies(10) and dashed in pursuit; they passed two regiments of infantry who fired vollies without touching them and they got clear away. It appears that a great number of the 1st Light Cavalry and of the red-coated Irregular regiment (they say 2nd Gwalior Cavalry) charged from left to right of our Camp in rear, killing numbers of Camp followers and some fighting men: they, for a moment, took one of Blunt's guns, but were driven off by the Lancers (they cut down six Artillerymen at that gun); the Lancers and Artillery had turned out on the first alarm (a few cannon balls crashing through tents and horses, served for the alarm!) and the Lancers charged them. Losing French (11) killed and Jones (12) so fearfully cut about that he was at first reported killed. Four of the enemy came in as jugglers to the Qr. Guard tent of the Lancers, and suddenly killed a Serjeant and wounded a Trooper and then were themselves polished off. I presently made out some of our guns, with European Infantry in support, going on towards the khets (13), but everything naturally was in confusion. Major Ouvry even rode up to the 1st Troop and cheered them by saying that all our Punjab Cavalry had gone over to the enemy. I galloped to the right and found Younghusband had just made a charge and captured two guns, but had ridden horse and all, and his orderly horse and all, into a well. I brought up Sappers and ropes and started them all getting them out, and after a while, leaving some of the 8th and of his own men and Sappers to go on with the work, I galloped

9a. The 3rd (Bengal) European Regiment—raised in 1854.
10. An obvious mistake for "enemies."
11. Captain Lucius John French.
12. Lieut. Alfred Stowell Jones.
13. *Khet*—Hindustani—a field.

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[10 October, 1857. Saturday. Agra.]
on the Gwalior road and found the 3rd Europeans, in gorgeous scarlet, marching out, rather late if they really wanted any fire eating: I passed them and found Infantry and guns halted, because some enclosures ahead were said to be full of 'Pandies' and their Camp was just ahead: a queer reason for halting! Four Punjabis, a volunteer horseman and I went on a long way and found the enclosures quite empty, tho' some way ahead we saw their gharees going slowly off, and cavalry guarding them.

Anson (14) rode up after a bit, and went off to urge advance: our Cavalry and Horse Artillery, through fields on the left, were advancing and soon they and the guns on the road galloped up and opened for a few rounds; then limbered up and pursued for a bit. This fire and pursuit was kept up, but as we had taken most of the guns and 'Pandy' was flying, I should think pursuit alone was required; the rumbling of gun carriages and the charging of cavalry would have kept 'Pandy' going. It did at last come to pursuit alone, but the wearied Cavalry were not up for some time, and along the road (choked with camels, gharees, bundles, &c.) and through the fields on either hand, were the flying enemy in hundreds—sepoys of 23rd, 22nd and 47th, 1st Cavalry, red-coated Irregulars, and men armed with matchlock and tulwar; they were so panic struck that they let a few officers and (I suppose) Agra volunteers ride through them like sheep. It was absurd; excited as we were, we rode through them, slashing and thrusting, and leaving them behind: the Cavalry were not up, and some big Agra people (whom I knew not and whose orders I didn't much respect) were riding ahead and occasionally shouting for us to hold hard, rather difficult when 'Pandies' swarmed in flight before us; strangely these men didn't resist; too anxious to escape, they didn't perceive how few we were, but of course thought numbers were at our backs: fresh cavalry up then would have killed thousands, whereas a few independent amateurs were doing butcher's work, for doing which privates are paid. In the excitement I got quite foolhardy and when three of us were far ahead, with the fugitives behind and on both sides of us, I still further detached myself to catch three red-coated sowars who with many others had made a turn to the left to reach a village. I dashed off to intercept them and (as did they) saw too late my position. I was out of hail of anyone and the view at my back was of armed men in flight: the three sowars looked at me, exchanged glances and, still flying, drew together. I gathered my horse for a rush and, as it were, threw myself on the nearest and before he thought I could be on him I cut him down, and instantly turning on another saw him about ten paces off, firm as a rock and his carbine barrel steady and straight on me. I gave myself up for dead, but, instinctively ducking my head, with my spurs in, I spun my horse round and round like a teetotum, the fiend still steady waiting for a sure shot; my horse stumbled and fell forward, and I too, and the sowar fired simultaneously and he had missed me and was off again. Oddly enough these armed men, so intent on flying, all gave me in my difficulties a wide berth, and neither cut at nor fired at me, or they would have killed me easily, for no one

14. Captain (bt.-Major) O. H. St. G. Anson, 9th Lancers. See *ante*, page 14—footnote.

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[10 October, 1857. Saturday. Agra.]
saw me or was on my side of the road, and I had a man-eating horse, luckily muzzled, whom I can only get one syce to hold; however, he was pretty well done (having ridden him without change from Hathras) and I managed to mount him and regain the road, and, some of our side coming up, I was all right again. This was close to the Khari Nuddi, which crosses the Gwalior road 10½ miles from Agra, and there a few turned and from the opposite bank fired musquetry: we all pulled up as we reached the river and after a while the Horse Artillery came up and opened with ball on the enemy, as long as they were in sight. We rested by the river some time, and then returned quietly. Being mounted and going as I liked, I was not in until past sunset, and the troops were not back until a good deal later. Were not we all done up; the 3rd Europeans thought they had done a fearful day's work, and (having marched only to the fifth milestone about) would ride on gun carriages, &c. They look very fine fellows, and have very much the 2nd Fusilier style; I expect very unruly, but good fighters; at present however, they are griffs (15) and don't know what work or fire means. I don't know who commanded, I am sure. As usual I expect each Troop Captain and Cavalry Cornet did pretty well what seemed good to him. Greathed I saw frequently to the front, and men who had the air of Brigadiers and such like from Agra. Perhaps Greathed and Cotton (16), in conjunction, claim having fought the battle. The Infantry can't say that they had much to do and most certainly the 3rd Europeans had nothing to say to the fight, but looking very smart and strong and emptying the gharees along the road: the action was Cavalry and Artillery. The 75th behaved so much as usual that Gordon (17), who commands, actually said to me that they were so unsteady that he was beyond words disgusted with them, and that they broke Brookes (18) and his heart!

This Camp seems to afford great pleasure to the Agra people who come strolling about it, like Englishmen at Chobham (19). The volunteer Keranies bristle with swords, daggers and knives, even to-day, when all is quiet.

The information here was very good, when we were allowed to come and encamp quietly with an enemy in position before us, with even 18 pounder guns. The time and trouble it must have taken to get such guns across that river and bring them close up to Agra Fort, and yet no one knew it! Fancy Tahsildars (20) coming to report the enemy 20 miles off, in full flight, just when the guns opened fire on our camp! I bet that Tahsildar is (according to the Civilians) still a faithful and valued servant: poor fellow, how could he know better, being a native!

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15. Anglo-Indian. A shortened form of 'griffin,' meaning an European newly arrived in India, unaccustomed to Indian ways and peculiarities.
16. Major (bt.-Colonel) Henry Cotton, 67th Bengal N.I., now commanding at Agra.
17. Captain Charles Edward Parke Gordon, who had been in command of the regiment since 15 September. 18. Captain William Brookes.
19. Near Woking, Surrey. The site of a large military camp.
20. The chief (native) revenue officer of a subdivision of a District. *Hobson-Jobson.*

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[10 October, 1857. Saturday. Agra.]

Major Eld (21) has been appointed prize agent to the combined forces for the plunder taken yesterday. We took 13 guns; all very good brass, and very heavy metal.

Letter. 11 October, 1857. Sunday. Agra.

A quiet day spent in camp, recovering fatigues.

Letter. 12 October, 1857. Monday. Agra.

Some of us rode from camp at daybreak to the Taj and I again saw that most perfect building with its lovely proportions, its pure white marble, exquisite carving and mosaics. Mrs. Machell (22) sang "Mira! O Norma" (23) under the dome, but I think the echoes are too distracting. I drove back with Machells and Glovers to 'Buckingham Palace' and spent the day in Fort, breakfasting and dining with them. Watts (24) of our Corps was there; he and I called on Colonel Fraser in his office and we gave him advice and abused the [illegible] and the timid policy, and praised the Punjab most cheekily! He is a most jolly good old fellow, but his heroism as a man in the field contrasts strangely with his moral cowardice as a ruler.

Letter. 13 October, 1857. Tuesday. Agra.

Watts came down to camp and we walked up to the Fort. We went about the Fort and saw how it was reduced to 'Siege rules'; how 6,000 Europeans and Eurasians were accommodated and quartered systematically in 'Blocks', numbered numerically and alphabetically; such lots of women and children!

The Moti Masjid, that lovely little white Mosque, was turned into a hospital and Sisters of Mercy, "Misses Nightingale", tended the sick beds.

That afternoon we went to a most jolly picnic at the Taj, dined on the floor of one of the side Mosques, and danced on the smooth marble platform of the Taj to the music of Green's (2nd Punjab Infantry) band. The Taj was lighted up after dark with blue lights, and Mrs. Machell and another lady sang among the echoes.

Letter. 14 October, 1857. Wednesday. Agra.

Our camp was moved at daybreak across the river [Jumna] to the 5th milestone on the Mainpuri road, but I stayed behind and followed later at my leisure.

I found that detachments from Delhi had come in and with them Forbes (25) of the Engineers, as a comrade for me. He is a very nice quiet young fellow and I was very glad to see him. He and I rode back to Agra in the afternoon and on the bridge met the ladies coming out to a picnic at Rambagh (native gardens on the Aligarh road), so we turned and

21. Major Lionel Percy Durham Eld, 9th Bengal N.I.
22. Wife of 1st Lieut. Launcelot Machell, Bengal Artillery, Commissary, 2nd class, Ordnance Commissariat Department, Agra.
23. From Act II of Bellini's Opera *Norma*.
24. 1st Lieut. John Lidstone Watts, Bengal Engineers.
25. 2nd Lieut. John Greenlaw Forbes.

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[14 October, 1857. Wednesday. Agra.]

joined them and had another very pleasant picnic. The few other 'Campites' returned to camp, but Forbes and I returned to Agra, reassembling at 'Buckingham Palace'. Forbes and I got beds in the Fort.

Letter. 15 October, 1857. Thursday. Omeidpore.

Our Camp completed the march to Omeidpore, 12 miles from Agra. Forbes and I spent the day in Fort.

We were obliged, at length, to say good-bye to the hospitalities and the civilisation of Agra and take again to our wanderings and campaigning, again let our beards grow and return to our khaki!

We reached Camp at sunset. I heard of poor Salkeld's death; so now both the Victoria Cross officers are dead: and the *only* three officers attached to the 3rd Column (who passed through the Kashmir Gate) are the *only* officers in our Corps who have died since the Assault. Home, Salkeld, and Tandy.

Letter. 16 October, 1857. Friday. Ferozebad.

We marched to Ferozebad—14 miles.

[Acknowledges receipt of English letters, dated 10, 20, and 26 August.]

* * * * * *

The sad news from this wretched country gives the principal subject and tone to your letters; yet how your happy English life, your picnics and roamings, amidst lovely North Wales scenery, all the happiness of my dear home circle, how it contrasts with this life of war and confusion and anxiety. Yet I have nothing to complain of, everything to thank God for; much as I should long to be transported amongst you all again, I have really been very happy under the sad circumstances, I could not be happy in peace and quiet in England; I could not remain even at Lahore, under partial danger: I should, of course, have been burning to be employed as a man and a soldier in these stirring times, and I have enjoyed this new life which I have tried. I have found that I really chose aright when I thought a soldier's life was the life for me—exposure and fatigue; the music of ball and bullet, marching and roughing it, and all that makes up a soldier's life, I enjoy, and am as happy as possible and very thankful I ought to be that I have the disposition to bear an 'equal mind' in these sorts of scenes, as well as for my preservation amongst so many great dangers: may I be spared yet to see all your dear faces again some day, when India has returned to peace; to her former state she never will.

"Delhi not fallen up to 27th June" disappointed you! What will you have said to continued disappointment up to the glorious 14th September, or more properly to 20th September, and even then what was the very great gain? very much remains to be done; no revenge was taken then.

I expect our loss was far greater than that of the enemy. Our loss was 61 officers and 1,178 men in the Assault alone! one third of the whole

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[16 October, 1857. Friday. Ferozebad.]
number engaged. And yet idiots in papers at home, who teach the multitude, themselves knowing Delhi as well as they do Pekin or Mecca, say "what keeps our troops from taking a place with no fortifications, but only an old wall which a few pieces can batter down?" I wish the 'snub-nosed rogue from his counter and till', or his office stool, had had to charge a breach: he would not have called the high thick ramparts, the regular ' ' bastions, and deep ditches a mere nothing. We ourselves rendered the defences of Delhi very strong and made bastions and Martello towers and glacis to them. And look at what the Assault cost us: of all the Peninsular storms, Ciudad Rodrigo was hailed by the British nation as the proudest feat; yet Wellington took six times as many to the assault as we had at Delhi on the 14th, and lost fewer than we did. But the taking of Delhi can hardly be classed with sieges; the besieged so very greatly outnumbered the besiegers; the place could not be invested (as at Sebastopol) and (as at Sebastopol, too) the munitions of war of the besieged were limitless.

* * * * * *

I am very glad that you think I only did my duty in volunteering for Delhi: it *was* my duty, and, except that you will have been doubly anxious on my account, I have every possible reason to rejoice that I was sent: I should have mourned all my life inaction at that crisis; now, if I am spared throughout, I shall look with delight and satisfaction at my *service*. I suppose I shall be 'under arms' for another year: for a regular war will be required for the resubjugation of Oudh: even now the papers urge our abandonment of Lucknow, important tho' it be to hold the capital of Oudh, and humiliating as it would seem to yield a foot before 'Pandy'; yet as a military movement it would be better to concentrate at Cawnpore till such a force of British bayonets was assembled, that our progress should be certainly a perpetual victory, whereas the small force we could leave at Lucknow would be in perpetual danger.

Letter. 17 October, 1857. Saturday. Shikoabad.

Another march of 14 miles brought us to Shikoabad where we did nothing particular.

Letter. 18 October, 1857. Sunday. Arowl.

We made only a short march to Arowl, a small village, of 8 miles. Brigadier Grant (26) came in and took command of our Column. He was Brigadier of Cavalry at Delhi—an active man, but not as young as Greathed. Greathed is made Brigadier of Infantry, and Ouvry of Cavalry to the Column. We heard that the Mainpuri Rajah was going to stand against us. A picket of 25 of his Cavalry was seen on the road in the morning by our advanced sowars. [As a fact this did not mature. The Rajah bolted.]

26. James Hope Grant, 9th Lancers. He was now 49 years old, Greathed being 45.

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Letter. 19 October, 1857. Monday. Mainpuri.

Brigadier Grant took us a good march wherewith to commence his rule; he took us 23 miles, and as we started only at 2 a.m. we were not in till noon and the rear guard not till 4 p.m., and the day being most intensely hot, I should think our European Infantry must have suffered; I know I did, and I was afraid I was going to have one of my pleasant fever attacks. However, I think I shall get all right, having gone on the sick list yesterday.

This Mainpuri seems a very pretty station, tho' now of course ruined and neglected. The Church is English looking and paths lead to it through what is now a tangled wilderness of shrubs and flowers. We are encamped on the Parade ground, having left the city behind us. The Young Rajah and his men have fled; his uncle met us yesterday on the road: he is a rival of his nephew's and tells us all sorts of stories against him. In the Fort are about 12,000 lbs. of native powder, and a gun foundry: a gun being made, the bricks about it still hot, has been found. Brigadier Grant has ordered this Fort to be destroyed and the Sappers have been at work up there all day, and are going to blow a great part of it to bits this evening.

I forgot to say that Major [Norman Chester] Macleod of our Corps joined us at Agra, and so I ceased to be Engr. No. 1. He seems a very nice pleasant man.

This sort of marching is tiring work, at least one is fit for but little writing during the day, but feels stupid and sleepy.

Letter. 20 October, 1857. Tuesday. Mainpuri.

In the evening we got orders to leave the Sappers behind to destroy Mainpuri Fort: they could not do it on the 20th, as all day property was being taken out of the Fort and treasure counted there: of course this was the fault of the Civilian. We are burdened always with one or more civilians who hamper our every movement, save every 'Pandy' they can, and try and claim all loot as theirs: I never saw such 'Pandies' as the N.W. Civilians—so different from our Punjabis who are half soldiers, and act as soldiers and appreciate them; the N.Wester is a regular Cutcherry party (1), who half despises, half dreads, and altogether hates the "brutal and lawless soldiery", and while protected by their strong arm he comes back to the districts he could not keep in order before, he hails with delight his cringing scoundrels of Omlahs (2) and, ignoring their having been in rebellion, probably robbing and murdering and cursing the Feringhees (3) for many months, claims immunity for them and puts the poor fellows into Tahsils (4) and such like appointments.

The Mainpuri Rajah having bolted, of course his cousin, by flattering and grovelling, is instantly appointed Tahsildar of Mainpuri and Cocks (5) tried to save the Fort for his residence and so delayed removal of two

1. A Court-house man.
2. The native officials, clerks, and other staff of a Civil Court, collectively.
3. Feringhee. The ordinary Indian term for a European.
4. Tahsil. A district, or division of a province, for collection of revenue, of which a tahsildar was in charge. 5. Arthur Herbert Cocks, Sessions Judge at Mainpuri.

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[20 October, 1857. Tuesday. Mainpuri.]
lacs of treasure, so that they were not in our Camp until 1 at night [20-21]. However, Cocks and the Rajah's cousin were sold and the latter had the pleasure of seeing the place in which he had promised himself a snug residence, blown to bits by the Sappers. A great quantity of European property and of loot, and two lacs of treasure, and some guns were taken from Mainpuri.

Diary. 21 October, 1857. Wednesday. Bewar.

I went on with the column at 2, and walked till the sun was well up, feeling much better, and then went on in a dooly.

Fine trees on the Bewar encamping ground, under which were the fresh chulas (6) of a great number of sepoys: they left this on the 19th.

* * * * * *

This is 94 miles from Cawnpore and 14 from Mainpuri.

The Sappers came in between 4 and 5 p.m., having made a grand demolition [at Mainpuri].

We received orders to march at 8.0 p.m.—a forced march of 29 miles to Gooshahi Ganj! The order came out late, and was not Grant anathematized.

Diary. 22 October, 1857. Thursday. Gooshahi Ganj.

We were a long time in getting off and made long halts so that it was nearly eleven before we got in.

I walked and rode and lay down on kunkur heaps and fell asleep instantly, whenever there was a halt. The sun again completely floored me and I lay in great pain in my tent all day; I thought I had sunstroke and should go delirious: I had a lot of leeches on my head in the evening and they greatly relieved me and I fell asleep.

Diary. 23 October, 1857. Friday. Meerum Serai.

At 2 a.m. we started for a 13 miles march to Meerum Serai, about two miles beyond Kanoj.

I had the pleasure (as I lay in a dooly) to hear the guns going away to the left in the direction of the Kala Nuddi. It appears that an escort of sowars (15th Irregulars) came down from Futtehghur to bring in four guns (3 English 24 pr. howitzers and one 6 pr.) and two native, and Roberts, hearing of it as he rode on, went down towards the River and saw them crossing, and sent to Ouvry for two H. Artillery guns and cavalry. Up they came and took the four guns, and the cavalry (Probyn and Watson) went in pursuit; three Resaldars among them were killed, one carrying a woman behind him. A Kossid (7) with a little message (from Cawnpore) written in Greek character was brought in, urging our immediate advance, as Outram's provisions at Lucknow could not last beyond the 10th November.

A Thakoor (8) with some 2,000 armed followers, is reported as

6. An Indian cooking-stove. 7. A messenger, or 'runner.'
8. A word meaning 'Lord,' used as a title and term of respect; also applied to a Chief or Noble, especially of the Rajput race. *O.E.D.*

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holding out in a village, 8 miles from here, but as Grant determined on a forced march, we leave this scoundrel unmolested.

Diary. 24 October, 1857. Saturday. Poora.

March at 12 at night. I travelled in a dooly and so did not feel the 24 mile march into Poora, which place we reached at 8½.

Diary. 25 October, 1857. Sunday. Chaubipore.

Started at 3 a.m. and marched 12 miles into Chaubipore. I walked 11 miles, so I am nearly well again.

Service in the afternoon.

Letter. 26 October, 1857. Monday. Cawnpore.

At 3.0, a.m., we marched 14 miles to the Northern portion of Cawnpore Cantonments; we came in very proudly, bands playing, but our audience only comprised about half a dozen Cawnporians (English): lots of niggers were there to wonder at the 'Khaki' Sikhs. We found that only about 700 Europeans (of 1st Madras Fusiliers, Hill's 5th, 53rd, 64th, 78th and 90th) were here; 600 had left a few days before with no end of provisions for Lucknow, at least for Alum Bagh, which is an enclosure on *this* side of Lucknow, where Havelock had left all his baggage and Camp followers and about 300 Europeans, when he fought his way through the City into the Residency.

An earthen work had been thrown up on the River bank here, covering the Bridge of boats, and enclosing all the Commissariat and Ordnance Stores, the Post Office and Telegraph Office, &c. This work, tho' not carefully or connectedly traced, but built rapidly and piecemeal, is certainly of sufficient strength to keep off any number of 'Pandies', as it has real thick earthen parapets, well made and erected, and embrasures well made and a deep ditch and clear ground all round; the river at the back.

Troops are coming up now and four companies (395 men) of the gallant 93rd marched in yesterday morning; 400 more are to come in tomorrow, and in a few days we shall see the whole regiment upwards of 1,000 strong.

I could not help shouting out when I saw the first kilt! real red-haired, broad-shouldered, bare-calved, kilted Scots.

Letter. 28 October, 1857. Wednesday. Cawnpore.

On the evening of 26th and yesterday morning I paid visits to the scene of poor Wheeler's defence and that fiend the Nana Sahib's atrocities.

There is a little house, near the Assembly Rooms and the old Hotel, on the road between them, a low tiled-roof house, built in Pompeian style, round an open central courtyard. In that courtyard stood a tree, where English ladies were hanging when Neill's troops marched in; it is cut down now. In every room of that little house, on floor and walls, are stains of blood, and on the walls hundreds of bullet marks; even now remain stray

9. Colonel James George Smith Neill, 1st (Madras) European Regiment, commanding the troops at Cawnpore—July, 1857.

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[28 October, 1857. Wednesday. Cawnpore.]
socks, slippers and bits of clothing. When Neill's soldiers entered, the place was heaped with clothing of women and children.

In the compound stands a tree, marked with bullet holes and sword gashes; in the latter is still long hair; amongst the grass and bushes of the compound, between the house and well, are still strips of clothing and locks of long hair; into that well upwards of 200 bodies of women and children were thrown, many still alive. No one who has seen that spot can ever feel anything but deep hatred to the Nana and his fellow fiends and all his fellow race. No officer standing in those rooms spoke to another, tho' each knew his neighbour's feelings. I know I could not have spoken. I felt as if my heart was stone and my brain fire, and that the spot was enough to drive one mad. Neill made his high-caste Brahmin and Musalman Sepoy prisoners lick the stains on floor and wall before he hung them. The gallows on which he hung them is the only pleasant thing in the Compound on which to rest the eye. All these fiends will never be repaid one tenth of what they deserve; many a man will cringe before us and serve us well and faithfully! (the brutes), who will secretly chuckle in his black heart in having abetted in these scenes. Every man across the river whom I meet shall suffer for my visit to Cawnpore. I will never again, as I used to at Delhi, let off men, whom I catch in houses or elsewhere. I thought when I had killed twelve men outright and wounded or knocked over as many more at the battle of Agra, that I had done enough: I think now I shall never stop, if I get a chance again.

We also visited the scene of poor Wheeler's defence. Such a place! you would say no one could have held out in such a position for two days or even one! The fact is Wheeler never believed he would have to defend it; he summoned together all the Europeans, so as to have them together; he never believed that the Sepoys would attack him, and he believed Lord Canning's *promise* that if he only held out, he should be relieved on a certain date; that certain date was a *fortnight* before the date on which Wheeler capitulated. Wheeler, trusting in *Lord Canning's word,* would not let the officers send the ladies away when they could have done so! Had Wheeler really thought that he would have had to stand a siege, he would of course have held some post on the river bank, where under the high cliffs the ladies would have been quite safe, and where they could have eventually taken refuge in boats. As it was, this is the position:—

[See sketches on next page.]

A. and B. are two pucka Barracks, with a great deal of open parade on all sides, but on one, unfortunately, are new Barracks being built, the nearest of which are very near. W. is the pucka well, completely exposed, its *chabutra* (10) smashed to pieces, showing how it was a special mark for the enemy. P. is a small picket-house; m.m., &c., are earthen magazines made by the defenders. The line round, p.p.p., represents the trench!!—see the section. What a mockery to call it an entrenchment; were you to ride over it in the dark you would not perceive it!

10. Any platform for sitting on.

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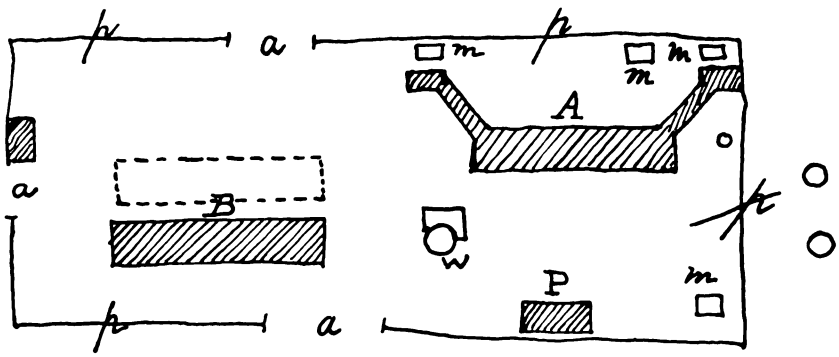
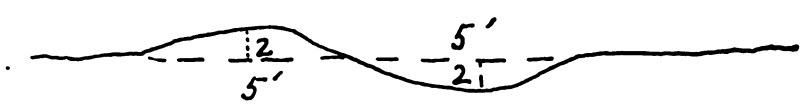
[28 October, 1857. Wednesday. Cawnpore.]

The roof of A. was fired by carcasses (11) and fell in, and then fancy poor delicate ladies and little children lying out, day and night, in that trench in June, with those curs barking round them, not daring to charge that little devoted band. In a few places, a.a.a., the trench is discontinued. Those are the batteries! At least, there in the open stood our guns (eight 9 prs. and one 24 pr. howitzer); out of 8 officers, 67 men, and 9 guns (Artillery), only 2 officers, 12 men and 2 guns were existing at the capitulation.



Section of Trench



The Buildings themselves: never did I see buildings so thoroughly riddled—not a foot unscarred by round shot; you would wonder how any hardy soldiers could have held them for two days, much less that delicate women and children could have lived through 22 days of siege. Of course barracks have ordinary walls, through which 18 pr. balls would crash with ease.

The floors are still covered with mementoes of the defenders, a sock, a child's shoe, letters, leaves of books, pieces of music, papers, &c. One officer picked up Wheeler's last pay certificate; another a few leaves of a book bearing the name of a lady whom he well knew; another letters of a great friend of his, &c., and so on; it was very sad work looking at all this, and more than sad. I felt that I could vow my life to revenge, to take blood from that race every day; had I a relation at that massacre, I certainly would have.

(*To be continued.*)

11. Iron shells fired from guns, for incendiary purposes. They contain a composition which burns with a very strong fire and when once well ignited are quite impossible to put out.

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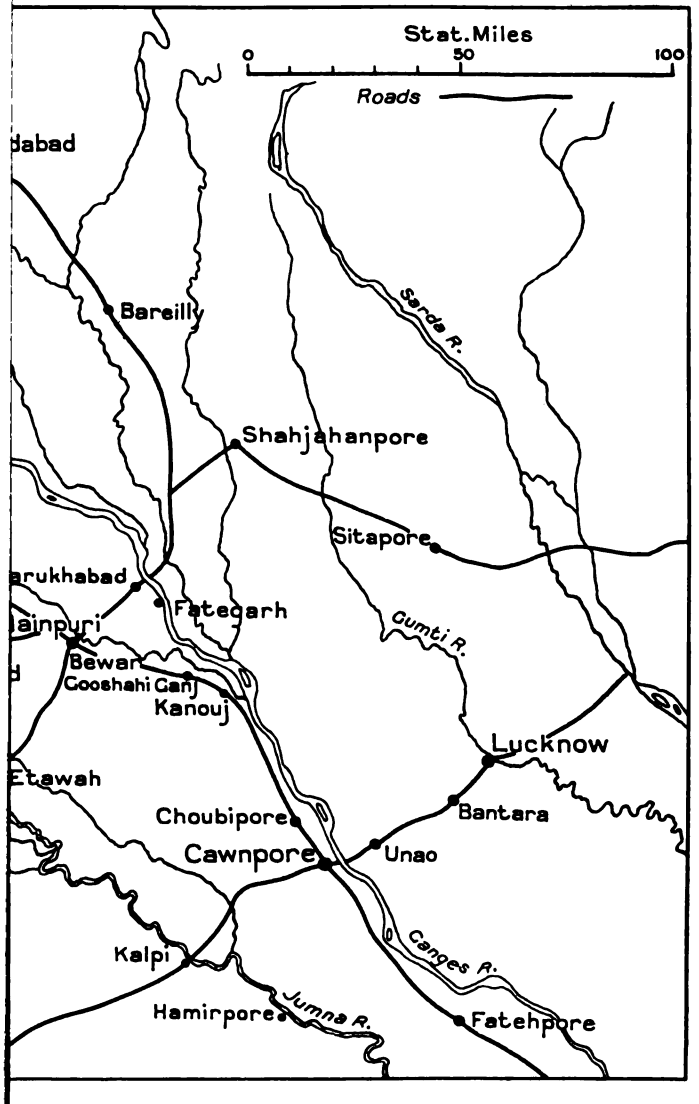
y the " Pursuing " Force, from Delhi to Agra
d Cawnpore—1857.



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THE DEFENCES OF LONDON IN 1643.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

INTRODUCTION.

There has just been published by the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, *A Map of XVII Century England with Description, Chronological Tables, and a Map of LONDON circa* 1660. See reproduction of cover on next page.

This unpretentious-looking 8vo. pamphlet contains a great deal more than its title suggests. It is a very complete handbook to matters connected with the history of England during the century, and will be invaluable to anyone who is studying that period, and still more so to anyone who is writing about it.

Within its scope comes 'A Surveigh of London'—a tract—by William Lithgow, published in 1643 [B.M. 10349. ff. 7.].

This 'Surveigh' is now given in full, accompanied by two explanatory maps, showing the various London Fortifications which were constructed in 1642 and 1643.

The first is the map now published by the Ordnance Survey—a compilation of London maps from contemporary sources—circa 1660.

The other is a reproduction of Vertue's map of 1738, which shows not only the defences of 1643—the year of Lithgow's 'surveigh'—but also the part of London City which was destroyed by fire in 1666 [*Gentleman's Magazine*. July. 1749.]

The pieces of ordnance, commonly called cannon, which are mentioned in the 'Surveigh' were :—

Name of Piece.	Weight. Cwts.	Diameter of bore. Inches.	Weight of shot. Pounds.	Weight of charge. Pounds.	Extreme range. Yards.
Cannon Royal	71½	8	64	32	1250
Demi-cannon	53½	6¾	36½	20	1500
Culverin	41	5½	19	15	1750
Demi-culverin	26¾	4½	11¾	9	1500

These were the largest natures of cannon at the time. It will be clear that London was, so to say, 'heavily' armed.

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A Map of XVII CENTURY ENGLAND

WITH

Description, Chronological Tables, and a Map of LONDON circa 1660.

Scale: 16 Miles to One Inch.

Published by the
ORDNANCE SURVEY,
SOUTHAMPTON.

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Lithgow was a Scot—a world traveller—possessed of a fondness of fantastic ideas and of high-flown language. He was discredited by his own countrymen, who styled him 'lying Lithgow'. On the title-page of the copy of the 'Surveigh' in the British Museum, is written in pencil, by the author's name—'a Schotch Man and a Lyar'. See 'D.N.B.'

Despite this, his 'surveigh' appears to be accurate, and though his description contains long and uncommon words, some possibly of his own invention, it is interesting and instructive.

An EXPLANATION of the References to the Forts and Places in and about London and Westminster, as shown on the accompanying map.

[From *The Gentleman's Magazine* of June, 1749. Vol. xix.]

1. A Bulwark and half on the Hill, at the North-end of Gravel Lane.
2. A Hornwork near the Windmill in White-chappel Road.
3. A Redoubt with 2 Flanks near Brick-Lane.
4. A Redoubt with 4 Flanks in Hackney Road, Shoreditch.
5. A Redoubt with 4 Flanks in Kingsland Road, Shoreditch.
6. A Battery and Breastwork, at Mountmill.
7. A Battery and Breastwork, at St. John's Street end.
8. A Small Redoubt, near Islington Pound.
9. A Large Fort with four Half Bulwarks, at the New-River Upper Pond.
10. A Battery and Breastwork on the Hill E. of Blackmary's hole.
11. Two Batteries and a Breastwork, at Southampton, now Bedford House.
12. A Redoubt with 2 Flanks, near St. Giles's Pound.
13. A Small Fort at the East end of Tiburn Road.
14. A Large Fort with four Half Bulwarks, across the Road at Wardour Street.
15. A Small Bulwark, at the Place now call'd Oliver's Mount.
16. A Large Fort with four Bulwarks, at Hide Park corner.
17. A Small Redoubt and Battery, on Constitution Hill.
18. A Court of Guard at Chelsey Turnpike.
19. A Battery and Breastwork in Tothill Fields.
20. A Quadrant Fort with 4 Half Bulwarks, at Vaux-hall.
21. A Fort with 4 Half Bulwarks, at the Dogg and Duck in St. George's Fields.
22. A Large Fort with 4 Bulwarks, near the end of Blackman Street.
23. A Redoubt with 4 Flanks near the Lock Hospital in Kent Street.

REFERENCES TO PLACES.

a. Ludgate.
b. Newgate.
c. Aldersgate.
d. Cripplegate.
e. Moregate.
f. Bishop's-gate.
g. Aldgate.
h. Great Tower Hill.
i. Little Tower Hill.
k. The Tower.
l. Stocks-market, now the city Mansion House.
m. St. Paul's cathedral.
n. Moorfields.
o. Smithfields.
p. Fleet ditch.
q. London-bridge.
r. Charing Cross.
s. Westminster bridge.
t. St. Peter's cathedral, Westminster.
u. Lambeth Palace.
w. Temple bar.

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THE PRESENT SVRVEIGH OF LONDON AND ENGLANDS STATE;

Containing a Typographical description of all the particular Forts, Redoubts, Breastworks, and Trenches newly erected round about the Citie on both sides of the River, with the severall Fortifications thereof.

* * * * * *

By William Lithgow.
London, Printed by J.O., 1643.

After long fourtie yeares wandring since my first launching abroad to surveigh the spacious bounds and tertiat (1) face of the ancient world; besides my daily fastidious and now frequent predestriat progresses at home, and in neighbour Regions about; and being fallen in the rotten bosome of declyning age, the sun being set on the winter day of mine elabourat time, and that time past three score years: yet now I say for diverse serious respects, in this instant year, 1643. April 24th. it was my resolution to imbarke at *Preston* Pannes, with sundrie passengers bound for *London*: Where weighing Ankers, and hoysing [hoisting] saile, with roome [large. *obs.*] winds and fair weather, we coasted along the *Brittannian* shoare. In all which deserted way, betweene Forth and Gravesend, wee found onely three ships, two *Scots*-men and a *Noruegian*, and one of the royall Whelps (2) lying at anker in *Aermouth* road, which made the sea resemble a wildernesse, and the devasted shoare the comfortlesse sight of a desolate land. Where never heretofore (winter excepted) these *Tritonian* bounds were seen (reciprocally taken) without 2000 saile recoursing that sandie and shelfy marine.

Now for a generall view, the Citie hath many courts du guard (3), with new barrocaded posts, and they strongly girded with great chaines of yron; and all the opening passages at street ends, for the fields and road wayes are in like manner made defensive, and strictly watched: The sides of the river, as at Billinsgate, and other places have also Courts du Guard, and they nightly guarded with companies of the Traind Bands: which number being of six old Regiments, and they six thousand men, are now doubled with six new Regiments, which maketh up twelve thousands in all. Beyond the River in the borrough

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1. Most probably a misprint for 'terrestrial.'
2. Auxiliary war vessels established in the reign of King Charles I, apparently originally so called because designed to attend upon H.M.S. *Lion*. *O.E.D.*
3. Properly *Corps de garde*, Fr. Introduced into England before 1600, meaning a small body of soldiers on guard, as sentinels; or, as here, the post or station occupied by them—a guard-room, or guard-house—the present day 'quarter-guard.'

See Shakespeare—I *Henry* VI, III. ii:—

(Serjeant addresses two centinels).
"Sirs, take your places and be vigilant.
If any noise or soldier you perceive
Near to the walls, by some apparent sign
Let us have knowledge at the court of guard."

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of *Southwark,* is the self same discipline observed, and all under the command of the Citie. So is *Westminster,* the *Strand,* and all the liberties thereof, now taken in under the custodie of *London*: and their Traind Bands there, I mean, of *Westminster* are not betrusted with neither Parliament nor Citie; so that the quotidian (4) guard of the Parliament come daily out of *London*: where they are placed in two courts of Guard, the one before the Hall in the Palace Court near the water staires, the other Court du Guard standeth in the Parliament yard, where the Peers ascend and descend from the upper House. Both Houses of Peeres and Commons having double Centinels, with Picke (5) and Musquet at the entrie of their sitting places, remaine there ay as long as the Parliamentariat bodies remaine: The number of the upper-house amounteth to twenty-six Noblemen, besides eight others at sea and land service, the lower house by a just computation of the Clark and given to me in Print, amount to two hundred and twelve Knights, and Commissioners, besides the deserted persons of both Houses, and some of them lately returned. And what shall I say, I found the Street-enravelld (6) Court, before White-hall gate, guarded also with a Court du Guard, a noveltie beyond novelties; and what was more rarer, I found the grasse growing deep in the royall Courts of the Kings House, which indeed was a lamentable sight. And in that sight I rancountered there abouts with *George Withers,* my fellow Poet, and once my fellow-prisoner, where, digesting some discourses, (for he is now a Captain of a Horse Troupe) he told me that he had beene plundered at Michalmes last by some of the Kings forces in *Surray,* for there he hath a wife and residence, where being civilizd, his Poetick mansion met with uncivill fellowes, I would say Malignants.

And here I may not forget the false and lying aspersions laid upon *Scotland* lately by two English authors, the one work, named the *Plain English* (7), where his perjuriat falsehood averres, that we hold and enjoy our present peace and safety, of some of their Peeres in *England;* when contrariwise they hold their Parliament and present libertie of *Scotland,* and our invincible armie which procured it. The other worke intituled *The subjects liberty* (8), will have *Scotland* at the first but a Dukedome and in subjection to *England;* see how these damnable villaines can coine & invent (as they please) such base absurdities, and yet go free unpunished. And why? Because they have from ancient and preteriat times, a generall and natural malignitie against our Nation, which neither can nor will be extermined till the day of doome; for it runneth in a successive line, as the Conduit from the fountaine ingorgeth the Pond. I would speak more freely here, and that justly, but that I do not love to be accounted for a Malignant, whilst there are too many already of that sycophantick kinde in both Kingdomes; and so I proceed in a fair way.

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4. Daily. 5. Pike. 6. Enclosed within railings.
7. Not traced.
8. *The Subjects Liberty: set forth in the Royall and Politique Power of England.* An anonymous pamphlet—"London: Printed for Ben. Allen in Popes-head Alley, 1643." (B.M. *Thomason Tracts.* E. 101. (19).)

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The daily musters and showes of all sorts of *Londoners* here, were wondrous commendable in marching to the fields and out-works (as Merchants, Silk-men, Macers (9), Shopkeepers, &c.) with great alacritie, carrying on their shoulders yron Mattocks, and wooden shovels, with roaring Drummes, flying collours, and girded swords; most companies being also interlarded with Ladies, women, and girles: two and two carrying baskets for to advance the labour, where divers wrought till they fell sick of their pains. All the trades and whole inhabitants (the Insey Courts (10) excepted) within the City, Liberties, Suburbs, and circumjacent dependencies went day about to all quarters for the erection of their Forts and Trenches: and this hath continued these foure months past, the half of which time I was a spectator to their laborious toyle, as after you shall hear. The greatest company which I observed to march out, according to their turnes, were the Taylours, carrying fourtie six collours, and seconded with eight thousand lusty men: The next in greatnesse of number, were the Watermen, amounting to seven thousand Tuggers (11), carrying thirty seven collours: The Shoe-makers were five thousand and oddes carrying twenty nine collors; and indeed the gentle craft (12) could never heretofore have mustered so many here since *Crispus* and *Crispianus*, the two supposed Princes, their Patrones, forsook the Trade. Neither in this catologue dare I forget the Porters that marched forth one day toward Tayburne fields, carrying twentie three collours, being three thousand white shirts: and (*verbi gratia*) upon that same day, a thousand Oyster wives (13), advanced from Billinsgate through Cheapside to Crabtree field all alone, with drummes and flying collours, and in a civil manner, their goddess *Bellona* leading them in a martiall way. The next day following May 17, the Feltmakers, Fishmongers, and Coupers, marched three severall wayes to three sundrie fields, carrying twenty four collours, had their number amounted to three thousand and odds.

And now to shun prolixitie, let the ingenious Reader judge, what number of numbers would these sequel Trades be, as Goldsmiths, Ferriers, Bakers, Bruers, Butchers, Cooks, Candlemakers, Smiths, Cutlers, Carpenters, Shipwrights, Joyners, Boxmakers, Wheelewrights, Turners, Carmers (14), and foure thousand Weavers, Braziers, Dyers, Imbrouderers, Horologiers, Watchmakers, Engravers, Tinkers, Haberdashers, Feathermakers, Clothiers, Tanners, Curriers, Glovers, Spurriers, Painters, Printers, Stationers, Bookbinders, Gunmakers, Glaziers, Masons, Tecturers (15), Brickmakers, Plumbers, Vpholsters, Combemakers, Girdlers, Coblers, Chimney-sweepers, Jackfarmers (16), with many moe that I cannot recollect. Which, indeed (as they are of a marvellous great number) so it was a delicate observation, to consider and remarke the indefatigable

9. Mace-bearer; in Scotland an official who keeps order in a Court of Law.
10. The Inns of Court. 11. Men who draw, haul, or pull. Cf. 'Tug of War.'
12. The gentleman's trade, so called from the romance of Prince Crispin, who is said to have made shoes.
13. A woman who sells oysters. 14. Possibly a misprint for Loriners.
15. Texture—a covering, a roof. Tecturer is not given in the 'O.E.D.' but obviously means a man who constructs or repairs the roofs of buildings.
16. Jakes-farmer—a man employed to clean out privies.

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multitude and strength of the City, never heretofore practised nor exercised. The computation whereof may facitly amount to an hundred thousand able men, not reckoning any above fifty years of age, although the latter number would far exceed the former.

And now closing this preceeding passage, behold the superstitious Holy dayes in the City, and Countrey, are not as hitherto abolished; Neither have they a seeming purpose to abandon them, because they are the baits of prophane pleasures, and vitious wantonnesse, which their gadding inclinations love rather to follow than forsake. Neither is their Service Book (17) exterminated, but in an ambiguous way some Churches professing it, and other some disallowing it; I will not here expostulate between the mean and the manner, but surely there is a great wisedome visibly seene in the generall councell, that will not enforce a sudden alteration upon the People, till weightier matters be first settled, lest the one half should devoure the other, and the common estate of the Common-weal be miserably ramversed, for as the *Italian* saith, *chiua Pianouasano* (18), so say we, that soft fire makes sweet malt: Even so the prudent proceeding of provident policie must with a multitude dallie, as the Fisherman doth with a hooked Salmond, lets him struggle in the streame a while, and then softly steales him to the land, where he is catchd, and dispatchd. And now the nature of man would ever either hear or see novelties, and here a speciall one; the Tower of *London* from long antiquitie, wont ever to guard the City (as the Eagle keeps her yong ones from the Griffon); but now the citie guards day and night the Tower, lest Bishop *Laud* (19) and Bishop *Wren* (20) should leap out through the iron windowes to swim on Thames and that *Euripus* (21) to swallow them down, which should be a great pitie, if the Popes indulgences could prevent it. And now I recall at my first coming here, it was agitate in Parliament, to send these two ghostly fathers to new *England*, that the great ocean, before their arrivall there, might purge them (like to purgatorie) of all the corruptions and perfidious knaveries they had done in *England*, with many others these twenty five yeares: This resolution was relented, which many a heart lamented: but it may be against the next spring, they will either make saile or hing (22). The Citie now hath fourteen horse Troupes, that scoute the highwayes, both day and night, and ride the round nightly, twice about the foot squadrons, where so their Centinels are set at watch, and themselves to stand on guard, for this is the militarie way of *Mars*.

And now coming to my maine purpose, I wish the Reader should but conceive, as my pen let him see, the fairest encompassed city in all *Europe*, which my pedestriall march in twelve hours time painfully performed. And thus, three dayes before my departure thence, I approached, to make the *toure* round about, and descending to the lower end of Wappine, there I

17. A book of forms of religious service—a prayer-book.
18. *Italian. Chi va piano, va sano.* He who goes quietly, goes wisely.
19. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, at this time a prisoner in the Tower.
20. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, a supporter of Laud, and now a prisoner in the Tower.
21. A strait, or sea-channel, celebrated for the violence and uncertainty of its currents.
22. Hang, i.e. be hanged.

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beganne my curcuit. Then here close by the houses and the River *Thames*, I found a seven angled Fort [No. 1.] erected of turffe, sand, watles, and earthen worke (as all the rest are composed of the like), having nine Port holes, and as many cannons; and neare the top round about pallosaded with sharpe wooden stakes fixt in the bulwarkes right out, and a foot distant from another, which are defensive for suddain scalets (23), and single ditchd below, with a Court du Guard within. Advancing thence along the trench dyke (for all the Trenches are deep ditchd about) which runneth through Wappine Fields, to the further end of Whitechappell, a great way without Aldgate, and on the road way to *Essex*, I saw a nine angled Fort [No. 2.] only pallosaded and single ditched, and planted with seven pieces of brazen Ordonance, and a Court du Guard, composed of timber, and thatch'd with tyle stone, as all the rest are: Where towards Myle-end green, I beheld there two pettie Forts or Redoubts [No. 3.], each of them with three Ports and they Cannoned, stand within an intrenched closure, having five courts du guard, that secure the passage way: From Whitechappell Fort, Northwestward, I trenched along the Trenches to Shoarditch Fort [No. 4.] standing mainly quadrangled, single pallosaded, and single ditched, carrying on three corners of the four, eight Demicanons and a royall court du guard within: And without which and at Kingsland (being the old post way for *Scotland*) there stands two earthen Rampires with two Courts du guard. Thence returned; I followed along the champaine breastworkes to Hogston, where I found a quadrat Fort [No. 5.] well pallosaded and planted with five Cannons at the two field corners: The strength (23.a.) is double ditched, and betweene the two it is strongly barrocaded, with wooded stakes, everie stake neare the top being fenced with three iron hookes of a span long. Thence I marched through Fineberry fields along the Trench (enclosing there Moorefields) and came to Mount mil-hill, Fort [No. 6.] (for all the forts about are blank and blanke (24) in sight of others) where being arryved I found it standing on the highway near to the Red Bull: This is a large and singular fortification, having a Fort above and within a Fort, the lowest consisting of five angles, two whereof towards the fields, are each of them thrice ported, having as many great Cannon, with a flanking piece from a hid corner: The upper Fort standing circular is furnished with eleven pieces of Cannon reall (25), which command all the rest, and upon the bosome top of all standeth a Windmill: The lower bulwarks, are first pallosaded round about, and near their tops, and then in the middle flank between the two ditches, strongly barrocaded, beside two Countercarps, and three Redoubts of lesser importance, yet all defensive. This is one of the chief Forts about the city and first erected. Thence footing along the Trench dyke (which is three yards thick, and on the ditch side twice as high) I courted Islington, at the lower end whereof I found a strong and large strength, called Waterfield Fort [No. 9.], having within two utter workes a circularie Mount, stored with nine great pieces of artillerie, and on the point of a Countercarp three pieces more:

23. Attacks by escalade. 23. a. Stronghold.
24. Meaning, apparently, within view of each other, without anything intervening on any side. 25. Royal.

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there I saw the longest Court du guard (being longer than two ordinarie Churches) that I have seen as yet. A little further, about ten paire buts (26), I approached to Islington hill, where there is erected a most rare & admirable Fortification, called Strawes Fort, but now Fort Royall [No. 10.] It hath eight angles, and a spacious interlarding distance, between each of the cornerd bulwarks: This fort is marvellous perspicuous and prospective both for City and countrey, commanding all the other inferiour fortifications near and about that part of the enclining grounds. The northeast cornerd Bulwark is double altified above the rest of the worke, carrying on the two sides thereof six Cannon Royall; and the two South and West corners are mutually charged on each of them with two half Culverins of Brasse; and the East promontoriat corner adorned with three whole Cannon. The altified bulwark is twice pallosaded, and at the root of the work answerable to the top of the inmost ditch, it is strongly barrocaded; the middle place between the two ditches is enravelled all about with low wooden Stakes, and long pikes of throwne pointed iron, and without all which works there is a breastwork cast up, and made defensive either for the first assault, or for the second invasion.

Decending thence to Holburne fields, I accoasted a strength, named, Pinder of Wakfields Fort [No. 11.] being onely quadrangled, pallosaded, and single ditched, and enstalled with five great Ordonance and a Court du guard. Abandoning the place and shoaring along the trench a little further to Longfield, I presently rancoutred with Nort Hampton Fort [No. 12.] consisting of two divided quadrangled bulwarks, and each of them garnished with foure Demiculverins of brasse; the interveening distance fortified, the two former bodies are pallosaded, double ditched, and the middle division wherof barrocaded with stakes a yard high, and each of them hooked with three counter-thwarting pikes of iron: Whence, conducted along with the Trenches through S. *Geilles* fields, I arryved at Crabtree Fort, in Crabtree fields [No. 13.], standing in a quadrangle, and loaded with six Culverines of Brasse, placed on the two field corners, defying the Malignants or what assailants may there encroach: The fort is pallosaded above, double ditched below, and barrocaded in the middle division, with thick standing stakes and they counterbanded with thwarting iron pyks and a stately court duguard within.

Leaving this and marching along the circulary line, it grieved me to see so many rich grounds of grasse utterly spoyled with the erection of these works, insomuch that horse and cattell certaynels (27) will come short of their food there for seven years and the owners thereof must fall pittyfully short of their yearly profits, for where trouble is, then cometh misery. Having left the aforsaid fort, I saluted the banqueting-house fortresse [No. 14.] composed of two forts upon *Tayburne* way and *Maribone* fields: Here I found both the forts answerable to other, the

26. i.e., ten times the distance between a pair of butts.
Butt—a mound, or other erection, on which a target was set up for the practice of archery. There were usually two butts, one at each extremity of a shooting range. The distance between a pair of such butts was probably from 200 to 300 yards.
27. Certainly.

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way only divyding them, and they both, pallosaded, double ditchd, and barrocaded with iron pyks; the one cled (28) with eight demicanon, and the other fensed with foure semi-culverines of iron; both wondrous defensible. A little advanced from this Tayburnian passage, I insulted upon Serjeants fort [No. 15.], composed mainly of foure angles, a court du guard five piece of ordonance and fortifyed in all things, just like to the former: departing thence, I shortly encroached upon Head Park Corner fort [No. 16.] which is a maine great strength, having one fort above, and within another, and a third fort closing the road way standeth breasting the other two: The upmost inveloped fort, overtopping the other two; is garnished with eight cannon reall and on the inferiour bulwark northward, being a second part of the forts maine body, there be intrusted there five brazen half-cannons more; and before it towards the fields a breasting Countercarp: The third dependant fort standeth enstald with six demieculverines, amounting to ninteen of all: This great fortification, is but only pallosaded and single ditched, yet wonderfull strong and of great bounds: all the three having seventeen angles. And this is the westmost fortification enclosing the park, the fields, the large mansion, and other enlargements belonging to S. James his liberty. Thence drayning along a devalling Trench through Milk-field toward Tuttlefields, I rancontred with two halfmoon workes; some ten paire buttes distant, both of them pallosaded, barrocaded with irne picks, and each of them planted with three demi cannon of brasse: Both these works stand sighting Chelsay. Whence breasting along the breastworkes I happily imbraced Tuttlefield fort [No. 19.] my familiar ground of old acquaintance. This fortress is composed of nyne angles being pallosaded, and only double ditched, and surcharged at the south and west corners with six pieces of ordonance and a court du guard. Here is an end of Midlesex labour: from which posternall place, I courted the river syde, and crossed over to Lambeth in Surray: In the head of which town westward, and close by the river, I visited the nyne-elmes fort [No. 20.] composed of foure angles, five ports, and five demi-culverines, being slenderly pallosaded and single ditched, for this fort and Tuttle fort stand opposite to other, the river only dividing them. Whence following my circulary progresse, I enhaunced my desired view of Fauxhall fort which indeed is a delicate large and defensive work being twice pallosaded, once ditched, and bearing the burthen of fourteen culverines. And hence transported amaine with a greedy desire to surveigh S. Georges fields, I found half way hither a singular countercarp, and fortified, besides workmanship, with three half culverines; and then I arryved at the fort royall [No. 21.] in Georges field: Which indeed of all the works I have as yet made mention of, this is the only rarest and fairest, and contryved and reared after the moderne modell of an impregnant Citadale: having foure large bulwarks, every one counterbanding another from flank to flank, and the foure interveining quarters are also interlaced with spacious and defensible midworks: the maine bosome

28. i.e., clad, clothed.

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of which, with the incumbent insides of the foure Promontories, may easily containe three thousand men the foure corners being destinated for twenty foure cannon reall. The exteriour works are not as yet accomplished (although fast advancing) but certainly they will bee perfyted after the Londonian forts as I have newly rehearsed; Neither are the trenches done which are drawn a long thence to the top of Southwark called Nevington Fort [No. 22.]: The which is composed of two flanking Redoubts, divyding nine pieces of ordonance between them, having two courts du-guard, and backed with two Countercarps, infringing the road way passenger, till a condigne tryall of what are you what carry you and from whence came you bee demanded; Hence I continued my purpose to the top of Kentstreet and found there only a circulary rampire [No. 23.] of smal importance, fensed with a single ditch between two ditches, and enstald with five piece of ordonance, and so is the other at the back of Redreiff, but more defensible then the other: yet they are both to be interlarded with redoubts & countercarps, in the intrenched grounds. So here at Redreiff fort just opposite to Wapine fort, I finished the pilgrimagious toyle of a wearisome dayes journey, the circuit whereof, on both sides the river amounteth to eighteen Kentish myles. From which I may say, that London was never truly London till now, for now she sits like a noble lady upon a royall thron, securing all her encroaching pendicles (29) under the wings of a motherly protection; yet these limites were never heretofore granted till the Parliament for their better safety, confirmed this construction; that (Grand *Cayro* excepted) I have not seen a larger inveloped compasse within the whole universe. By which computation I apprehend that this circuit comprehends above five hundred thousand dwelling houses, and in them large three million of soules, but methinkes he were a happy Prince, that could bee but only King of such a city, as London now sits intrenched though hee had no moe Provinces besides. And now the maine number of all these circulating fortresses (besides redoubts, countercarps, and halfmoon-workes, along the trenches) amount to twenty foure forts in all; & upon them planted and resetled two hundred and twelve pieces of Cannon, which indeed is a mighty and tremendous sight, where *Vulcan* and *Bellona* mean to make a bloody match if the esurious (30) Assailants should come in a tragicall inconsiderable way, to surpryse the virginitie of these new and now almost finished fortifications. Which indeed have been verie chargeable to the City, and daily will bee more, for all the Portholes are soled (31) and syded with timber, the platformes where the cannons ly, are laid with strong oaken planks; all the ordonance are mounted upon new wheels, besides the pallosading and barrocading of them without, with yron workes, and other engynes.

And now sorest in the daily maintaining of Commanders and forces into them, with ammunition and all things necessarie both for the Forts

29. A subordinate or dependant part of an estate.
30. i.e., esurient—hungry, impecunious and greedy.
31. Floored. The word is still in use as the 'sole' of an embrasure (porthole), or of an oven.

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and Souldiers. But it is no matter, let Guildhall pay for all, for there lyeth the Treasurie and weekly collections of the Citie, which amounteth to twelve thousand pound starling a-week, besides the Countrey about: and moreover, the customes, the Royall rents, the episcopall revenues, the plundring of Malignants, and all lye there: where there are sitting a daily Committee appointed by the Parliament and City, who have the disposing of all, as they think fitting: notwithstanding they must returne their accounts to both the Houses.

And now in discoursing of these Forts, I have been somewhat prolixious, not usuall in my former styles, but done of purpose, that the Reader may conceive by Paper, which I have known by occular experience; and so I proceed. * * * *

THE PENINSULAR WAR—1808 to 1814.

A HISTORY OF THE PENINSULAR WAR. By Charles Oman, K.B.E. At The Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1930. Vol. VII. August 1813—April 14, 1814. Demy 8vo. pp. xii. 574. *port. maps.*

The six previous volumes were published:—

I. 1902.	III. 1908.	V. 1914.
II. 1903.	IV. 1911.	VI. 1922.

With the conclusion of this volume Sir Charles Oman completes the herculean task which he set himself to perform upwards of thirty years ago. The astonishing industry, perseverance and volume of reading required for such a task can perhaps be realised by no one other than the author himself. He has left nothing to chance but has studied on the very scene of action nearly all Wellington's battlefields. Some of his opinions and criticisms—notably those on Sir John Moore's campaign—will be questioned by military writers; but it may be taken for granted that in future no student of the Peninsular operations will refrain from consulting Sir Charles's work even should he not regard it as infallible. It is in truth a magnificent production and admirably completed by appendices and maps of illustration well and clearly drawn. The Parade States and Lists of Casualties are of especial informative value.

The Volume before us, VII. (and last), deals with the concluding period of Wellington's campaigns from August 1813 to April 1814, both inclusive. Sir C. Oman draws particular attention in the Preface to the fact that Wellington's strategy was dictated not less by political than by military motives. He was obliged to weigh again and again the chances that the Allies of Britain might conclude with Napolean a peace which Britain herself could not accept. In such a case the British Commander might find himself exposed to the attack of the entire military forces of the Empire, and not until such danger was removed, could he venture to establish himself in France.

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Sir Charles gives a detailed account of the mismanaged siege and costly capture of San Sebastian. The only person to gain credit in this operation was General Rey, the gallant old defender. The Passage of the Bidassoa and the Battle of the Nivelle were two of Wellington's finest exploits. The latter he himself considered as the best feat that he ever achieved. It was certainly the culminating point of his career, for the actions on the Nive, at Orthez and Toulouse show considerable shortcomings, which indeed were not redeemed in the short Belgian campaign of the following year.

Our author of course does not confine his narrative to Wellington. The operations on the East Coast of Spain are described in as great detail as they deserve, and their influence on the issue of the war receives due weight.

It is an extremely difficult task for anyone without personal military experience to write the history of military operations, but if Sir Charles Oman has not escaped all pitfalls, he has shown a truly marvellous power of collecting, weighing, and placing before his readers all the facts bearing directly or indirectly on the situation, a situation at times of intense complication. He does ample justice to the efforts of the Spaniards themselves and shews in general a spirit of judicial impartiality. It is to be sincerely hoped that Sir Charles Oman has received the well deserved pecuniary reward of his labour: but even if that has failed him he will not the less appreciate the very hearty congratulations which his splendid achievement so thoroughly merits.

THE FORTS OF CHIGNECTO.

THE FORTS OF CHIGNECTO. A study of the Eighteenth Century conflict between France and Great Britain in Acadia. By John Clarence Webster, B.A., M.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S.C., Member of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. Published by the Author. 1930. Crown 4 to. pp. 142. iv. *ill. ports. maps.*

From *The Halifax* [Nova Scotia] *Chronicle* of 10 October, 1930.

Just as the Thames has been described in the famous phrase as "liquid history," so the narrow strip of land, lying between Baie Verte and the Bay of Chignecto, which joins the peninsula of Nova Scotia to continental America, may as aptly be called a mine of Acadian history. The Isthmus of Chignecto is storied ground. The rich marshes of Tantramar and the rolling uplands, alike with the natural advantages of topography and situation, attracted the attention of the French pioneers and explorers.

The first settler in Chignecto came from Port Royal in 1679. The fertile lands and inviting opportunities for farming and fur trading impelled others in the train of the pioneer, and in the course of half a century

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Chignecto became one of the three most populous settlements in Acadie. Even more important in its historical relation, it became the channel of communication and transport between the separated French outposts, a corridor also leading from Acadie to the New France on the banks of the St. Lawrence, just as again in the closing scenes of the dramatic duel between English and French on Nova Scotian soil, it ranked with Louisburg as a strategic point.

No other section of historic Acadie surpasses the Isthmus of Chignecto in the wealth and variety of the memories and traditions clustering around its old forts, none has witnessed more stirring or more dramatic events, none possesses so many landmarks that are reminiscent of the last war fought on the soil of Nova Scotia, more than 170 years ago. Old France and New France, Old England and New England, all played their parts in the miniature stage at Chignecto in the final scenes of the drama which determined the destiny of Nova Scotia.

The history of this famous theatre of war and intrigue and of the part it played in the issue of the international duel is presented by Dr. J. Clarence Webster in *The Forts of Chignecto*, just issued in a single volume. Dr. Webster has spent years in collecting the material for his book—a task which involved a study of original documents, of military and civil reports and letters, journals of officers and officials, letters of missionaries, and early maps and sketches which required painstaking research in Canada, the United States, London and Paris.

The result of this prodigious "labor of love" is a comprehensive and luminous study of one of the most intriguing chapters in our history and one of the most interesting sections of America. It is a monument to the industry, the literary craftsmanship and not the least the "historical sense" of the author. The workmanship of the book is highly creditable, the printing has been admirably done, the paper is excellent, the type is clear, the margins are ample, the indexing and documenting are satisfactory and the proof-reading almost letter-perfect.

The arrangement of chapters is in an orderly and well-balanced sequence. Beginning with a comprehensive account of the topography and nomenclature of Chignecto, followed by chapters on the French system of Communications and Transport, Conditions in Acadia preceding the attack on Beausejour (which is an epitome of Nova Scotian history for the period), a detailed description of the old forts of Beausejour, Gaspereau, and Lawrence, and the minor redoubts and outposts, the author comes to the *pièce de résistance*, the expedition against and the siege and capture of Beausejour in 1755. There is a final chapter on the British occupation of the captured forts which contains much new material derived from the Journals of Winslow, Willard and Knox, in which the story of the abortive Eddy uprising at the time of the American Revolution is recounted.

The book is enriched with a wealth of illustrations including maps of the Isthmus, plans of the forts and rare portraits of leading colonial

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personages, French as well as English, in the period under review. Many of these are derived from Dr. Webster's own valuable collection at Shediac. Most of them are now published for the first time. The book is sprinkled also with facsimiles of signatures of many of the military and civil leaders mentioned in the text.

The maps are especially important. Of particular interest is the one which will challenge the attention, as it may well excite the envy, of contemporary historians. It is the map of de Meulles, Intendant of New France, who visited Chignecto in 1685. It was made about fourteen years after the first settlement on the Isthmus and is the earliest map of Chignecto. It is interesting to note on this map the earliest place names used by the French, some of which have disappeared. The de Meulles map is of peculiar interest at the moment, for the reason that it was the first map on which a projected canal across the Isthmus of Chignecto was designated. In his report accompanying the map de Meulles details his plan for constructing the canal which was designed to connect the Missaguash and Baie Verte Rivers. The original of the de Meulles map of Chignecto was found in the Paris Archives, and it is now first made known in America. The reproduction of this important map in *The Forts of Chignecto* is an example of Dr. Webster's genius for discovery.

For his narrative of the operations which ended with the surrender of Beausejour Dr. Webster has delved into English, French and American sources, and here again he has been able to cite two important journals of the period which never before have been published. The first of these, the Journal of Robert Monckton, who commanded the Expedition against Fort Beausejour in 1775, has lain for years in the "splendid isolation" of the Royal Library in Windsor Castle. It was found there only a few months ago by Mr. Stanley Paigellis, of Yale University, in the course of an investigation. Through the good offices of Dr. H. P. Biggar, the Canadian Archivist in London, Dr. Webster obtained a copy, and this very interesting document is now published for the first time by permission of the King.

Dr. Webster has unearthed another very valuable document of exceeding interest in the Journal of Abijah Willard, a New England officer in Monckton's army. It is of importance particularly because of the details given in it of the punitive raids made by Monckton's troops against the French villages after the capture of Beausejour. The Willard Journal is now owned by the Huntington Library of California. Its inclusion in full in this volume was not expedient, but it is interesting to learn that the text of the Journal is being published by Dr. Webster in the 1930 Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society.

But hardly less important than the text of 83 pages is the Appendix, which is a veritable storehouse of information. First of all there is a careful compilation of biographical sketches, many of them printed for the first time, of such celebrated personages and colorful figures as Cornwallis, LaCorne, Lawrence, Paul Mascarene, Monckton, Governor Shirley

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of Massachusetts, John Winslow, de la Galisonniere, de la Jonquierre, de Ramezay, Abbé Maillard, Thomas Pichon, the spy, and the masterful Abbé Le Loutre, so long regarded as the malevolent genius of the Acadians but now treated by contemporary historians in a kindlier light—a compilation which will be a joy to students. Also in the appendix are such important and valuable materials as the Journal of Charles Lawrence, 1750, and the Instructions of Governor Cornwallis; the Journal of Robert Monckton, 1755; the Journal of Joseph Goreham, 1776; Letters from French officials in Chignecto, the Journal of Captain de la Valliere, 1750-1751, and De Meulles' Report on Chignecto, 1686.

The Forts of Chignecto is a notable contribution to historical study in a field which Dr. Webster long has been exploring with fruitful results. The latest volume from his pen will place students, and indeed all who are interested in the history of Nova Scotia, under a fresh obligation to this careful inquirer and accomplished writer. It is to be regretted that the edition is limited to 400 copies, yet one may hope that no public or college library will long be without this important and valuable work.

To say that *The Forts of Chignecto* will be invaluable for historical students is not to say all that should be said in a review. Dr. Webster is a competent historian, with a wide range of culture, the capacity for painstaking investigation and the gift of vigorous and lucid narrative. He is steeped in the history of Chignecto; he knows the ancient landmarks of the Isthmus as familiar scenes. So he is singularly well equipped to make vivid the panorama of those stirring days of conflict that surged around the old forts. In fancy one can see with him "the drama of destiny unfold before us, from the first venture of the French pioneers at Beaubassin, to the rich developments of the Nineteenth Century under the protection of a great and powerful Empire. A long procession passes before us of sturdy peasants driving back the waters of the bay, of hunters, traders, adventurers, on sea and land, soldiers, Indian warriors, missionaries and Governors."

This is the pageant of history that flows in and around the storied marshes and uplands surrounding the old Forts of Chignecto—where now the descendants of the two warring races dwell together in a community of peace and good-will.

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NOTES AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES TO QUESTIONS should be addressed to the EDITOR, 8, PALMERSTON ROAD, SHEFFIELD.

NOTES.

227. FISHGUARD, PEMBROKESHIRE—1797. (vol. vi. 248; ix. 175). In line 2 of Note 221, page 175, in vol ix. of *Journal*, there is a mistake.

For "(July-December, 1929)" should be substituted "(January-June, 1930)".

West Wales Historical Records—The Annual Magazine of The Historical Society of West Wales—vol. xiv. 1929—edited by Francis Green and printed at Carmarthen by W. Spurrell & Son, contains an article entitled "The French Invasion of Pembrokeshire in 1797: Official documents, contemporary letters, and early narratives", compiled by David Salmon, covering pages 129 to 206. There are two maps and one illustration.

The illustration here produced, by the kindness of the Historical Society of West Wales, shows the act of surrender of the French invading force.

Principal David Salmon, the Secretary of the Society, writes:—

"The picture, the work of an unknown amateur, was presented to the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society by Major W. J. Hughes, having previously been in the Middleton Hall, Llanarthney, collection. Its art is poor; its geography and history are not altogether accurate; but it is curious, and must have been painted soon after the event."

J. H. LESLIE.

REPLIES.

327. MARINE REGIMENTS IN THE ARMY. (vol. x. 67.) Some extracts from a "Report from the Committee, appointed to consider the State of His Majesty's Land Forces and Marines. * * * * * Made upon Friday, the 6th day of June, 1746," give information on some of the points raised in Question No. 344.

This Report, which covers 233 foolscap pages, was printed in 1746.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Sewell, of the Duke of Bolton's Regiment, being examined, said, That he was a Captain in Brigadier Jeffreys's Regiment of Marines, from the raising of it, to the 4th of October last". (p. 118.)

* * * * * *

"That the Marines, on board the said Ship, were employed upon Deck; but that no Orders were given to them to furl the Sails, tho' they did it voluntarily, at the Witness's Desire; the Reason of which was, that the Men might be of use, after they are discharged from this Service." (p. 119.)

"Captain John Murray, of Colonel Cochran's Regiment of Marines, being examined, said, That he was appointed a Lieutenant in the said Regiment by the King; and was afterwards promoted to the Rank of Captain abroad, in Turn, being the oldest Lieutenant; and that he had been twice in the West Indies; and the last time, commanded a Detachment of 70 Men, belonging to different Companies." (p. 128.)

* * * * * *

"The witness further said, That by Slops is meant all Necessaries for the Cloathing of the Men, except the out-side Apparel; besides which Necessaries, when they go to Sea, they have regimental Frocks, and Caps, made of coarse Cloath, provided for them,

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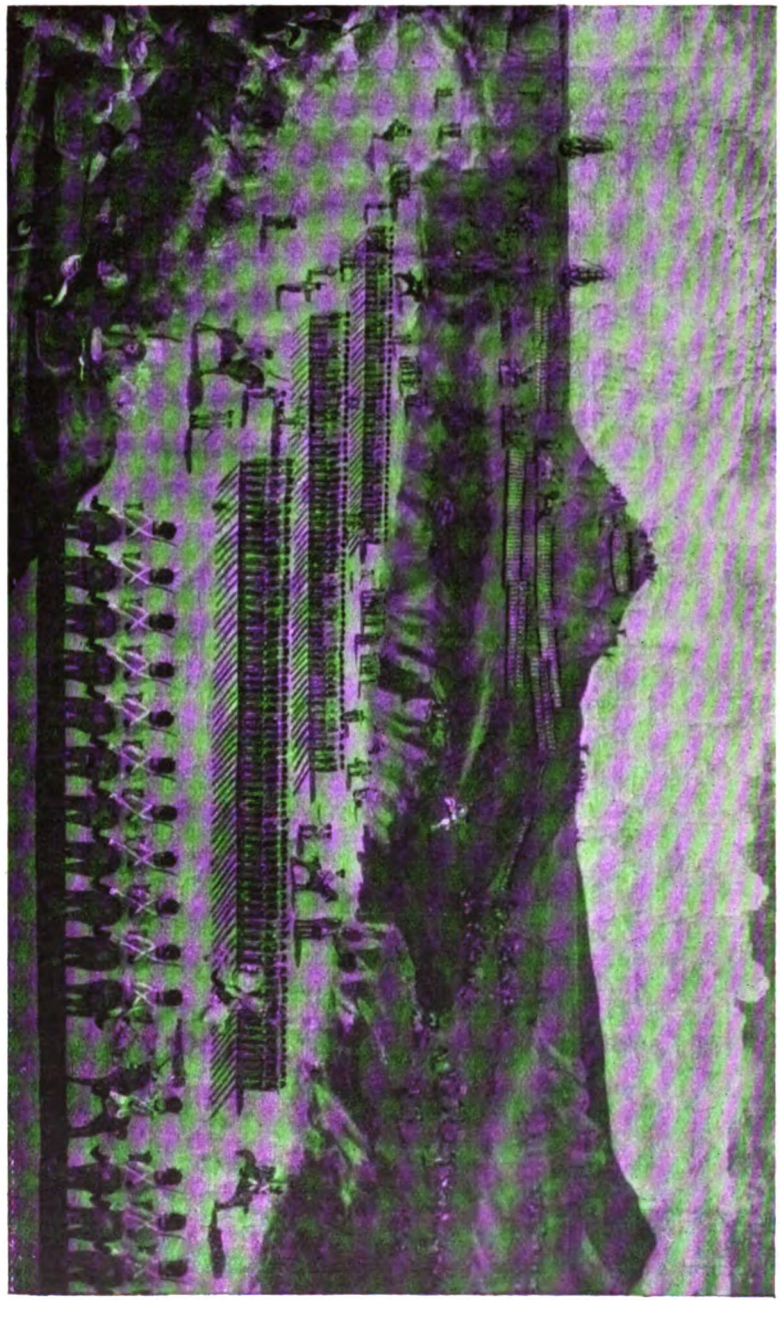

The French Invaders lay down their arms at Fishguard, and surrender. 1797.

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which they pay for out of their Subsistence; and that they are fed as the Ship's Company is, and do Duty upon Deck; but that he never knew them put to the Guns."

"And he added, That the Men are frequently prevailed upon by the Petty-Officers on board, and others, to make Wills in their Favour; and that a Serjeant belonging to this Regiment, being detected, was lately broke for this Practice." (p. 129.) SEASERPENT.

328. FRONTLET. (vol. x. 67.) In *Madras Artillery Records*, vol. iii (covering the years 1836-43), there are "Bengal Siege Train Tables"—pages 321 to 474. A Note on page 321 explains the object of the Tables in these words:—

"The following Tables are intended to exhibit the number, and nature of Ordnance composing the three classes [Nos. 1, 2, and 3] of Siege Trains, as laid down by the Military Board, also the dimensions of different parts of Ordnance Carriages, the dimensions and weights of the various implements and stores, and the quantity and weight of ammunition allowed to each train when equipped for service.

"The Tables are divided in four parts.

1st. The Ordnance and Carriages; also carriages for transporting mortars and stores, with spare carriages and half wrought materials, &c.
2nd. Implements.
3rd. Ammunition and Laboratory Stores.
4th. General Stores.

"These Tables shew the quantity of each article allowed for each train."

On page 429 it is laid down that twelve 24-pounder Frontlets are allowed to a No. 1 Train, six to a No. 2, and four to a No. 3.

The same quantity was allowed for 18-pounder guns—p. 457.

On page 438 Frontlets are thus described:—

"Frontlets are used to protect the Gunner when laying a piece of Ordnance; they are made of four inches thick plank, and are stuffed with Oakum or Tow, on the side placed towards the enemy, so as to be musket-shot proof, they are placed on the gun in front of the vent-field, and are fixed to the Carriage by two long iron rods or supporters.

"They are made up in Magazines—one is allowed to each piece of Battering Ordnance; they are carried on hackeries."

It is curious to find that in the same month (September, 1857) as frontlets, used at the siege of Delhi, were 'thrown on one side' as 'detracting a good deal from the efficient use of the gun', etc., the following letter appeared in Colburn's United Service Magazine, advocating the introduction of Mantelets in Field-Batteries:—

"Sir, In consequence of the great improvement which has taken place of late years in fire-arms, especially in rifles, it has often struck me that some additional precautions should be taken to prevent, or at any rate diminish, the chances of casualties amongst the men and horses attached to the field-batteries of the artillery.

* * * * * *

"Anything that tends to preserve the efficiency of men and horses in an army really adds to its strength. The plan I propose of mantelets is not intended for horse artillery, but only for field-batteries of 9 pounders and 24 pounder howitzers, or 12 pounder brass guns.

"It may be urged that these mantelets will be an encumbrance, and diminish their power of rapid movement; but, on any emergency, they can be dispensed with, especially when attacking; only when in position, or when on the defensive, such a protection may save some valuable lives. The rope netting used by the Russians in their embrasures was found to be extremely useful; perhaps this would be too weighty, but two thick ox-hides, hung loose, at an inch asunder, would stop many spent balls which otherwise might wound the men at the guns. I should also suggest that the ammunition-box of the limber should open at the back instead of the top, as at present: this would obviate the necessity of the gunner serving out ammunition exposing himself more than absolutely necessary to the enemy's marksmen; also that, on coming into action, the gun limbers should always reverse, so as to bring the horses' heads to the rear,

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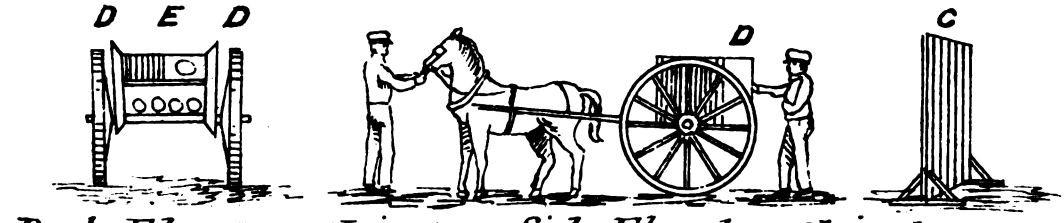
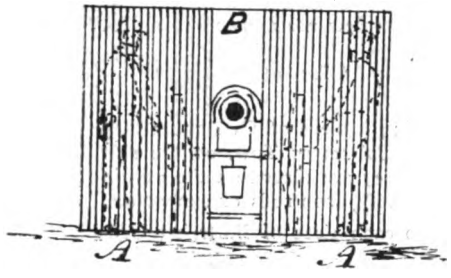
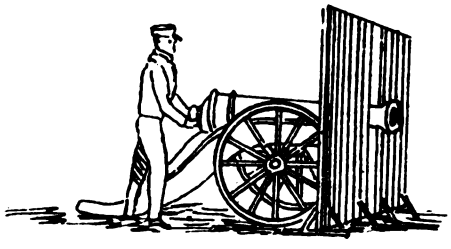
and interpose the limber between them and the enemy; the drivers should also immediately dismount. It must be clearly understood that these mantelets are not expected to resist round shot, or even musket-balls at close range, but merely spent balls, and to prevent rifle-men picking off individual men at the guns. When there is a chance of a battery remaining in a position for any time, the greatest care should be taken to screen the limbers and ammunition-wagons: the enemy's marksmen might at times be misled by green brushwood piled along the front of the battery; this is, of course, when field-works are not advisable.



Back Elevatn. of Limber. *Side Elevatn. of Limber.*



Front Elevation.



Side Elevation.

"A.A. two mantelets, 4 feet by 6 feet, formed of iron frames; the stanchions at the feet moveable by hinges for the convenience of packing; those for the guns are also connected by cross bars BB; the frames are covered with two ox-hides hung loose.

"C. Mantelet to cover gun-limber, 6 feet by 5 feet. DD. doors of ammunition-box, with shot and shell below and copper magazine above E.

"To each two guns or howitzers a light cart should be attached, to carry the mantelets, four for the guns and two larger for the limbers; this cart could also carry all intrenching tools."

Nearly fifty years passed by before gun-shields were adopted in the English Army for Horse and Field Artillery guns. NEUX.

329. FLAG OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY. (vol. ix. 69, 183). The boats shewn in this picture are the boats of the Hon. East India Company's Bombay Marine ships, which co-operated with a squadron of the Royal Navy at the taking of Rangoon on 11 May, 1824.

The boats are wearing the striped Ensign (commonly known as the 'Gridiron' Ensign) which was worn by the ships of the Hon. East India Company's Bombay Marine, afterwards the Indian Navy. This distinctive flag was never authorized by Admiralty warrant, and was never worn in Home waters, as explained in *Journal*, vol. ix, 183.

The combined squadron was under the command of Commodore Charles Grant, C.B., Naval Commander-in-Chief in India, who flew his Broad pennant in H.M.S. *Liffey*, 50 guns, one of his Captains being Captain Marryat, the author of *Peter Simple* and other well-known Naval stories. EDWARD HEADLAM.

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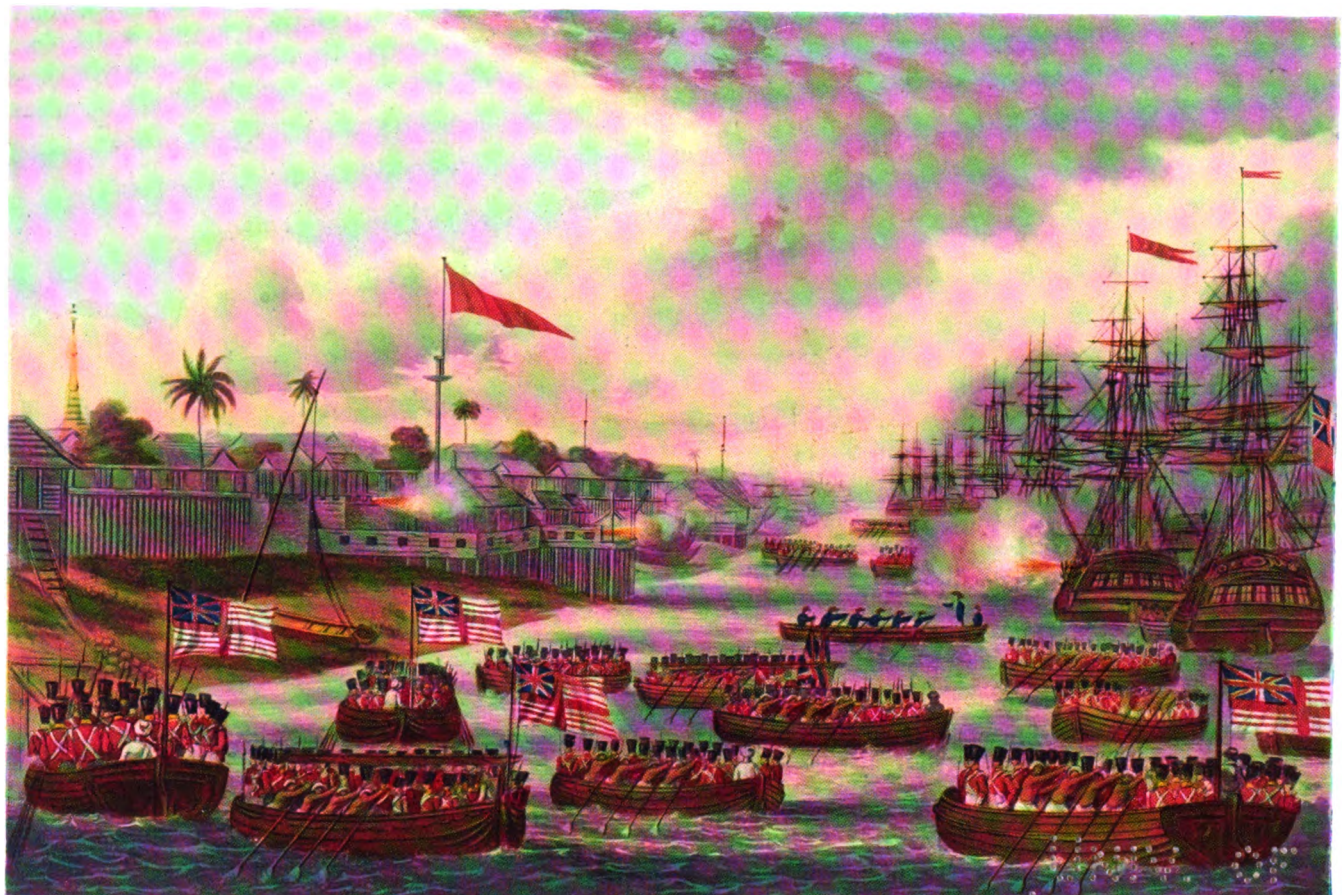

[From a Coloured Print in the Royal United Service Institution

VIEW OF THE LANDING AT RANGOON

Of part of the combined forces from Bengal and Madras, under the orders of Sir Archibald Campbell, K.C.B., on May 11th, 1824.

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THE DIARY AND LETTERS

OF

ARTHUR MOFFATT LANG,

1ST LIEUTENANT, BENGAL ENGINEERS. INDIA—1857 TO 1859.

(*Continued from page* 108.)

SECTION III. 1857. NOVEMBER. BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

Advance from Cawnpore to Lucknow, 30 October—13 November.
Second Relief of Lucknow. 14-21 „

THE DIARY AND LETTERS—*Continued.*

Letter. 31 October, 1857. Saturday. Busharat Ganj.

At last we have taken the field again and left Cawnpore, and are fairly in 'Pandy-land', in Oudh, which is really enemy's country, all the people being openly against us.

The 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th we spent lazily, recruiting strength at Cawnpore. I made the acquaintance of Thomson (1) who with Delafosse (2) made that marvellous escape from Cawnpore, and seeing him every day I learned all the details of the Entrenchment tale and Wheeler's sad fate.

Yesterday morning [30 October] our Camp was removed from Cawnpore itself to a new ground on this, Oudh, side of the Bridge of boats, two miles from the river [Ganges] and at 2 this morning we started off for this place and marched some twelve to fourteen miles. This place is some three or four miles on the Lucknow side of Unao.

At Cawnpore we collected, as much as the hurry would allow us, fascines, sandbags, &c., to take on to Lucknow. We expect 3 officers and 100 men of the Royal Engineers to be up presently, and do. of the Madras Engineers and Sappers, but all these fellows are late; we have not England to thank for the taking of Delhi, or saving of Agra, and as to the relief of Lucknow, the Punjab troops and those stopped from the 'China'

1. Lieutenant Mowbray Thomson, 56th Bengal N.I.
2. Lieutenant Henry George Delafosse, 56th Bengal N.I.

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[21 October, 1857. Saturday. Busharat Ganj.]
force (3) alone will have anything to say to it. Not a soldier sent from England for the saving of India will arrive before all the great deeds have been completely done, without their assistance.

This Busharat Ganj is like a long street or narrow serai, the shops or compartments, opening on to the road, and a gateway closing each end, just such a place as 'Pandy' would love to defend. We have seen no one, not even a villager, on our march so far as this. Our force is diminished by 2 Horse Artillery guns, a squadron of [9th] Lancers, and the 5th Punjab Cavalry, who have stayed behind at Cawnpore to form an escort for Sir Colin Campbell, but we have brought on with us four companies of the 93rd, 150 of the 5th Fusiliers, and 70 of the 53rd, and 3 officers and 60 men, a company, of Royal Artillery (4), to whom have been made over the heavy guns of our Column (two 18 pounder guns and two 8 inch howitzers).

I was talking to a young Royal Artillery officer this morning: he was just from the Cape and the Artillery, having never before been in India, of course, are 'griffs' as to it. His style was very amusing, opening with "I suppose you have some pleasant stations up in the interior," and continuing in that style.

The 93rd are the boys; such glorious thoro' Hielanders and Scots: the pipes are delicious, so thoroughly British, recalling the 78th Pipes at St. Mary's Casemates, Chatham Lines, or this very regiment, or the 42nd, at Chobham. I should not mind where I was ordered with these fellows behind me. They are called the "Wilayati Ghoorkhas" (5) with legs like young elephants. They wear their kilts and sporran all complete, a loose smock tunic, khaki with red cuffs and collar, and their feather bonnets with a white pugree round the lower part of them, and it was so jolly to watch them march through the 'Pandy' port of Busharat Ganj with their Highland pipes screaming. The Punjabis fraternize with them mostly, and delight in the pipes. As I walked home from Mess last night after the pipers had finished playing at Taptoo, I found knots of mingled Hielanders and Sikhs and Afghans, each jabbering away in his own

3. Troops of the expeditionary force on voyage from England to China. They were stopped at sea and diverted to Calcutta. They consisted of:—

ROYAL ARTILLERY.

Nos. 5 and 6 Companies of the 13th Battalion, which in 1931 are the 66th and 67th Field Batteries, respectively.

INFANTRY REGIMENTS.

Title in 1857.	Title in 1931.
23rd, 1st Battn.	The Royal Welch Fusiliers.
59th.	East Lancashire, 2nd Battn.
82nd.	Prince of Wales's Volunteers (South Lancashire), 2nd Battn.
90th.	Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), 2nd Battn.
93rd.	Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, 2nd Battn.

4. No. 4 Company, 5th Battalion, Royal Artillery, under the command of Captain Whaley Nicoll Hardy. In 1931—No. 12 Light Battery, R.A.

5. i.e. English Ghoorkas.

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[31 October, 1857. Saturday. Busharat Ganj.]
language, not in the least understood by one another, but great friends, one going on 'weel, weel', and 'Hoot mon', and the other 'Hamne Matadeenko khub mara' (6), and so on: a great shaven-headed Pathan would be trying on a Hieland bonnet!

Diary. 1 November, 1857. Sunday. Newal Ganj.

Started at 3 and marched about fourteen miles to Newal Ganj, one mile the Lucknow side of the river Sye. This river is crossed by a bridge of seven arches; of these arches the large centre one was broken, leaving a span of twenty or twenty-four feet to bridge. Luckily on the left was a good ford and all our troops and guns and baggage crossed by it, the Sappers working hard at bringing large thatch roofs from the village on the bank and laying them down on the ghat. We also got the longest timbers we could from the village and threw a foot-traffic rough bridge across the broken span. We were out till about five in the afternoon at this. I left for about an hour and got breakfast in Camp. We heard the booming of the Lucknow guns.

Letter. 2 November, 1857. Monday. Bantara.

At 7 o'clock in the morning we marched from Newal Ganj to move our camp to this village, Bantara, about 3 miles. As usual, Roberts and Mayne (our Assistant Qr. Mr. Generals) as soon as they caught sight of the village of the destined camping ground galloped ahead; they spoke to one or two villagers asking for information, but got but few rough answers and suddenly a rush of musket and matchlock men was made from the village: off they galloped for their lines, having to take a circuitous route through the fields round the village, to rejoin the advanced guard. Roberts's horse was hit and fell over him (Roberts getting his thumb cut), but luckily he was unhurt, remounted and got safely back (7).

The advanced guard went ahead, two guns of the 2nd of 3rd [i.e. 2nd Troop, 3rd Brigade, H.A., Bengal] (supported by a squadron of Lancers, and Watson's and Probyn's 1st and 2nd Punjab Cavalry) opened [fire] from the road on the village, and the 75th and Sappers advanced skirmishing through the fields on the left towards the village.

The enemy kept up a most steady fire, out of range!

The 75th and Sappers cleared the village (as they thought), the latter losing two killed and five wounded (one mortally), the former losing none. On they went and the two guns continued along the road, supported by Lancers and Probyn. Watson and his men galloped ahead on the right; the rest of the Artillery had galloped up through the fields, and the Infantry and 93rd Highlanders, 5th, 53rd, &c., also were coming up as fast as they could. I did not see them fight, but Bantara, which the 75th and Sappers had left in the rear (cleared as they thought), occupied the

6. Translation—'I killed lots of Matadeens', i.e. at Delhi.

7. Roberts records this in a letter dated 13 November, 1857, written from Alam Bagh:—"My horse got a nasty cut on his leg, and I one on my left hand." (*Letters written during the Indian Mutiny*. 1924.)

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[2 November, 1857. Monday. Bantara.]
main column some two hours; the Royal Artillery came up with an 18 pounder (Horse Artillery fashion) and opened on the village: some sixty men were killed in the village, the 93rd losing one killed, and two or three wounded, and an officer (78th Highlanders) severely wounded. Wilde's corps lost five wounded and Green two. However, I saw none of this, as I joined Watson's Cavalry; he gave pursuit with his whole regiment thro' a jhil and here some fourteen were caught and killed.

Watson pursued for a mile beyond the jhil but we only caught a few men and had to pull up by a village, from which about a hundred foot-men ran out, and advancing thro' the khets [fields] sent their bullets whizzing about us; a body of cavalry began to move slowly towards us from the front and a few appeared in our rear; on which we had 'threes about' (8) and retreated at the gallop, or 'bolted'.

We found the Artillery, Lancers, and Highlanders, about a mile in our rear, and there, a line of battle being formed, we advanced again, the Horse Artillery and Cavalry going forward at the gallop, and, after advancing about a mile or more, opened fire; the enemy answered from two or three guns, one of which we took—an old injured 9 pounder, which had been mended and furnished with a great ugly muzzle.

We stopped at about 2 o'clock, having been engaged since 8, pursuing a perpetually bolting enemy, whose numbers I am sure, no one can affirm from actual eyesight to have exceeded 150 sowars, and the same number of footmen, tho' of course many declare, arguing from probabilities, that there must have been 1,000 or more. Anyhow no one was satisfied that our horses, guns and men should have been so knocked about for so little a result, and actually when we had marched between four and five miles beyond Bantara and were within four miles of Alam Bagh, we were marched *back* to Bantara! why, no one knows, for we have here a bad encamping ground; ahead there are splendid level plains, with pucka wells. About six or eight villages were burned and are still burning. A bhisti [water-carrier] went just now to a village to draw water and had his nose, ears and hands cut off, so the scoundrels linger about us still.

Letter. 3 November, 1857. Tuesday. Bantara.

Halted here. The enemy seem to have cavalry moving all round us, as the various outlying Pickets have in turn been firing vollies of musquetry. One Picket we have about two miles in advance; they say a battery is being erected two miles further on; we shall again have to fight over ground we held yesterday! Moonsib Ali is said to hold Unao in our rear, with 2,000 men. Of course we know nothing of Sir Colin; the road behind us is closed. We hear the Lucknow guns, but there is but little firing.

8. Cavalry in 1857 were told off, for drill purposes, in 'threes'; 'fours' were not introduced until 1864.

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Diary. 4 November, 1857. Wednesday. Bantara.

Halted still. Macleod received orders to return to Cawnpore.

Diary. 5 November, 1857. Thursday.

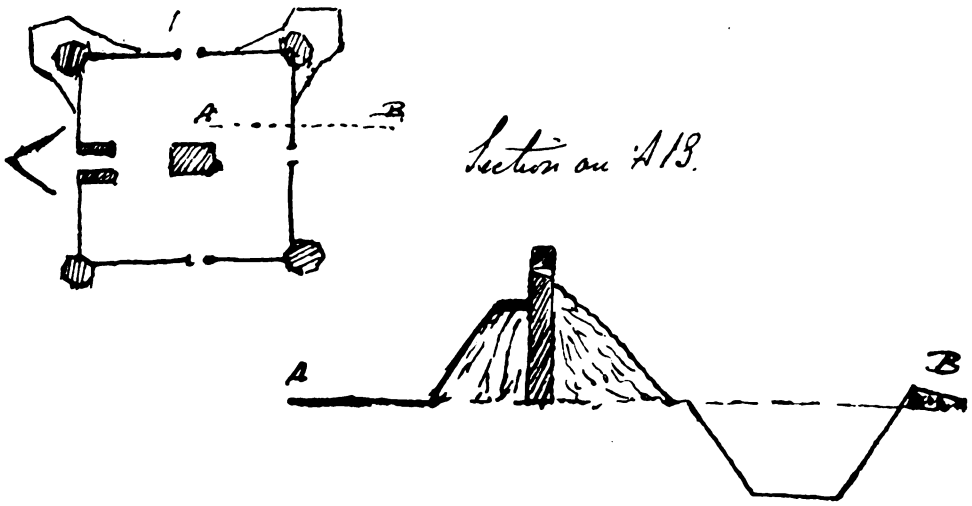
1,500 men and 6 guns convoyed ammunition and provisions to Alam Bagh and returned in the evening—Bourchier's Battery, Probyn's and Gough's Cavalry, one squadron Lancers, 5th, 53rd, 93rd, 4th Punjab Infantry, 100 Sappers under Watson. Macleod would not let me go..

The Lancers and Irregulars and Harrington (9) with two guns were completely routed by hornets! Harrington severely stung, was very ill at night from the effects. Major A. Goodwyn (10) wrote to Watson to say he was appointed Chief Engineer to Sir Colin and Watson should be his Brigade-Major.

Letter. 6 November, 1857. Friday. Bantara.

The party who came back from Alam Bagh last night describe it a large enclosure, 500 yards by 470 yards, rectangular, with a two storied gilded domed tower at each of the four corners; a large double storied Bara Dari (11) in the centre; a gateway in the centre of each side, the

SKETCH OF ALAM BAGH, IN PLAN, FROM LANG'S LETTER.



principal one, towards the road, having a building on each side of the entrance; a wall 11 feet high and 2½ feet thick encloses it. Since our occupation of it, a ditch has been dug round it on the outside, and the earth heaped against the walls; a *banquette* (12) of earth has been raised

9. 1st Lieutenant Hastings Edward Harrington, Bengal Artillery. Many of his letters written at this time will be found in a pamphlet entitled *The late Captain H. E. Harrington, V.C.*, published by Nisbet & Co. in 1862. Harrington died on 20 July, 1861, at Agra, from cholera.

10. Captain (bt.-major) Alfred George Goodwyn, Bengal Engineers

11. A reception hall—an arcaded building used for social purposes, having twelve openings or doorways.

12. A raised terrace running along the inside of a rampart or parapet, on which soldiers stand to fire at an enemy.

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[6 November, 1857. Friday. Bantara.]

on the interior side and the wall has been loopholed. At the entrance an earthen *flèche* (13) has been made, and outside two of the corners, an earthen bastion has been made. I suppose in time this system of bastion and *flèche* will be completed all round.

[Alam Bagh was the summer residence of the Queens of Oudh. "It is a very large garden, with a palace [i.e. Bara Dari] in the centre; the gateway and mosque outside are very handsome, as also the summer house at each corner of the square. The garden is square and has a high wall all round." *Letters from the Crimea and India*. Major Roger Barnston, 90th Foot. Published in 1904. He died on 23 December, 1857, from wounds received at Lucknow.]

All round the place is an open plain for 800 yards and upwards. The man in command there will allow no one to go outside; were he to throw up an earth-work, or establish a picket 4, or 5, or even 800 yards off, he could hold all that extra ground, and the men could get fresh air and exercise; as it is, the atmosphere of that place, where they have been shut up with hundreds of camels, bullocks, and elephants, tells on the men and they look pale and sickly, so they say. A gun, about 1,000 yards off on their left front, pitches 6 pounder balls up towards the gateway, but all this time only three coolies have been hit; this gun the commandant [Major Colin Campbell McIntyre, 78th (Highland) Foot] will not attempt to take, for fear of losing a man. He has 1,100 European Infantry with him. He puts no end of officers under arrest—8 on one day for going outside to have a little practice with rifles at 'Pandy'! Judge (14), of the Engineers, is perpetually threatened with arrest and only spared because he is the only officer of Engineers there. I wonder that we are not all marched to Alam Bagh and there encamped on that fine open plain.

Diary. 7 November, 1857. Saturday. Bantara.

At about 2 p.m. arrived a reinforcement of 400 of the 93rd, 150 of 53rd, 100 sailors of the *Shannon* with four 24 pounders: it was grand to see Jack Tars again, with their loose open large-collared blue shirts, loose blue trousers, straw hats with white covers, black ribbands and 'Shannon' on their bands; they carry musket and bayonet.

At 3½ p.m. we received orders to march back to the Sye and make good approaches to the river banks, so Watson, Forbes, Stevenson and I, with the Sappers, marched back four miles and stayed till the ghats were all smooth: we dined on the bridge and got back at about 9 p.m.

Diary. 8 November, 1857. Sunday. Bantara.

We had a service for the Officers in the Lancers' Mess tent at noon.

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13. An earthen field-work, of two faces, resembling, in plan, the head of an arrow. See sketch on page 133.

14. 2nd Lieutenant Charles Neave Judge, Bengal Engineers.

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Diary. 9 November, 1857. Monday. Bantara.

At 4 p.m. came in Sir Colin Campbell (15) and his staff, and the escort whom we had left for him. We marched a mile on to change ground.

Diary. 10 November, 1857. Tuesday. Bantara.

I walked out to meet the reinforcements but they halted near the river. Major Goodwyn came into camp, as Chief Engineer.

I walked out again after breakfast, and more than four miles off met Peel and his *Shannon* sailors and heavy guns, the rest of the 93rd, three companies of 53rd, one company of 5th.

No sooner was I in than I found we had orders to march (Engineers and Sappers) to the Sye. I galloped there and so did Watson; we worked till nightfall, but the bridge was not repaired.

Diary. 11 November, 1857. Wednesday. Bantara.

Soon after daybreak Sir Colin and General Mansfield (16) came into my tent and found us at our task, copying plans and writing, and swept away the plan of Goodwyn, and declared that he would adhere to Outram's instructions. Goodwyn tried hard to urge his plan, and at last Sir C. C. got regularly riled and told him that he had borne with him for two days, and now he would not hear another word. Sir C. C. seems a most jolly, good-hearted, but impetuous, impulsive, hot, man. General Mansfield seems a neat, gentlemanly, quiet, courteous officer, and, I should think, shrewd and clear-sighted.

We worked at writing out Outram's directions and copying the plan attached. [See map facing page 142.]

Diary. 12 November, 1857. Thursday. Alam Bagh, near Lucknow.

At 7 marched for Alam Bagh. We did not get in till past twelve.

Sir Colin and his staff with two guns and Cavalry moved on Jalalabad, and two guns from an earthen outpost fought us for a short time. The fort was hidden in trees.

As soon as we had pitched tents, some round shots coming in, we had to move camp about 300 yards back.

After breakfast I went to Alam Bagh. A semaphore was talking with another on the Residency roof. I made Judge's acquaintance and saw to my surprise 'Whitey' Gordon (17) looking well and jolly.

A working party of Sappers was employed in making a *banquette* in Alam Bagh.

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15. He had left Calcutta on 27 October.

16. William Rose Mansfield, afterwards 1st Baron Sandhurst. See 'D.N.B.'

17. 1st Lieutenant Dundas William Gordon, Bengal Artillery.

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Diary. 13 November, 1857. Friday. Alam Bagh, near Lucknow.

Brigadier Hope (18) marched in the morning on Jalalabad. Scott and Burton (19), with Madras Sappers, accompanied to blow open gates, etc., but they found monkeys the only inhabitants of the place.

All tents and spare baggage were sent, during the afternoon, to the Alam Bagh. A tent per regiment was allowed for messing, so mine remained standing.

Letter. 14 November, 1857. Saturday.

All the tents and superfluous baggage having been sent into Alam Bagh and the 75th left as a Garrison for that place, the army commenced its march after the men had breakfasted.

We marched to the North East, across country, crossing the Jalalabad road and going in the direction of the South Eastern corner of the Dilkusha Park (1). We saw hardly any enemy and advanced leisurely, the advanced guard often halting so that the heavy guns with the main column might keep up. The guns opened on the village of Bibiapore, a few rounds, and then the infantry (53rd) skirmished past the village, and over very broken ground (which the artillery, etc., avoided by going more to the left) towards the wall of the Dilkusha Park. The artillery opened on the left against the Muhammad Bagh. A Lancer Officer and I rode through a gap into the Park and went to reconnoitre the house itself. We put up herds of antelope and nylghau as we rode through the trees, and, seeing no one about the house, the Lancer Officer rode back to report the place empty; but I thought I saw a man come out of an out-house and rode almost up to the steps of the house, when I heard Watson shout to me to come back, and back I galloped as hard as I could, just in time, for some men had come rushing up, from whence I don't know, and ping ping came a shower of bullets. The Staff, who were outside, rushed to the shelter of the wall, and infantry were sent skirmishing into the pretty park to the dismay of the antelope. Some of our men fired at what they thought were 'Pandies' in the trees, but what turned out to be monkeys! Meanwhile the Sappers were levelling a bit of wall and in came the artillery, and Dilkusha house being taken, the force threw right shoulders forward and through the trees and down the hill towards the Martinière (2) came the infantry skirmishing, and a Troop [Horse Artillery—Remmington's] and a battery [Bourchier's—see *ante*, p. 86, footnote 76], supported by Cavalry. It was such a pretty scene, a very

18. Lieut.-Colonel Adrian Hope, 93rd Highlanders.

19. 1st Lieutenant Charles Scott, and 2nd Lieutenant William Henry Burton, Madras Engineers.

1. A country residence of the Kings of Oude, surrounded by an extensive park, stocked with deer, etc.

2. *La Martinière* College, so-called after General Claude Martin, a Frenchman, in the service of the Hon. East India Company. He built this residence for himself, called it *Constantia*, and "directed in his will that it should never be sold, but should serve as a college for educating children in the English religion and language". *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, by C. E. Buckland. 1906.

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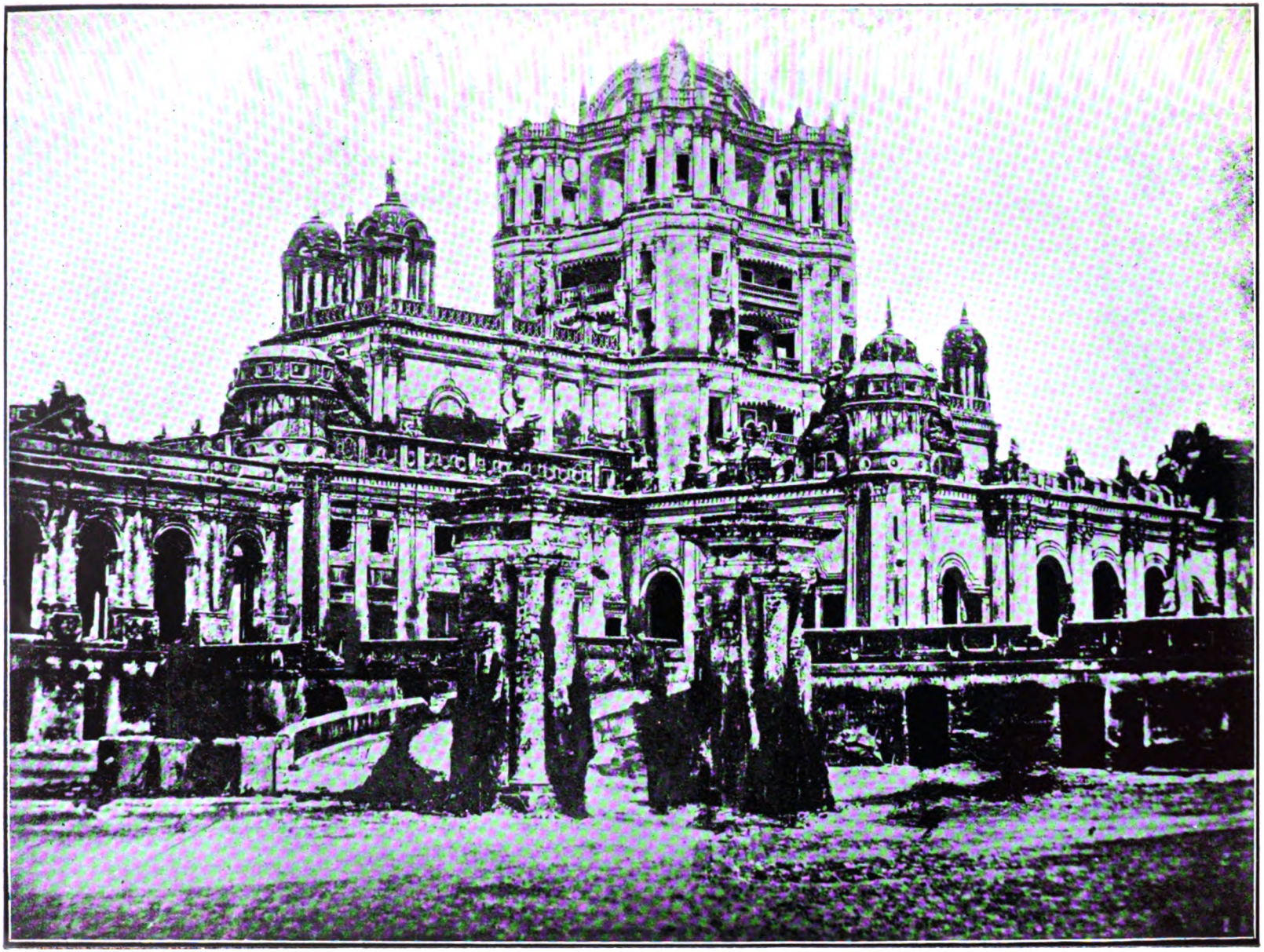

LA MARTINIERE COLLEGE—LUCKNOW.

From a photograph taken in 1858.

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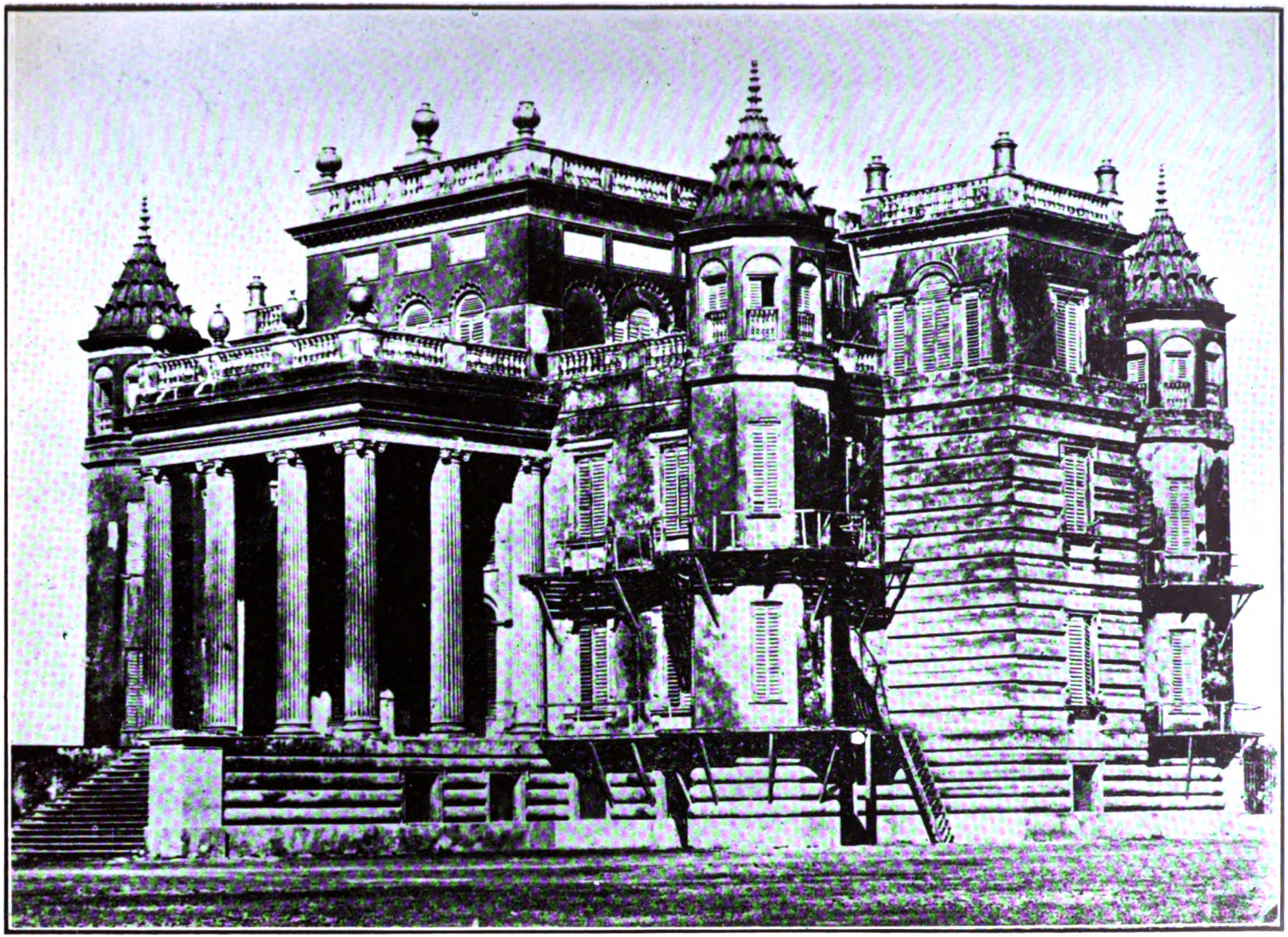

DILKUSHA PALACE—LUCKNOW.

From a photograph taken in 1858.

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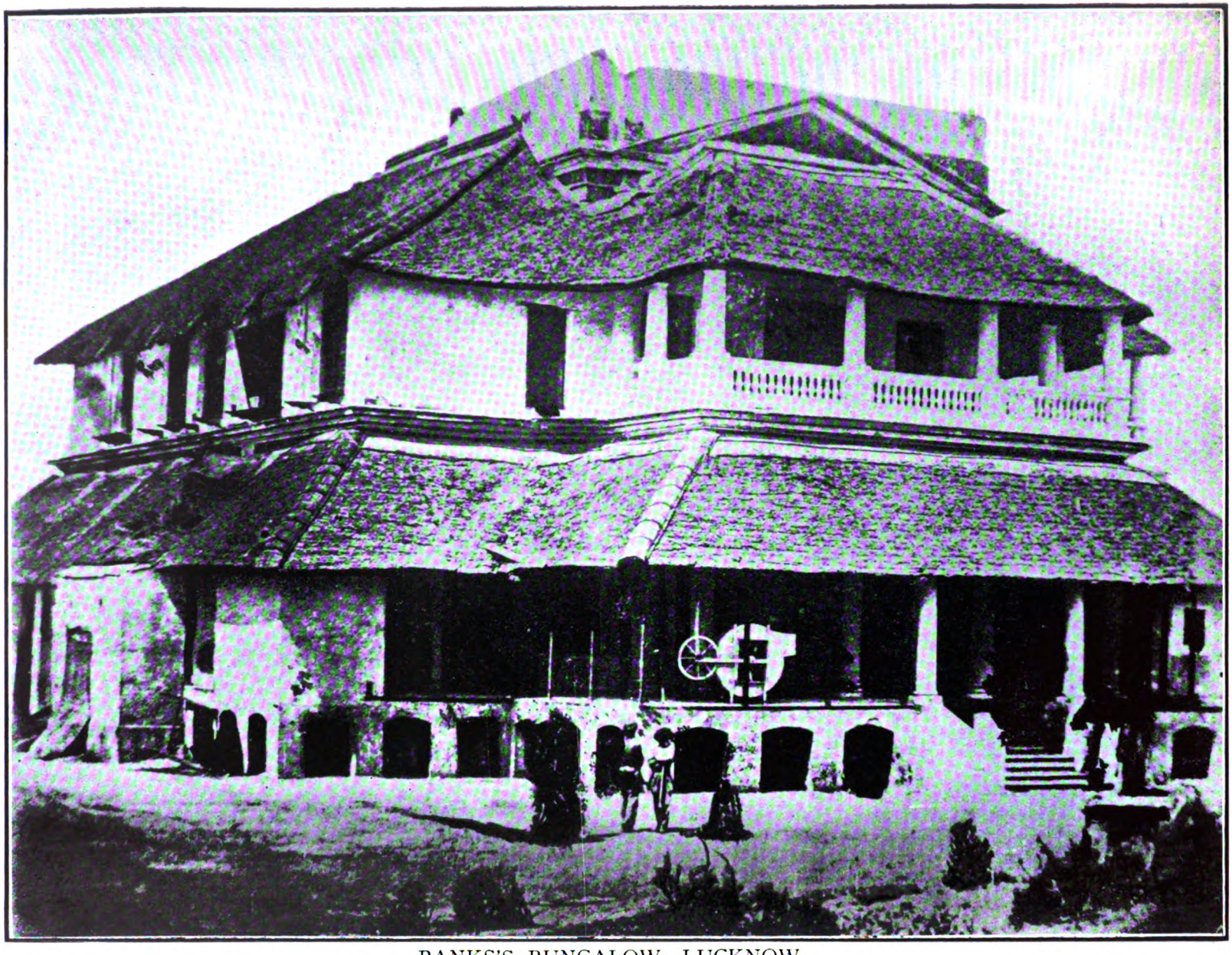

BANKS'S BUNGALOW—LUCKNOW.
From a photograph taken in 1858.

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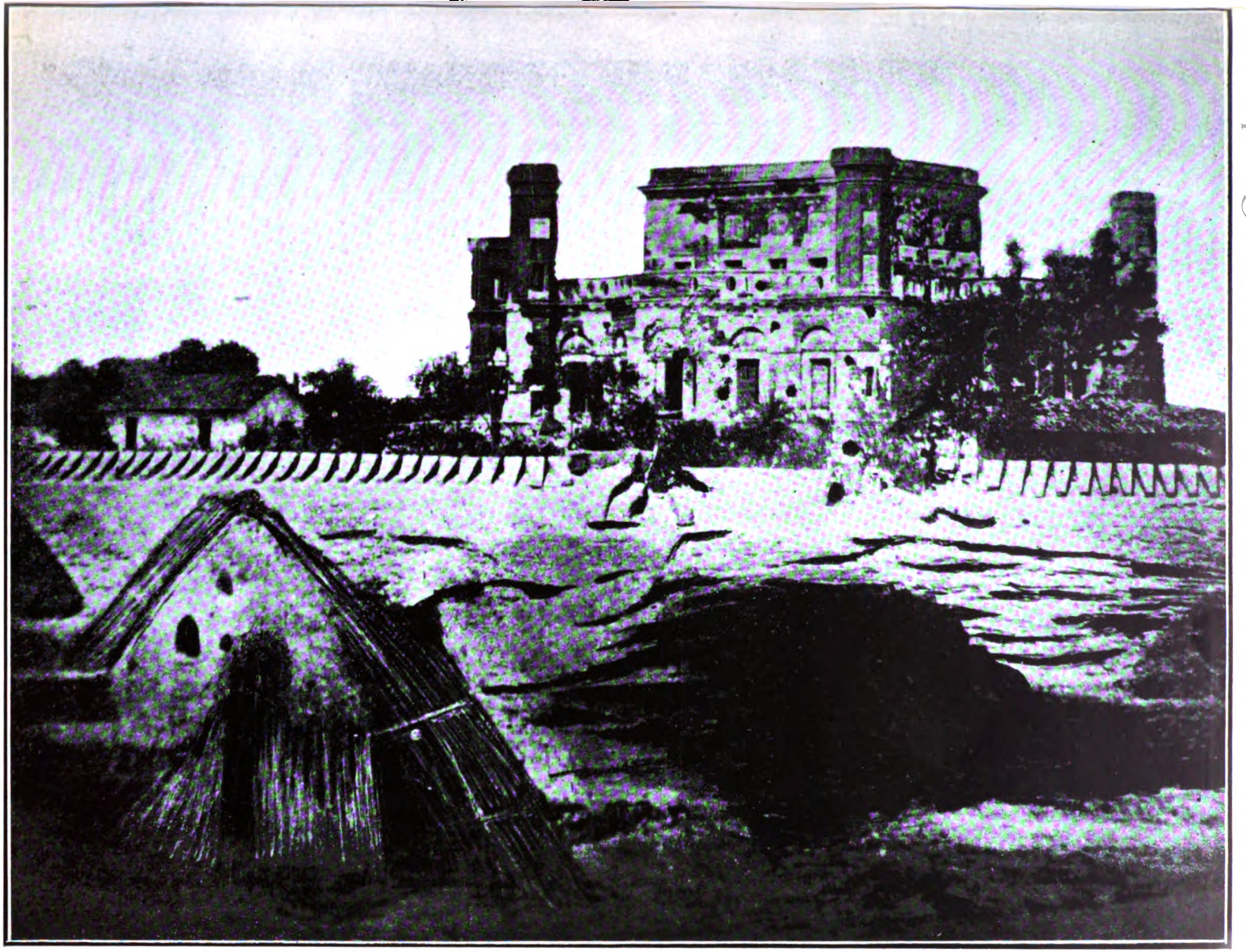

OFFICERS' MESS HOUSE, 32nd REGIMENT of FOOT—LUCKNOW.

From a photograph taken in 1858.

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[14 November, 1857. Saturday. Lucknow.]
picturesque site for a battle. Our men were suffering but very little and the opposition was very slight. Soon after our heavy guns had come up on the high ground and opened on the Martinière, the enemy abandoned the place and we occupied it, and passed beyond. I lost the rest of the day's fighting, for going first into the Martinière, I was told to stay there with some Sappers: however, mounting up the *seven* stories up to the top, I had a beautiful look-out and could see the direction our troops took on the left, going straight at the Canal Bridge by Banks's house (3); and on the right I saw Watson and Probyn cross the sandy channel of the canal and, turning between the River Goomti and the village there, charge the enemy's cavalry. Watson fought like a 'lion' as his men said: his steel gauntlet was cut through at the knuckles, he was nearly stunned by a cut on the head, which his pugree saved from being fatal; his arm and leg were both hit and bruised, and how he escaped in the crowd of enemy he was amongst seemed a miracle. Poor Mayne was killed on the left, and Wheatcroft (4) of the Carabineers, was killed in Dilkusha Park.

That evening we held Dilkusha and the Martinière, the latter an immense building, as big as Greenwich Hospital: the former, tho' much smaller, from its very commanding position on the high ground of the Park, the best military post: the Chief and his Staff, and the Engineers with their Park, etc., were in the Martinière: the troops were bivouacked in the Park and about the Martinière, and our pickets were out near the canal on right, centre, and left, and our mortars played away all night over Banks's house.

Some Royal Artillery, the remainder of 23rd, some of 82nd, and two Madras (Native) Horse Artillery (5) guns, joined us during the night.

Letter. 15 November, 1857. Sunday. Before Lucknow.

In the morning I was with some other officers and sappers making a road down to and across the Canal, where the banks are quite low and the channel simply a sandy road. In the afternoon the enemy came out, cavalry, infantry, and two guns (Oudh Light Field Battery): Probyn and Watson being by the Martinière Tank moved forward; the enemy's first shot went straight into a small reconnoitring party and knocked over a horse and sowar. Up came the two Madras Horse Artillery guns and opened from our side of the canal: then up came more guns, the 1st Troop [Remmington's], and over they went with the Cavalry, on which off went the enemy just the same route as the evening before, and got away their guns: however, *as usual*, nearly all Light Artillery and Cavalry and some Infantry were out blazing away for an hour or more, on account of this irritating little move of 'Pandy's'. We had a Semaphore raised on the Martinière top to talk to the Chutter Munzil (6) during the day. We

3. See map, facing page 142. Major John Sherbrooke Banks, Commissioner of Lucknow. Killed in the Residency, 21 July, 1857.

4. 1st Lieutenant Augustus Otway Mayne, Bengal Artillery, and Captain German Wheatcroft. The latter had exchanged from the 6th Dragoons, on 19 June, 1857.

5. "E" Troop (Native), Madras Horse Artillery, then under the command of 1st Lieutenant Lionel Bridge. Disbanded in 1861.

6. One of the largest of the Lucknow Palaces, the residence of ladies of the Harem

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[15 November, 1857. Sunday. Lucknow.]
had a beautiful view over the buildings of Lucknow from the Martinière, forests of domes, minarets, and pinnacles, stretching away as far as the eye could see, that wonderful river, the Goomti, appearing everywhere in the most impossible twisting manner, but *the* sight was the glorious British Union Jack flying at the Chutter Munzil.

Letter. 16 November, 1857. Monday. Before Lucknow.

After breakfast the troops again advanced: we had left all our camels and baggage at the Dilkusha and each of us carried three day's provisions only. A Troop of Horse Artillery, a squadron of Lancers, a regiment of Punjab Cavalry, the 53rd, Company of Royal Engineers, and one of Madras Sappers—that was the advanced guard. The 8th and some guns were left at Dilkusha. We marched at the back of the Martinière, into the canal, then down the channel, till we were close to the Goomti, and along the Goomti banks for some way; then through fields and mango topes and, *single file*, through the narrowest of little paths, buried in huts and trees (such a place! if 'Pandy' had only caught us there!) into a street of mud houses, a Lucknow suburb (Sultan Ganj). But we had turned 'Pandy's' flank and he had not expected us there. Then began our work; some of our Sappers worked at knocking down a mud wall so that a big 24 pounder might play from the street at the Sikandar Bagh (7), which this wall hid from view; then we were at work in making ramps from the street up some banks, up which we pulled more heavy guns, and in a little time we had several heavy guns and some light guns smashing away at the Sikandar Bagh, Infantry lying under shelter ready for a rush, and some dragging away at the ropes of the heavy guns, bringing them into position, 'Pandy' all the while keeping up no end of a fire from the walls of Sikandar Bagh.

While I was working hard at getting one of these guns dragged close up, I saw Paul (8) rush ahead waving his sword, and the 4th Punjabis yelling and shouting, as they charged along behind him straight at the building; the effect was electrical; down we dropped the ropes and rushed along too; up sprung 93rd and 53rd and cheering, and shouting "Revenge for Cawnpore", on we went, some at a breach in one of the corner towers and some (with whom I was) over a loopholed mud wall straight at the gate; axes and muskets soon smashed in the gate, and then! didn't we get revenge! the first good revenge I have seen. I never heard such a distracting row. Right and left of the gateway, in the gatehouse rooms, 'Pandies' lay in heaps, three or four feet deep; in the centre Bara Dari they made but little stand but at the house in the middle of the rear wall and in the semicircular court beyond, it was a glorious sight to see the mass of bodies, dead and wounded, when we did get in; they shut the many thin doors and thousands of bullets were poured in, into the masses. The bodies have now been buried and counted—1,840 'Pandies'.

7. A garden in a high-walled enclosure, 120 yards square, named after Sikandar Mahal, one of the Begums of Wajid Ali Shah, the last King of Oudh—1847-56.

8. Lieutenant William Paul, 7th Bengal N.I., Adjutant of the 4th Punjab Infantry. He was wounded and died. He is buried in Dilkusha Gardens.

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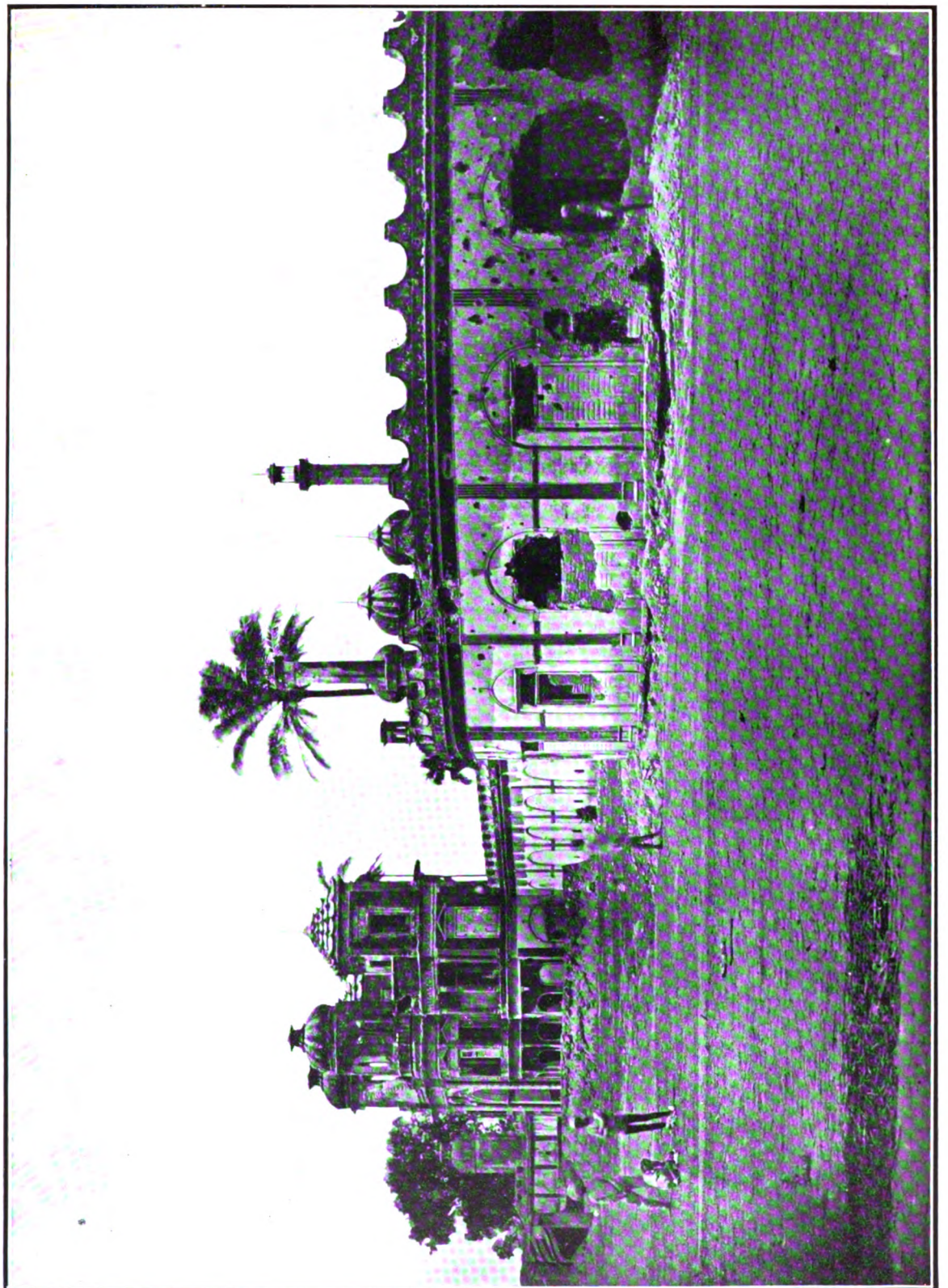

The breach and front gateway of the Sikandar Bagh, Lucknow. 1858.
From a photograph in the possession of Captain J. A. Collins.

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[16 November, 1857. Monday. Lucknow.]

The mass were set fire to, and you may fancy how the wounded cried out to be shot: but remember that our men and officers were still being hit and at each little corner tower a few desperate men were holding out, and lives were being thrown away in attempting to force little narrow winding staircases where men were determined to hold out as long as possible. I had a muzzle at my chest, the hand which held the stock even I couldn't see, and back I sprang, you may be certain. That same man held out for two hours up his staircase, and when his ammunition was done, appeared on the roof at top, and with fury, hurled his tulwar (9) down amongst us, and fell amongst a volley of bullets. I was told to remain with Sappers in Sikandar Bagh, and was there three hours and yet when I left, the place was not yet thoroughly ours, and we had lost many officers and men. I was hit, for the first time, by a bullet but was unwounded most fortunately: I was sent spinning by a stinging crack on the shoulder and thought I was killed, but I was highly delighted when I found I didn't drop, when a man called out that the bullet had hit the wall beyond me. It was a sharp glance off my pouch-belt, and the only effect was to make my shoulder and arm bruised and stiff for a couple of days. But many poor fellows were killed: all the 4th Punjabi officers (Lane left at Dilkusha as a Commissariat officer was of course all safe) were hit; poor Paul who behaved splendidly, was blown up, or rather burned up, by an explosion. Oldfield (10) was shot through both arms and died; Watson (11) was very badly shot in the head: and MacQueen (12) wounded in the leg in trying to bring back poor Lumsden's (13) body. Lumsden (who was doing duty with 93rd) was shot dead, and young Benson (14), who was a volunteer wanting to see his brother, was shot in trying one of these towers and is dead. Sixty or more were taken alive and put up in a line, and they got no mercy, being caught when our fellows' blood was so much up; they got kicked and spit at and pricked with swords, and always with "Cawnpore, you scoundrels" and then they were all shot: a great many were 1st N.I., the bad regiment at Cawnpore.

Well, between Sikandar Bagh and Shah Najaf (15) the ground is open. Kadam Rasul (16) standing on the right (on our side of the river) conspicuous on a mound. When I was ordered on from Sikandar Bagh with some Madras Sappers, I heard that two or three companies of the 93rd had gone up the straight road to the European Barracks, and taken them; that Green's 2nd Punjabis had taken Kadam Rasul (unopposed), and

9. An Indian sabre—curved sword.

10. Lieutenant Frederick Folliot Oldfield, 4th Punjab Infantry.

11. Lieutenant John Watson, 2nd Punjab Infantry.

12. Lieutenant John Withers MacQueen, 4th Punjab Infantry. Was recommended for the Victoria Cross. Afterwards K.C.B.

13. Lieutenant John Tower Lumsden, 30th Bengal N.I., attached to the 93rd Highlanders, as Interpreter.

14. George Sackville Benson, Bengal Civil Service. Mural tablet in Christ Church (Civil Lines), Lucknow.

15. A domed mosque and mausoleum of the 1st King of Oudh, surrounded by a garden.

16. A Mahomedan place of worship built in 1827-37 on an artificial mound. Kadam Rasul means "The Prophet's footprint". It contained a stone bearing what was supposed to be a print of the Prophet's foot.

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[16 November, 1857. Monday. Lucknow.]
that for the rest my eyes showed me the state of affairs, i.e. our guns, heavy and light, were playing away on the white dome of the Shah Najaf and had been for two or three hours, I suppose. Anyhow, to advance at Shah Najaf was our order—93rd, 1st Madras Fusiliers, Peel with one 24 pounder and his sailors, and some Madras Sappers. Sir Colin led us himself for some way across the open, and we went over the plain and into a cluster of mud huts which lie almost under the outer walls of the place. Here, within some 20 or 30 yards of the wall, Peel's gun opened to make a breach, and our poor fellows were being knocked about dreadfully; the sun was setting; what with the "sulphurous canopy" and the failing daylight, we couldn't see where we were, and it was crouching, undecided work, reminding me of the first advance on the Lahore Gate at Delhi, on the 14th September. An hour of this work had cost us no end of lives and all light had gone, but that from burning thatch, when it was decided that Peel's breach was no good (for the outer wall breached, revealed only an inner one intact) and the gun was withdrawn and the troops were being moved back, when, by luck, another breach was found, which had been made by the previous battering and in went the 93rd and the place was ours; into the garden went the glorious kilted boys and with the piper playing ahead made the circuit of the garden.

After this I went back and up to the European Barracks, but it was night, and I didn't find our fellows, so slept in the 'Jungi' Troop (17). We had only one alarm "Stand to your Arms", and that was a false one. Our loss had been heavy that day, especially in 92nd and 23rd. The 4th Punjab Infantry, too, had lost its officers and Ryves from the 2nd Punjab Infantry was sent to them. Frankland (18) of the 2nd Punjab Infantry was killed. Captain Hardy, Royal Artillery, was killed; poor young Halkett (19), of 72nd N.I., Hodson's Horse, was badly wounded. Both the Alisons (Sir C. C.'s aid de camps) were wounded; one lost an arm (20).

Diary. 17 November, 1857. Tuesday. Lucknow.

At daybreak I went to the European Barracks, where I found Stevenson and Pritchard with Sappers, and three Companies of 93rd. The Barrack itself (in the form of a cross) we held, but the enclosure walls on the south and east were held by the enemy and from their loop-holes they kept up a deadly fire on the building, through the multitude of open doors from which bullets came whistling at pleasure, doing a great deal of damage. We worked hard at closing all the openings with sandbags, shutters, etc. After some hours I was ordered off on another work: the Mess House (a great castellated building, supposed to resemble an ancient Baron's castle, with a great stone moat and drawbridge) was to be taken. Forbes with 20 Sappers was to throw a bridge over the moat and I with 10 Sappers was

17. 'Jungi' means 'warlike', and was the nickname of the 1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal H.A. (Remmington's).

18. Lieutenant Thomas Frankland, 48th Madras N.I., 2nd in command, 2nd Punjab Infantry. Memorial tablet in Christ Church, Lucknow.

19. Lieutenant Robert Davidson Craigie Halkett.

20. *a*. Major Archibald Alison, Military Secretary. Lost his left arm. Afterwards 2nd Bart, General, and G.C.B.

b. Lieutenant Frederick Montague Alison, 72nd Foot.

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[17 November, 1857. Tuesday. Lucknow.]
to lay mussocks (21) of powder at the doors and blow them in : had 'Pandy' held out I don't see how Forbes, or I, or any of the 30 Sappers could have escaped unhit. We lay under shelter of some mud huts on the plain, and I arranged my mussocks of powder, and powder hoses, and quick-matches, and gave directions to my men, and then we watched the reconnoitring. Forbes with some men, Powlett (22) and some of Green's, went forward to see if our heavy pounding from big guns had dislodged the enemy or no : on they went, up to the circular mud wall of the garden, no opposition—into the garden, no fire from the enemy, so on more troops were sent, and in they went unopposed, and soon the British Flag was flying on the Roof. I was ordered to stay where I was, so lost the rest of the fighting; our troops then carried the Moti Mahal (23), and presently cheers from house to house, gun to gun, regiment to regiment, down the road, conveyed the news that the junction was effected, and the Relief (as good as) effected. Outram, Havelock, the two young Havelocks, and Napier and Russell (Engineers)—the two latter wounded—had met Sir Colin. How we all did cheer! That night all the Goomti bank (right) was ours, from Residency to Dilkusha. After nightfall, I wandered back towards the European Barracks, but tired and not easily finding my way, I bivouacked near Watson and Stevenson, with the 23rd. At nightfall, Keen (24) with 70 of the 2nd Punjab Infantry, passed silently, without whispering a word or firing a shot, through 'Pandy' pickets, who crouched round their fires, to Banks's Bungalow in our left rear, on the Canal Bank, and entering as the [rebel] pickets there had just gone out to cook their food, they immediately barred them out and took possession.

Diary. 18 November, 1857. Wednesday. Lucknow.

At daybreak went to the Moti Mahal which was that day Engineer Headquarters. Just outside it, the Naval guns, in battery, were pounding away at the Kaiser Bagh (25). Pritchard and I were at work making a sheltered way from Moti Mahal by Martin's House to the Chutter Munzil.

During the day I went into the Chutter Munzil and Farhat Bakhsh (26) and saw Crommelin, Limond, young Tulloch, Innes, Macfarlane, Havelock, 66th, Capper (27), &c. All the gallant garrison looked pale and ill. Walter was paler and thinner, but did not look ill. I stayed a short time with him and had a chat as to what his life had been lately, and then returned to my road. Tobacco seemed to have been the principal want of the Garrison; cheroots sold at 3 Rs. each! Dried guava leaves were considered treasures! Beer and brandy, too, were very much wanted, tho' on that day hoarded stores were produced and sold and when Walter and Limond each treated me to Moselle, it seemed hard to think of them as a

21. The leathern water-bag, consisting of the entire skin of a large goat, stript of the hair and dressed, which is carried by a *bhisti*—water carrier.
22. Lieutenant Percy William Powlett, 58th Bengal N.I.
23. Pearl Palace, so called from the fancied resemblance of its dome to the shape of a pearl.
24. Lieutenant Frederick John Keen, 35th Bengal N.I. Afterwards K.C.B.
25. The largest and most debased of all the Lucknow Palaces. It was built in 1848-50.
26. A Palace built by General Claude Martin. It was the chief residence of the Kings of Oudh before the Kaiser Bagh was built.
27. William Copeland Capper. Bengal Civil Service, Deputy Commissioner, Oudh.

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[18 November, 1857. Wednesday. Lucknow.]
starved Garrison. They really were not in want of food, tho' spirits and tobacco, and vegetables were much wanted, and scurvy attacked many. Innes looked very ill and aged, quite lame from scurvy: Macfarlane (wounded) looked very reduced and pale: Crommelin (wounded) was lame from Hospital gangrene: Anderson (Madras Engineers) seemed very ill with consumption. The place, with its remains of what were once houses, its battered buildings, mines, and batteries, was certainly a sight well worth seeing; this brave garrison have shown forth the invincible pluck of the British, and will be remembered in history even more than the Jellalabad garrison (28).

Diary. 19 November, 1857. Thursday. Lucknow.

During the night as we bivouacked in the Moti Mahal square, we had faint visions of people and doolies passing all night: these were the sick and wounded being carried away from the Residency. The Engineer Officers were employed in making reconnaissances of the buildings we had captured. The Shah Najaf was my task. I paid the Furhat Bakhsh another visit with Forbes and stayed some little time with Limond at the Steam Engine House, his post. Walter was making preparations for leaving the place. We moved to the Cow Shed opposite Sikandar Bagh.

Diary. 20 November, 1857. Friday.

During the day, people and treasure and guns, &c., were being removed from the Residency to Dilkusha. We continued our plans and reports. I went with Bourchier to look at his post at No. 2 of the "D" Bungalows (29); just as we got in, we found poor Harrington very badly hit in the neck by a musket ball. Bowhill was sent for and took him off to the Field Hospital. It was in that compound that Colonel Biddulph (30) had been killed and Brigadier Russell (31) wounded. All day people and goods were being removed from the Residency. The enemy fired a great deal from across the Goomti at Shah Najaf and Sikandar Bagh.

Diary. 21 November, 1857. Saturday. Lucknow.

I was sent out in the morning to Dilkusha Park with some Sappers to make a demonstration of constructing a bridge over the Goomti. I worked near the junction of Martinière grounds and Dilkusha Park. The boats were perfectly useless and it is lucky that I had not really to make the bridge.

The poor ladies and the 'families' seem in great discomfort, tentless a great number; to house and feed them must be the hardest of duties.

(To be continued.)

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28. The Defence of Jelalabad (Afghanistan) in 1841-2.
29. See map facing this page. The four houses, marked "D", have always been known as the "D" bungalows.
30. Lieut.-Colonel George Biddulph, Bengal Army, Intelligence Department.
31. David Russell, British service, commanding the 5th Brigade of the relief force. Afterwards General; K.C.B.

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BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR CHARLES MacCARTHY, Kt. 1764-1824.

By D. D. Daly.

This brief sketch of the career of a soldier has a claim for consideration in that he had the unique experience of serving under Louis XVI, George III., and George IV.

Charles MacCarthy was born at Cork in 1764, the son of Jean Gabriel Guéroult ("Procureur du Roi" of the town of Nogent le Rotrou*) and Charlotte Michelle Guéroult, née MacCarthy. At an early age he was induced by his uncle, Captain Thaddeus MacCarthy, to adopt his mother's maiden name. This officer was a Colonel in the Life Guards (Compagnie de Luxembourg) of Louis XV., and subsequently became a Captain in the British Army, serving in the 9th Foot.

His great grandfather, Michael MacCarthy, followed James II. to France after the Battle of the Boyne, and likewise a kinsman Denis (or Donogh) MacCarthy, who had served James II. in Ireland in the Irish Brigade. Concerning the latter, I have a document signed by James II., as follows:—

[TRANSLATION.]

Le Sieur Denis MaCartie who has served us faithfully in the Irish troops both in France and Ireland, having very humbly shown us that it would be advantageous to him to have our Certificate of his family, we have judged it right to accord him this.

We certify that we know by the Testimony of many people of quality of our faithful subjects of the Kingdom of Ireland that the said Denis Macartie is the legitimate and eldest son of Eugene Macartie, gentleman, son of Dermod MaCartie, the son of Thaddeus MaCartie, who was the son of Dermot MaCartie of Coshmaigny in the County of Kerry, Esquire, one of the branches of the ancient house of MaCartiemore.

Given at St. Germain-en-Laye, the 21st day of July, 1698.

(Signed) JACQUES R.

Seal of England.

The Irish Brigade, under the Kings of France, in which Charles MacCarthy began his military career, was formed after the Battle of the Boyne (1690).

When Louis XIV. sent 6,000 of his veteran troops, under the Comte de Lauzun, to assist James II. in Ireland, shortly before the Battle of the Boyne, it was on the distinct understanding that a similar number of the Irish Brigade should be subsequently sent to France. A clause in the treaty of peace, after the 'Boyne', stipulated that they should be allowed to embark, and, eventually, some 30,000 Irishmen were enrolled in the

* In the department of *Eure et Loir*.

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SIR CHARLES MACCARTHY.

FROM A MINIATURE.

The colour of the hair is light yellow; eyes light blue; coat red, facings black; lace gold.

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French Army, in which the Irish Brigade served until the *Emigré* Army was disbanded after the Revolution.

In 1785, Charles MacCarthy was appointed Sub-Lieutenant in Berwick's Regiment of Irish Infantry, commanded by the Duke of Fitzjames.

A transcript of his commission is here given :—

[TRANSLATION.]

MY COUSIN . . . . . having given Charles MaCarty, born on the 15 February, 1764, the appointment of sub-lieutenant, by substitution, in the company of Gormocan of the Irish Infantry of Berwick, which is under your command, created by my order of 12 July last, I write you this letter to tell you to receive him and make the appointment known to all those whom it may concern, and this present having no other end, I pray God may have you in His holy and worthy care.

Written at Versailles, 4 July, 1785.

(Signed) LOUIS.

To Monsieur le Chevalier de FitzJames,
Commandant du Regiment de Berwick.

His promotion was rapid; he had risen to the rank of Captain by August, 1791, when he was with the *Emigré* Army, based on Coblenz, under the command of Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince de Condé. From 1793 to 1794 he served as a volunteer under the Dutch in the regiment of Damas against the French Republic, being wounded in the leg on the 15 July, 1794, in an engagement at the Canal de Louvain.

The Dutch, however, had become imbued with revolutionary ideas and only put up a half-hearted resistance to their invaders and eventually surrendered their country to the French Republic. Thus the Duke of York was left with about 25,000 men to defend Holland and was eventually forced to retreat to Bremen.

It is interesting to note that it was owing to the defection of our Dutch Allies that we took the Cape of Good Hope from them on 23 September, 1795.

Subsequently Charles MacCarthy saw further service in the Duc de Castries Regiment of the *Emigré* Army. The defeat of the Allies was largely due to a new factor in warfare, viz., the levy of men, vehicles, horses and provisions, which was introduced by the Committee of Public Safety and passed by vote on the 23 August, 1793. This was the birth of conscription and eventually enabled the Republic to raise about half a million men.

When in October, 1794, the Irish Brigade, after the collapse of the French Royalists, was reorganised in British pay, Charles MacCarthy was appointed Ensign in the Regiment of James Henry, Count Conway, afterwards called the 6th Regiment of the Irish Brigade (see Army List of 1797, p. 312), with which he served in the West Indies.

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When returning from Honduras in the transport *Calypso* in June, 1798, he was badly wounded in the right elbow, in an engagement with a French privateer.

The following is an extract from the report of Captain Edward O'Shiell, commanding the detachment of the 2nd Regiment of the Irish Brigade, to the Duke of York, concerning the affair: —

"Portsmouth. 22 September, 1798.

"After our departure from New York which was on the 5th August, we fell in with two French Privateers, one on the 10th, the other on the 31st same month, mounting 12 guns each, which we beat off after an engagement of three hours with the former, in which the vessel received no injury, and two hours with the latter during which we had one soldier killed, and the vessel very much injured in her sails and rigging. On the 5th September we fell in with another French Privateer, mounting 16 six- and four-pounders, which engaged us till dark, and renewed the action next morning, having during the night mounted two swivels in her tops to prevent the effect of our Musquetry, which must have done much execution among her men the evening before, as she engaged us very close for some minutes, not suspecting there were Troops on board, as I took care to conceal them on all occasions, knowing their first attempt would be to board us, and that a close discharge of musquetry would have a good effect, as it was observed the forepart of their vessels were generally manned and armed for boarding. Finding the Privateer kept out of reach of the musquetry next morning, and that our ammunition for the great guns was nearly expended, and seeing no prospect of bringing her to close action, I obliged the men who were not employed at the guns to lie down, and suffered none but the officers to walk the deck, who could observe the motions of the Privateer, and if she neared us give orders to the men when to rise. I had no motive in acting in this manner but to preserve the men from the incessant broadsides she poured into the vessel, and which I perceived must have killed and wounded many of our men, were they suffered to remain standing up. After continuing with us about four hours she bore away. I beg leave to observe to you that we had the satisfaction to close with her about an hour after she commenced the attack in the morning, and so galled her with the musquetry for some time, that she could only answer us with grape shot from her swivels in the top.

"We had only one officer, and private soldier, and two seamen wounded. I must presume to observe that the conduct of Captain M'Carthy of the Grenadier Company, who was the officer wounded, was on this, as on all other occasions, particularly zealous."

The Irish Brigade was disbanded at the end of 1798. On 17 October, 1799, he was appointed to a Company in the 11th West India Regiment, being transferred to the 52nd (Oxfordshire) Foot on 15 March, 1800.

On 14 April, 1804, he was appointed Major in the New Brunswick Fencible Infantry, in which he served until 1811. On leaving the regiment he was presented with a sword of honour.

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He was promoted to the Lieut.-Colonelcy of the Royal African Corps on 30 May, 1811, and the year after he was appointed Governor of Senegal and Goree.

In 1812 he married Antoinette Carpot and had one son, Charles, who, at the death of his father, was adopted by his uncle, the Comte de Mervé, and, becoming a naturalized French Citizen, succeeded to the title.

During the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1) his son, then the Comte Mervé, and his grand-daughter Matilde MacCarthy de Mervé, had to entertain German Officers in their house at Nogent-le-Rotrou. The brutal behaviour of the latter was only to be exceeded by their descendants in the Great War (1914-8).

When the former French Settlements of Senegal and Goree were returned to France under the treaty of 1814, Charles MacCarthy was transferred to Sierra Leone, as Governor.

Having seen slaves working in the West Indies and ships arriving there with their human cargoes, he took the deepest interest in the suppression of the slave trade, which, although abolished by Great Britain by Act of Parliament on 25 March, 1807, was still actively carried on by other countries. He was in constant communication with William Wilberforce on the subject.

He settled liberated slaves in neat and well laid-out villages, with churches, schools, and houses for missionaries and teachers. The children of captured natives were supported and educated at the expense of the Church Missionary Society. In villages where there was no clergyman, it was customary for the Governor to perform the marriage service and baptize the children. These liberated slaves had the greatest affection for him and always called him " Daddy ". After his death many a child was given the name " Karti " in remembrance of him.

The entire suppression of slavery as practised by the Ashantis was not affected by the British and Danish Governments until the year 1874 when Sir Garnet Wolseley took Kumassi.

Like most Irishmen, MacCarthy was fond of horses—I have records of the Sierra Leone and Bathurst River, Gambia, Turf Club meetings, when his Arab horse " Lyragh "* won silver cups as first prizes.

On 22 November, 1820, he was knighted, and in the following year—19 July, 1821—was promoted to the rank of Colonel in the Army, with the rank of Brigadier-General on the West Coast of Africa.

In 1821, a Bill was passed abolishing the African Company of Merchants and transferring all its possessions on the Gold Coast to the Crown, to be placed under the Government of Sierra Leone. The main reason for this step was the inefficient manner in which the Company carried out the prevention of the slave trade. Thus Sir Charles assumed the Governorship of the Gold Coast as well as that of Sierra Leone.

In 1823 the tyranny of the Ashanti King and the oppression which the Fantis had to endure compelled Sir Charles to declare war. In November, the Ashantis, some 20,000 men, having defeated the Fantis,

* A sept of the MacCarthy family

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were marching on Cape Coast Castle. After arranging for a defence of the Settlement by native auxiliaries, Sir Charles started on 10 January, 1824, with a small force consisting of 80 men of the Royal African Colonial Corps (Fantis), 170 men of the Cape Coast Militia, officered by some of the traders of the town. and about 240 unorganized Fantis under their own chiefs. Sir Charles was accompanied by Captain [Henry John] Ricketts, 2nd West India Regiment, who acted as Brigade-Major; Ensign [J. W.] Wetherell, of the same regiment, his aide-de-camp; Mr. J. T. Williams, Colonial Secretary; and Surgeon Beresford Tedlie, 2nd West India Regiment.

A force of 600 Regulars and 3,000 native levies under Major James Chisholm, Royal African Colonial Corps, was some 25 miles on his right flank. In other directions were 100 Regulars and Militia, and 2,000 Fantis under Major [Alexander Gordon] Laing, and 300 Regulars and Militia and 6,000 Accras under Major [William Henry] Blenkarne, Royal African Colonial Corps. These Sir Charles had intended to concentrate with his force, before engaging the enemy. Had this taken place, the disaster which followed might not have happened.

His little force, after an exhausting march in the heavy rains, camped on the banks of the Adumansu, a small tributary of the Pra.

From this point I quote from Claridge's *History of the Gold Coast,** vol. i, pp. 347-9, 351-4 :—

"At about two o'clock [21 January, 1824] the Ashantis, who were considerably over 10,000 strong and were reinforced by another large body of men during the action, were heard advancing through the forest with drums beating and horns blowing. They halted within about half a mile of the English position, and Sir Charles then ordered the band of the Royal African Colonial Corps to play the National Anthem and the buglers to sound, because he had conceived the idea, from some strange source of information, that great numbers of the enemy, including several important chiefs, only wanted an opportunity to come over to him. He was soon undeceived; for the Ashantis defiantly sounded their horns and beat their drums in reply, but none of them of course came over. The pitiful absurdity of these proceedings surely culminated here.

"After some little time had been spent in this way, the enemy advanced by divisions in regular succession, each sounding the calls of their several chiefs, and lined the opposite bank of the river. A steady fire was now kept up for some time by both forces, which were only separated from each other by a stream about sixty feet wide.

. . . . . .

" By four o'clock the English had expended the whole of their ammunition. Mr. Brandon, who had been specially ordered by the Governor to have forty rounds for each man packed in kegs and ready for immediate issue, had arrived during the action and was now applied to; but with the grossest mismanagement he had come on ahead of the carriers instead of driving them before him, with the natural result that, when left to their own devices, hearing heavy firing in front of them, and meeting the fugitives

* *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti.* By W. Walton Claridge. John Murray. 1915. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. xl. 650; xx. 639. *maps.*

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from the field of battle, they had not shown much enthusiasm in pushing forward, but had promptly thrown down their loads and fled. The consequence was that, now that the ammunition was so urgently needed, there was only one barrel of powder and one of ball to be had : nor was this all, for three other cases that had arrived at the same time proved on being opened to contain macaroni.

" The British force was now in a hopeless position, and no sooner did the Ashantis perceive that their fire was slackening than they made another determined effort to cross the stream, which had now subsided a little, and succeeded in fording it. The enemy closed in upon the little force from every side, pressing irresistibly forward and threatening to overwhelm it with their numbers and cut off its retreat. All who fell into their hands were instantly beheaded, and the fate of those who yet remained alive was plainly sealed. The Wassaws and Fantis had long since taken to their heels, and Sir Charles, who had been wounded, now joined Kujo Chibu who was still fighting bravely with his Denkeras on the right of the line.

. . . . . .

" It was not until towards the end of March, when Mr. Williams, who had been taken prisoner by the Ashantis, was released, that the full details of this disaster became known. He explained that he had left the field of battle with the Governor, Mr. Buckle, and Ensign Wetherell and retreated along the path towards Insamankow. They had not gone far, however, when they were attacked by a party of the enemy. One of Sir Charles's arms was broken at the first volley and he almost immediately afterwards fell with a second wound in the chest. He was carried to one side and laid at the foot of a tree, and Mr. Williams only had time to see Ensign Wetherell, who was also wounded, lying near the Governor and cutting with his sword at some of the enemy who were trying to tear off Sir Charles's uniform, when he himself received a wound in the thigh and lost consciousness. He was brought to his senses by the clumsy attempts of one of the Ashantis to cut off his head. He had already received one gash on the back of his neck when an Ashanti Captain, to whom he had once done some little kindness on the coast, recognised him and ordered his life to be spared. Lying near him he saw the headless trunks of his three companions and was then taken to the Ashanti camp at Insamankow.

" During the period of his captivity, which lasted two months, Mr. Williams was kept by day under a thatched shed and shut up each night in a hut with the heads of Sir Charles and the other officers. These heads had been so well preserved that the features of the Governor especially presented almost the same appearance as they had done in life.

" The British losses were :—

" 9 officers and 178 men killed; 3 officers and 89 men wounded.

" Only 22 of the Royal African Colonial Corps and 8 of the Volunteer Company escaped."

Thus ends the saga of a gallant soldier.

The last ten years of his life had been largely devoted to the abolition of the slave trade and the welfare of the liberated slaves.

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THE EPAULET.

BY FRED GILBERT BLAKESLEE

(Author of *Uniforms of the World*).

The earliest type of military epaulet was formed of bows of ribbon and worn on the right shoulder only. It was in use in England as a badge for officers from about 1660 to the end of the reign of Charles II. When it went out of fashion it was replaced by wings. These were made of cloth with scalloped ends, ornamented with gold or silver lace and were worn on each sleeve attached to the shoulder seam. They were adopted early in the eighteenth century and were worn by officers in certain branches of the service for nearly a hundred years; in some cases epaulets being worn with them. Wings have been preserved in the uniform of the British army, and, in slightly different form, are now worn by musicians when in full dress.

Epaulets of gold or silver made their appearance about 1750, and have remained in use in some armies and nearly all navies ever since. The epaulet was then a flat strap of gold or silver braid with a fringe of the same metal and was sewn on to the coat. Up to this time there had been no method of distinguishing the different grades of rank but with the adoption of this type of epaulet, regulations regarding the wearing of the same began to be issued. As these early epaulets did not bear any devices, it was ordered that generals and field officers should wear two epaulets and captains and lieutenants a single epaulet. Non-commissioned officers wore a single epaulet of cloth, probably fringed with gold or silver. On July 14, 1803, a general order was issued directing that the use of epaulets for non-commissioned officers be discontinued and prescribing that a chevron of lace be worn on the right arm instead. Sergeant-Majors had four bars, sergeants three, corporals two.

About 1800 the form of the epaulet underwent a radical change. At the end of the strap nearest the arm, a metal crescent was added and the embroidery extended to meet the crescent so that the end of the epaulet became rounded instead of straight. The fringe, which sometimes differed in form according to rank, was attached to the crescent.

Soon after the adoption of this type of epaulet, badges of rank began to be added to it. A general order issued February 1800, prescribes that all field officers were to wear two epaulets and that a colonel was to have a crown and a star on the strap, a lieutenant colonel a crown, and a major a star. Field officers of fusiliers and light infantry were directed to wear wings in addition to their epaulets. Captains and subalterns were ordered to wear a single epaulet on the right shoulder.

The Dress Regulations of 1831 prescribed the following badges of rank for officers, to be displayed on the strap of the epaulet.

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Field Marshal ..	Two batons and a crown.
General	Crossed sword and baton surmounted by a crown.
Lieutenant General Major General	Same Epaulets as general.
Brigadier General ...	No device.

Field Officers of cavalry had upon the strap of their epaulets a crown and star, crown, or star according to rank; the epaulets of captains and lieutenants being without device. Infantry officers wore no badges of rank on their epaulets but had distinction in the size and shape of the bullion; that of a colonel and lieutenant colonel being 3½ inches deep, of a major 3 inches and of a captain and of a lieutenant 2½ inches. All officers now wore two epaulets except officers of flank companies who wore wings instead. All epaulets, except those worn by generals, bore the regimental device in silver upon the gold strap.

On account of the difficulty of wearing the great coat over the crescent type of epaulet, many officers on active service wore their epaulets hanging down in front instead of attached to the shoulder; this practice being common in both the British and the French armies during the Napoleonic Wars.

In 1855 epaulets and wings were abolished for officers of the British army and insignia of rank transferred to the collar which was variously embroidered according to rank. With the exception of the crossed batons of a field marshal all other commissioned grades were marked by a crown and star, crown, or star.

In 1883 badges of rank were again transferred to the shoulder, the shoulder knot taking the place of the epaulet. At that time the present insignia was adopted to distinguish the different grades except that a captain had two stars, a first lieutenant one, and a second lieutenant none. Three stars were not authorized for a captain until 1902.

In the French Army at the time of Napoleon, gold epaulets were worn by most officers, but in the case of captains and lieutenants only the left epaulet was fringed. A Marshal of France wore four gold stars upon each epaulet; a general of division three, and a general of brigade two; all other epaulets being without devices. The epaulets worn by French officers just prior to the World War were gold or silver according to arm of service. None of them, except those worn by generals, bore any devices, but grades of rank were marked by the type of epaulet. A colonel wore two gold or silver epaulets; a lieutenant colonel, two epaulets, the top of silver and the fringe of gold; a major an epaulet on the left shoulder and a contre epaulet on the right. A captain had two epaulets, a lieutenant an epaulet on the left shoulder and a contre epaulet on the right, and a sous lieutenant an epaulet on the right shoulder and a *contre* epaulet on the left. A *contre* epaulet was one without fringe. The epaulets of captains and subalterns had a longer but less thick fringe than those of officers of higher rank. Enlisted men wore epaulets of cloth with worsted fringe.

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Italian officers prior to the World War wore gold or silver epaulets according to their branch of service, none of them bearing any rank badges.

German officers before the World War wore epaulets, the form of which differed according to rank. General officers had epaulets of silver bullion, upon which were displayed diamond shaped stars in gold; field officers had within the crescent a coloured field of cloth bearing the regimental number and gold stars of rank. Some of these epaulets were fringed with gold and others with silver. Line officers wore the same type of epaulet without fringe.

American army officers in the eighteenth century wore the gold strap epaulet similar to that worn in the British service at that time. On June 18, 1780, an order was issued regulating the insignia of rank as follows; for major generals two gold epaulets with two gold stars upon each; for brigadier generals, two gold epaulets having one gold star each; for colonels, lieutenant colonels and majors two gold epaulets without device; for captains an epaulet on the right shoulder; for subalterns an epaulet on the left shoulder. Sergeants were directed to wear two worsted epaulets and corporals one worsted epaulet on the right shoulder. In 1812 the crescent type of epaulet was worn and in 1813 general officers, and officers of artillery and rifles, wore gold epaulets and officers of infantry and cavalry silver epaulets. The practice of wearing one or two epaulets according to rank remained unchanged. By a general order issued June 11, 1832, insignia of rank was changed so that all officers wore two epaulets. At this time the eagle was adopted as the device to indicate the rank of colonel. A lieutenant colonel wore the same epaulet as a colonel omitting the eagle while the epaulets of a major were of mixed gold and silver bullion, without device. Captains wore epaulets of a different design, of gold or silver, and lieutenants smaller epaulets than those of a captain. In 1836 the leaf was adopted as the insignia of rank for a lieutenant colonel and major, and bars were selected to mark the grades of captain and first lieutenant. About 1880 the epaulet, except for general officers was replaced by the shoulder knot for full dress and this regulation remained in force until the World War, although the form of the knot was changed shortly after the Spanish War.

Shoulder straps were worn with the undress uniform by officers of the United States army from 1836 to 1917. During the Civil War they were worn with full dress. In olive drab service dress the badges of rank were worn on the shoulder piece which was a part of the garment.

THE PENINSULAR WAR.

WELLINGTON: THE BIDASSOA AND NIVELLE. By Major-General F. C. Beatson, C.B. London. Edward Arnold & Co. 1931. 8vo. pp. xii. 224. *ill. maps.* 15 shillings.

This is a workmanlike little book, dealing in very full detail with two of Wellington's famous operations in the autumn of 1813, the passage of the Bidassoa and the forcing of the Lines of the Nivelle. Its main merit

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is its very complete reproduction of all Wellington's orders, with an analysis of the precise way in which his divisional generals carried them out—with complete, or not quite complete, success. And General Beatson has walked over his ground with conscientious care, and supports his narrative with ten well-chosen photographs of the main points of interest during the two engagements. Unfortunately the maps are not so satisfactory as the photographs—only two are given and these on such a small scale that it is impossible to follow all the manœuvres described, and that spots mentioned in the text are not always to be found in the plans—e.g. the *Cafè Republicain,* which occurs several times in the story of the crossing of the Bidassoa, and D'Erlon's battery at Arbonne (or Arbona as the General calls it) on the east-centre of the Nivelle defences.

General Beatson has used with discretion all the Wellington's dispatches, including the very important divisional reports in the Supplementary Volumes, and all the better-known British diaries and memoirs—Larpent, Colborne, Hope, Malcolm, Batty, Gleig, Henry, Kincaid, Harry Smith, Simmonds, Frazer, Leach, etc., to good effect. For the French side of the narrative he is largely dependent on Vidal de la Blache's admirable *Evacuation de l'Espagne et l'Invasion dans le Midi,* which has the virtue of quoting French official reports at great length, and saving the student a visit to the Paris War Office or Achives Nationales. Clerc's *Campagnes dans les Pyrenées* also supplies many French documents. The author also uses Dumas's *Campagnes du Maréchal Soult,* and the invaluable Lapène, who along with Foy's letters (edited by Girod de l'Ain) gives almost the only detailed accounts of fighting. He does not seem to have used Lemonnier-Delafosse—aide de camp first to Clausel and then to Pierre Soult— or to have utilised Villa's interesting life of General Pablo Morillo. The letters and dispatches of Morillo are almost the only accessible contemporary Spanish documents.

We are not sure that the best way to construct a narrative is to rely on original documents quoted at length for the description of episodes—still less on screeds from second-hand authorities written long after the days of the campaign. But if Colborne's personal narrative is utilized for the capture of the 'Signals Redoubt' at the Nivelle, it would have been justifiable to print William Napier's much more vivid account of his storming of the works on the precipitous Little Rhune—one of the best 'purple passages' in the historian's book. Indeed the doings of the Light Division on that day are a little condensed—there is not even a mention by name of the *Place d'Armes* or the *Nid de Pie,* which the 43rd carried by a tremendous rush. We are merely told that 'Napier assaulted the French works and carried them one by one'. His own account of the climb should be read.

Spanish names, as is usual in English books, suffer a little in these pages. The '3rd Army' was commanded not by the Prince of Angola [which rather suggests a sable monarch] but by the Prince of Anglona. General Lacy did not spell his name Lacey; the commander of Joseph's *Juramentados* was Casapalacios, not Casabianca. And to talk of Don

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Espoz y Mina is as if one were to write of Sir Worthington-Evans, or Sir Steel-Maitland, for the Spaniards never omit the christian name between the 'Don' and the surname, any more than we do when dealing with knights or baronets. The town from which Clausel started his hurried retreat after Vittoria was Trevino, not Tervino.

But we do not think that slips of this sort do much to impair the value of a useful book!

THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

The Colours of the following Regiments have already appeared :—

The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment).	Vol. vii.	p. 1
The Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey).	do.	p. 119
The Buffs (East Kent Regiment).	do.	p. 204
The Royal Scots Fusiliers.	do.	p. 184
The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster).	Vol. viii.	p. 32
The Northumberland Fusiliers.	do.	p. 127
The Royal Warwickshire Regiment.	do.	p. 191
The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment).	do.	p. 242
The King's Regiment (Liverpool).	Vol. ix.	p. 43
The Royal Irish Regiment†	do.	p. 97
The Royal Welch Fusiliers.	do.	p. 146
The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.	do.	p. 243

41ST REGIMENT, OR THE INVALIDS.

"In the center of their Colours, the Rose and Thistle on a red Ground within the Garter, and Crown over it.

"In the three corners of the second Colour, the King's Cypher and Crown".

The facings of the Regiment are described in the Royal Warrant as "Blue".

In December, 1787, the 41st ceased to be a corps of Invalids and became the "41st Regiment of Foot".

(To be continued.)

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† Disbanded on 31 July, 1922.

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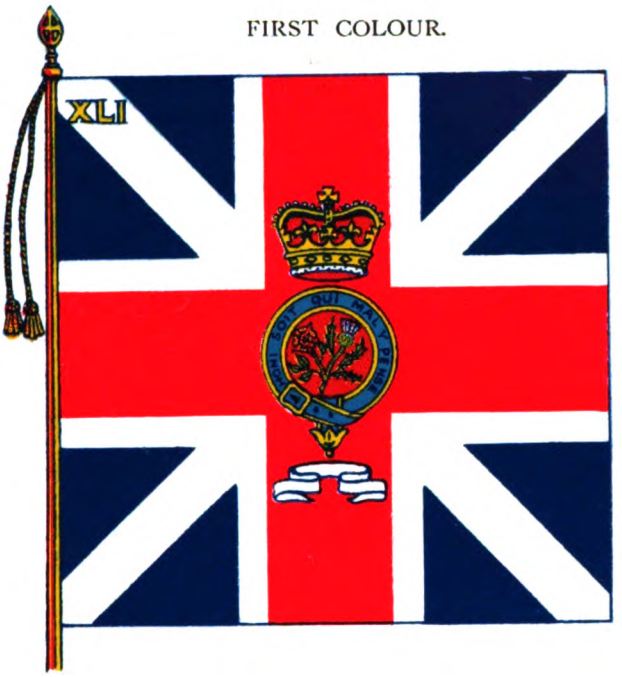
FORTY-FIRST REGIMENT, or THE INVALIDS.

1751.

FIRST COLOUR.



SECOND COLOUR

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

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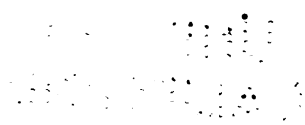

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MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE BOMBAY ARMY.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

No history exists of the military forces on the Bombay Establishment of the Hon. East India Company, and although material for such history is probably to be found in the India Office no attempt has ever been made to collect the various pieces of the puzzle and put them into intelligible and useful shape.

One or two histories of 'Bombay' Regiments are in being which, of course, are excellent sign-posts, and information is asked for regarding titles of any books which bear on the history of the 'Bombay' Army.

Four are mentioned, merely by way of showing what is required :—

a. *Crown and Company.* By Major Arthur Mainwaring. Published in 1911. (1st Bombay European Regiment.)

b. *Napier's Rifles.* By H. G. Rawlinson. Published in 1929. (25th Bombay Native Infantry.)

c. *List of Bombay Artillery Officers.* By Colonel F. W. M. Spring. Published in 1902.

d. *Officers of the Indian Army*—1760 *to* 1837. By Dodwell and Miles. Published in 1838.

As a commencement, a list, dated 1 July, 1789, here follows of "The Honourable Company's Officers, as appointed to Corps" on the Bombay Establishment. It is taken from a MSS. book in my possession.

The list shows, as then existing :—
A European Regiment—2 battalions.
12 Battalions of Native Infantry.
A Marine Battalion of Sepoys.
An Engineer Corps.
Invalids.
There was no Cavalry.

The European Regiment, originally formed in 1661, was divided into two Battalions in 1788. It was transferred to the Crown in 1861 as the 103rd Foot (Royal Bombay Fusiliers); became the 2nd Battalion, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, in 1881, and was disbanded on 1 July, 1922.

The lists of Regiments here following are arranged in the same order as in the MSS. book.

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1ST BATTALION OF EUROPEANS.

Rank.	Names.	Dates of commissions.	Died.
Colonel	Lawrence Nilson (1)	4 June 1784.	
Lieut.-Colonel	Robert Bowles	6 Sept. 1788.	
Major	James Bannatyne (2)	do.	13. 7.06.
Captains	Thomas Marshall (3)	21 June 1784.	20. 5.25.
	Robert Sinclair (4)	do.	—.—.92.
	George William Mignon	do.	
	Andrew Anderson (5)	do.	16. 9.24.
	John McDonald	do.	
	Joseph Morris	do.	
	Donald Cameron	do.	20. 3.97.
	James Patterson	20 Jan. 1789.	—.10.08.
Lieutenants.	Samuel Wilson (6)	9 July 1783.	31. 3.27.
	Eleazer Birch Gilmer	5 June 1787.	
	Horatio Birtles	18 July.	11. 4.93.
	John Wright	6 Nov.	10.12.03.
	Joseph Flooke	6 Sept. 1788.	1.10.90.
	Thomas Cape	do.	
	George Williams	5 Jan. 1789.	
	John Dufty	13 do.	9. 8.10.
	James Douglas	do.	
	James Lloyd	20 do.	16. 1.11.
Ensigns	William Powney	6 Sept. 1788.	10. 3.01.
	George Gibbons	do.	22. 4.99.
	Robert Lewis (7)	do.	4. 9.3 .
	William Auchinleck	do.	
	Peyton Phibbs	20 Jan. 1789.	
	Alexander Burne	26 Apr.	
Chaplain	Arnold Burrows		
Adjutant	John Wright		
Qr. Master	Eleazer Birch Gilmer		
Surgeon	Joseph James		

1. Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, 1785-6. 2. Major-General, 18.6.98.
3. Town Major, Bombay. Lieut.-General, 4.6.14. 4. Commissary of Stores.
5. Lieut.-General, 19.7.21. 6. Aid-du-Camp and Governor's Officer. Major General, 12.8.19. 7. Major-General, 22.7.30.

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2ND BATTALION OF EUROPEANS.

Rank.	Names.	Dates of commissions.	Died.
Colonel	Charles Frederick	20 Jan. 1789.	13. 3.91.
Lieut.-Colonel	John Pecke	6 Sept. 1788.	—. 4.23.
Major	Kenneth McPherson	do.	2.12.14.
Captains	Charles Reynolds (1)	21 June 1784.	24. 6.19.
	Burnaby Boles	do.	30. 9.09.
	Elmes Foster	do.	24. 2.95.
	William Home	do.	
	Charles Boyé	do.	2. 2.33(2).
	James Romney	do.	
	Benjamin Cooke	do.	
	James Sparkes (3)	do.	1790.
Lieutenants	John Capon	1 May 1780.	28. 2.06.
	Charles Patrick	do.	
	John Huntridge	do.	29.10.95.
	John James	do.	
	William Thomas Sandiford (4)	23 Aug.	
	Andrew Bethune	26 Dec. 1781.	
	James Urquhart	9 Jan. 1788.	27. 3.18.
	William Ramsay	1 Feb.	1791.
	David Bruce	26 Oct.	3. 5.02.
	William Chevalier	1 Apr. 1789.	3. 7.90.
Ensigns	Robert Johnson Gorman	6 Sept. 1788.	26. 9.02.
	George Llewellin	do.	1. 2.19.
	John Turner	13 Jan. 1789.	17.11.05.
	Robert Wightman	do.	2. 4.00.
	Joseph Burnham	1 Apr.	
	Reginald James	28 do.	
Chaplain			
Adjutant	Robert Johnson Gorman		
Qr. Master	John James		
Surgeon	John Price		

1. Surveyor on the Continent of Indostan. 2. Lieut.-General, 19.7.21.
3. Garrison Judge Advocate. 4. Aide-de-Camp, and Persian Interpreter to the Governor.

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1ST (OR GRENADIER) BATTALION OF NATIVE INFANTRY.

Rank.	Names.	Dates of commissions.	Died.
Captain Commandant	James Kerr	26 Dec. 1781.	14.11.21.
Lieutenants	Thomas Samuel Tydd	1 May 1780.	1797.
	Cæsar Sutton	11 Mar. 1781.	1.10.89.
	Charles Wallace Young	15 May 1787.	
	Archibald Spens	29	
	James Manly	5 June	1. 2.99(3).
	Lancelot Reed (2)	9 Jan. 1788.	1. 1.95.
	Alexander Walker	do.	
	Aeneas (4) Grant	6 Sept. 1788.	19. 6.10(5).

1. Fort Adjutant at Tannah. 2. Adjutant. 3. Drowned at sea, on passage from Malabar to Bombay. 4. Possibly 'Angus'. 5. On passage to England.

2ND BATTALION OF NATIVE INFANTRY.

Captain Commandant	William Burchall	21 June 1784.	8. 3.94.
Lieutenants	Henry Lawrence (1)	1 May 1780.	
	John Burnett	do.	
	Samuel Thompson	11 Mar. 1781.	6. 3.99(3).
	John Beete	26 Dec.	
	George Stow	3 Nov. 1787.	—.10.93.
	John Lamb	4 Sept. 1788.	15.11.95.
	Matthew Finley	6 do.	2. 7.93.
	John Charles Sheen (2)	do.	22. 7.10.

1. At Bancoote, recruiting. 2. Adjutant. 3. Killed in action at Sedaseer.

3RD BATTALION OF NATIVE INFANTRY.

Captain Commandant	George Facey	26 Dec. 1781.	11. 1.90.
Lieutenants	Roger Alden Hiern	1 May 1780.	
	Hugh Fridge	do.	—. 4.05.
	Richard Budden (1)	11 Mar. 1781.	
	Jeremiah Ward	16 Aug. do.	
	John Skelton (2)	31 May 1787.	
	James Gordon	4 Sept. 1788.	
	George Bailey	6 do.	3.12.05.
	Nathaniel Flatt	do.	2.11.95.

1. Garrison Qr. Mr., at Tellicherry. 2. Adjutant.

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4TH BATTALION OF NATIVE INFANTRY.

Rank.	Names.	Dates of commissions.	Died.
Captain Commandant	James Valentine	26 Dec. 1781.	
Lieutenants	Robert Nesbitt	1 May 1780.	24.10.96.
	Robert Buchanan (1)	23 Aug. do.	
	James William Troy (2)	11 Mar. 1781.	7. 1.97.
	Charles Davies	26 Dec. do.	
	Harry Waters (3)	9 Jan. 1788.	2. 4.94.
	Thomas Field	6 Sept. do.	—.12.92.
	Charles John Mears	do.	21. 4.99(4).
	Robert Rae	do.	1. 1.95.

1. Fort Adjutant, Surat. 2. Garrison Qr. Mr., Surat. 3. Adjutant.
4. Killed in action at Seringapatam.

5TH BATTALION OF NATIVE INFANTRY.

Captain Commandant	John Lampard	26 Dec. 1781.	31. 7.94.
Lieutenants	Thomas Fyfe (1)	1 May 1780.	25. 6.00.
	George Holmes (2)	23 Aug.	27.10.16.
	John Drysdale	31 May 1781.	23. 8.96.
	George Lobcey Emmitt(3)	6 Apr. 1787.	
	Adam Howden	9 Jan. 1788.	
	John Alsager	6 Sept.	
	James Bowman	do.	7. 1.97.
	Matthew Bratton	do.	

1. Adjutant. 2. K.C.B., 7.4.15. 3. Asst. Surveyor, Bombay.
4. Brigade Qr. Mr., 1st Native Brigade.

6TH BATTALION OF NATIVE INFANTRY.

Captain Commandant	Matthew Murray	26 Dec. 1781.	
Lieutenants	Francis Cheeke	1 May 1780.	—.12.91.
	William Brown (1)	23 Aug.	
	Henry McKelvey	31 May 1781.	—.12.92.
	William East	5 Apr. 1787.	22. 8.17.
	Walter Marshall	9 Jan. 1788.	6. 7.00.
	William Whitcher	6 Sept.	4. 2.91.
	James Greenly	do.	13. 9.07.
	John Brown	do.	

1. Adjutant.

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7TH BATTALION OF NATIVE INFANTRY.

Rank.	Names.	Dates of commissions.	Died.
Captain, Commandant.	Richard Gore*	21 Jan. 1784.	18. 9.22.
Lieutenants.	John Brown	1 May 1780.	
	Charles Stuart	29 Dec.	24.12.02.
	William Gilkennett	31 May 1781.	—.—.92.
	Thomas Munn	5 June 1787.	12. 1.14.
	William Morris	do.	3. 8.90.
	William Stephens†	9 Jan. 1788.	10. 4.91.
	George Gordon	6 Sept.	
	Constantine O'Donnell	do.	2. 5.95.
Surgeon's Assistant.	Jonathan Thorpe.		

* Lieut.-General, 4.6.13. † Adjutant.

8TH BATTALION OF NATIVE INFANTRY.

Captain, Commandant.	John Little	21 June 1784.	18. 3.02.
Lieutenants.	Robert Kerr*	29 Dec. 1780.	31. 3.03.
	Michael Kent	10 Nov. 1781.	—. 8.97.
	Charles Lonsdale	5 June 1787.	
	John Brady.	6 Sept. 1788.	3.10.04.
	Thomas Bosville.	do.	
	George Maxwell.	do.	5.12.90.
	Emmanuel Thomas Hay	do.	
	William Fraser†	do.	

*Brigade Qr.-Mr., 2nd Native Brigade. † Adjutant.

9TH BATTALION OF NATIVE INFANTRY.

Captain, Commandant.	John Riddell	21 June 1784.	
Lieutenants.	George Unthank	1 May 1780.	—. 1.96.
	Richard Seale	29 Dec.	
	Joseph Boden	24 Nov. 1781.	
	David Price	2 Feb. 1788.	
	Edward Moore*	6 Sept.	
	John Hall Walsh	do.	
	Robert Chalmer	do.	7. 2.91.*k.*
	John Harding	26 Apr. 1789.	

* Adjutant.

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10TH BATTALION OF NATIVE INFANTRY.

Rank.	Names.	Dates of commissions.	Died.
Captain Commandant	John Wiseman	21 June 1784.	7. 7.17(1).
Lieutenants	Thomas Ringrose	1 May 1780.	
	Thomas Grummant	11 Mar. 1781.	1792.
	James Baird (2)	do.	27. 3.01.
	Thomas Hooke	3 Aug.	16. 8.94.
	Robert Hunt	9 Dec.	3. 7.28.
	Edward William Foreman	15 July 1787.	
	Robert Watson	28 Mar. 1788.	—.12.93.
	Richard Hatchett	26 Apr. 1789.	1798.
Surgeon's Assistant	William Mackie		.

1. Lieut.-General. 2. Adjutant.

11TH BATTALION OF NATIVE INFANTRY.

Captain Commandant	Alexander MacDonald	21 June 1784.	—.12.93.
Lieutenants	Arthur Disney	1 May 1780.	
	James Rattray	do.	14. 8.89.
	Alexander Lauriston	do.	
	Robert Heath	11 Mar. 1781.	1.10.13.
	John Tilson	26 Dec.	16. 4.95.
	James Gilkie (1)	23 July 1787.	17. 3.99.
	John Wynne	29 Mar. 1788.	10. 9.98.
	William Sholl	6 Sept.	6. 3.99(2).

1. Adjutant. 2. Killed in action at Sedaseer.

12TH BATTALION OF NATIVE INFANTRY.

Captain Commandant	Henry Oakes	21 Jan. 1784.	1.11.27(1).
Lieutenants	Richard Cooke (2)	23 Aug. 1780.	29. 9.23.
	John Winter (3)	11 Mar. 1781.	
	Samuel Wallace	26 Dec.	23. 1.05.
	Hugh Ross (3)	21 Feb. 1782.	
	Thomas Gibson	13 Sept. 1787.	
	Andrew Forster	8 May 1788.	10. 1.91.
	Robert Gordon	6 Sept.	
	Robert Page	do.	8. 1.97.

1. Lieut.-General, 4.6.14. Succeeded his brother as 2nd *Bart.*, 9.9.22. 2. Adjutant.
3. Not given in *Dodwell and Miles.*

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SOME NOTES ON THE COMMONWEALTH DEFENCES OF LONDON.

BY COLONEL G. S. C. COOKE, D.S.O.

After the battle of Edgehill in October, 1642, King Charles had advanced towards London and occupied Brentford, but finding himself there opposed by the Earl of Essex and all the trained bands of London, he retired without attempting to attack the City.

Lengthy Messages and Petitions then passed between the King and Parliament, and there was hope of the agreement of a Treaty, but in the following February, we are told by Clarendon that "the Number" of "those, who believ'd the Treaty was not like to produce a peace . . . . was encreased"; and the Common Council passed a resolution "to fortify the City of London, and to draw a Line about it; which, was executed with marvellous Expedition".

This resolution was in fact passed on the 27th of February, 1643 and is on record. On the 7th of March, it was confirmed by an Act of Parliament, and the energy with which the work was executed is described in the very interesting account given us, under the title of *The Present Surveigh of London and Englands State*, by William Lithgow, who visited it whilst in progress. This account, which was reproduced in the April number—see *ante* pp. 112-20—gives elaborate details of the design, construction and armament of each fort, with particulars of the trenches connecting them, but as unfortunately the trace of these latter lay through what were then open fields, his description of their siting does not suffice to locate them, as accurately as we should desire, on the streets and squares of modern London. Such terms as "thence a trench dyke deep ditched through Wappine Field to further end of Whitechappel a great way without Aldgate" merely make us long for a gridded map with modern references!

The Resolution of the Common Council helps us no further, nor do the particulars tabulated on Vertue's map—"A Battery and Breastwork at St. John's Street end" is delightfully indefinite.

No map appeared until that published by G. Vertue in 1738, which has been reproduced in various works since. A copy of one such reproduction was included in the April number, but this, unfortunately, omits the numbers and descriptions given on Vertue's original issue.

The topography of this map is execrable, the shapes and lengths of roads being much distorted. It serves, however, to locate with fair approximation the general position of most of the line and forts, fixes a few pretty definitely but leaves some portions quite uncertain.

The lines from Forts 1 and 23 to the river, in the east of London, and the position of No. 9 ("at the New River Upper Pond") are especially uncertain.

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J. Rocque's map of London of 1745 shows no remains of the defences as such, but there are indications of mounds shown by hachures in positions that may quite well represent certain of the works in the north (6, 7, and 10). The topography of Rocque, though vastly superior to Vertue's map of the defences, is however, inferior to an eye sketch made without instruments by any pre-war Gentleman Cadet at the end of his Woolwich course. Nevertheless, these mounds of Rocque's can be fairly well plotted on a modern map.

The outlying work (No. 8) near the Islington Pound can be approximately sited, as historians of Islington describe the Pound as having been by the Green. Work No. 9, already alluded to, is a distinct difficulty—What is meant by the "New River *Upper* Pond"? Only one pond existed in the 17th century, though 100 years later in 1745, an outer pond had been made round this while Rocque shows also a rectangle a little to the north, shaded as if containing water, at a site where there is now a reservoir. Was this the *Upper* Pond?

In his *London in Times of the Stuarts* Sir W. Besant, at page 41, referring to a reproduction of Vertue's map in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, remarks that various historians had assumed that these defences consisted of a wall with redoubts and bastions at intervals, and points out the impossibility of such colossal fortifications being constructed in the brief space alleged. His criticisms, so far as a wall and permanent fortifications are concerned, are just and supported by Lithgow, who describes the works as built of turf, sand, wattles, and earthen work with pallisades; but Besant's final suggestion that these defences "were simply small redoubts and bastions at certain fixed points" is refuted, not only by the elaborate descriptions of Lithgow, but by a very valuable annotated copy of Vertue's map, now existing in the map room of the British Museum. The notes at the foot of this copy appear to have been made in 1746, one remark being "the works expressed in red are still to be traced, and 9, 11, 20, 21, are still in being. Anno 1746". Now, a thin red line has been drawn right round the whole circuit, implying that at least *indications* of the whole were traceable at that time. Though a part of the area in the west of London, had, as shown by Rocque, been built over, the line was probably traceable from point to point in gardens. The annotator informs us that the map was "copyed from Wenceslaus Hollar's Map of England in 6 Sheets". In modern parlance we would say "based on" rather than "copyed from", and indeed very roughly based thereon. He also states "traced from the Remains and Foot-steps of the Works by Cromwell Mortimer, M.D.—Secretary of the Royal Society". This presumably means that Dr. Mortimer made the investigations for the purpose of Vertue's map. His tenure of the Secretaryship of the Royal Society extended from 1730 to 1752. The notes further tell us that "The green were dry ditches, The blue were watery ditches". This is of particular interest, as it will be noticed that in Vertue's map some of the ditches bear a dotted stipple, whereas others are shaded with ruling. On this annotated map, the former were coloured green and the latter blue.

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This copy bears also some other notes regarding some of the surviving remains and assists in fixing the position of numbers 11 and 20. It bears a note at the head "Concerning the Order for fortifying the cities of London, Westminster and Southwark; See Maitland's History of London &c. . . . . page 369". As Maitland's history was not published till 1756 this note was presumably added at a later date than the others though the hand writing seems to be the same.

To revert to the criticisms of Besant, who presumably could never have seen Lithgow's book; he has undoubtedly swung to the opposite extreme from those who have suggested a permanent wall and has led sound historians to doubt whether the fortifications ever existed at shown. It has, indeed, been suggested to the writer that they did not persist till even 1660 as they were ordered to be dismantled very soon, and though the remains of some of the forts were to be seen in the 18th century, a continuous line as late as 1660 would be an anachronism.

Lithgow's small book is final as to their construction, and if anything more than our annotated copy of Vertue's map were required to settle the question of persistence, which is hardly the case, I would appeal to any Staff Officer who has been asked to provide a working party, or to any Sapper who has required one, to confirm the fact that whereas in an emergency and time of alarm any quantity of men needed will be forthcoming to construct works of defences, it is a very different tale when it comes to filling them in! We may, I think, take it as certain that the dismantling that was "ordered" was confined in its execution to salving the ordnance and any valuable timber, etc., and leaving the rest to the weather and such of the landowners as found the ditches and works inconvenient. This has always been the nature of man, and it is thanks thereto that we are still able to study the remains of such works as Offa's Dyke.

From our annotated map it seems that so far from being filled in, four of the works were not merely traceable but "still in being" in 1746. Of one of these a sketch, made by W. Stukeley ten years later, still is extant. His view point was apparently close to Christ Church, Bloomsbury, and shows ruins of the Fort just north of the British Museum—No. 11.

One final point relating to Vertue's map. Its title refers to "London as fortified by Order of Parliament in the Years 1642 and 1643". This may easily mislead the unwary, though quite correct when written, as the year then extended to the end of March. Thus, the Resolution of the Common Council, the Act of Parliament and the starting of the defences were doubtless technically in the year 1642 as then reckoned.

In the most welcome reproduction of Lithgow's pamphlet published in the last number, the figures as given on Vertue's map have been inserted in brackets against the Forts described by Lithgow. I am inclined to question the identification of five of these. The one given as [9] might be either [8] or [9]; that shown as [10] should, I believe, be [9] or [8]; while [11] and [12] should read [10] and [11]; and, finally, the description identified as [13] includes in my opinion both [12] and [13].

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NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES TO QUESTIONS should be addressed to the EDITOR, 8 PALMERSTON ROAD, SHEFFIELD.

228. THE ARMS OF HORSE AND FOOT SOLDIERS IN 1663. In "Orders and Instructions to be observed by our Commissary General of ye Musters and his Depty and by the Officers and souldiers of Our respective Guards of Horse and Foot and Our severall Garrisons in Our pay and Entertainement," dated at Whitehall, London, 5 May, 1663, it is laid down in clause 7, that:—

"None shall be mustered but such as are compleatly armed, vizt. each Horseman to have for his defensive Armes, back, breast, and pot, and for his offensive Armes, A Sword, a Case of pistolles, the barrells whereof are not to be under foureteen Inches in length, and each Trooper of Our Guards to have a Carbine, besides the aforesaid Armes, And the foot to have each Souldier a Sword, and each Pikeman a Pike of 16 foote long and not under, and each Musqueteer a Musquet, wth a Collar of Bandaliers, the barrell of which Musket to be about foure foot long, and to conteine a bullet fourteen [of] wch shall weigh a pound Weight." (State Papers. Domestic. Charles II. vol. 73, No. 14.)

The only difference in the arms of 1663 and 1661 (see *ante*, vol. ix, p. 159—clause 10) is in regard to the size of the musquet which in 1663 is four feet in length as against three feet in 1661, with bullets of 14 to the pound, instead of 12. NEUX.

229. SOLDIERS DRAFTED TO SERVE IN THE KING'S SHIPS.—1677. Letter in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle "For Our most dear & intirely beloved Cousin, Prince Rupert"—he being Governor of Windsor Castle, at the time.

CHARLES R.

Most dear and intirely beloved Cousin, we greet you well. We hold it fit, and do hereby signify unto you, Our Will and Pleasure, that you give Order for the drawing out of Eight Soldiers without their Arms out of each of the Three Companies of Our Garrison of Windsor Castle under your Command, with a Commission Officer whom you are to appoint, who is to hire passage for them by Water to Deptford, where there will be order with some one of Our Yachts to receive them, and to carry them on board Our Ships Milford, or Adventure, for Our Service at Sea. The said Commission Officer is to go with them and Comand them, until they shall be so Shipt, taking the Ship Comander's receipt for them. Whereupon the Officer is to return to his Colours, and then (and not before) the Officers of the said Company are to recruit them again. Care is to be taken that the said Soldiers be cleared with for their Pay, and not only to provide themselves with necessaries for a Sea Voyage, but also for their Subsistance until they shall be Shipboard. Till which time they are to continue in Pay, as Soldiers of the said Companies, and are to obey the said Commission Officer. But from the time they shall be aboard Our Men of War, they are to obey the Comanders or Officers of the Ships in which they shall Serve. The said Comission Officer is to disburse Moneys for the passage of the said men by the Water to Deptford, which is to be reimbursed to him by the Principal Officers and Comissioners of Our Navy upon producing them a Receipt for the disbursements aforesaid.

For which this shall be a sufficient Warrant.

Given at the Court at Whitehall the 1st day of March 1676-7.

By his Maties. Command

(sd.) ARLINGTON.

230. BANGALORE, 1782-4. PRISONERS' SONG. In Cameron's narrative of imprisonment in India in 1782-4, see *ante* pp. 17-34, it is recorded on p. 33 that on the evening of 16 April, 1784, "The officers and men who were confined in the Fort of Bangalore arrived" to join his (Cameron's) party of released captives.

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The following ballad, called a 'Prison' song, shows that the treatment of the Bangalore prisoners was much the same as that of Cameron's party.

A SONG OF BANGALORE PRISON.

I.

At length, now that liberty dawns,
The Muse, who lay dormant so long,
Companion to mis'ry in bonds
Upraises her head with a song.
To you, our old friends in Madras,
Who surely our sufferings bewail,
While your hours so cheerfully pass,
View the scenes in our Bangalore Jail.

II.

In affluence rolling at ease,
You've nothing to hope or to fear—
You live and you rove as you please,
Unconscious of what passes here.
Retire then from pleasure and play,
And list to our sorrowful tale;
Regard not the news of the day,
While we shew you our Bangalore Jail.

III.

How can we be cheerful and gay
When hunger assails us, so keen?
How can we, with six cash* a day,
Repel the invasion of spleen?
In vain our hard fate we repine—
In vain on our fortunes we rail—
On Mullaga Tony† we dine,
Or Congee,‡ in Bangalore Jail.

IV.

Like horses we're pent in a shade,**
Like felons we're loaded with chains;
And while Mother Earth is our bed,
We float in the time of the 'rains',
The centinels plac'd at the door
Are for our security bail,
With muskets and chaubucks†† secure
They guard us in Bangalore Jail.

V.

Along the verandah we stalk
And think on past pleasure with pain,
With arms enfolded we walk
And sigh for those pleasures again.
And oft is our thinking confin'd
To means of projecting a meal,
Which, if we effect to our mind,
We're happy in Bangalore Jail.

VI.

As famine approaches our gate,
More saving we grow in our fare—
Resolv'd to encounter our fate,
We bury the thoughts of despair
We feel, with regret, our decay,
So meagre, so lank and so pale,
Like ghosts we are rang'd in array
When mustered in Bangalore Jail.

VII.

Thus, while the best days of our prime
Walk slowly and wretchedly on,
We pass the dull hours of our time
With marbles, cards, dice, or a song;
While others sit mending their clothes,
Which long since began for to fail—
Amusements that lighten the woes
Of the captives in Bangalore Jail.

VIII.

The doctor, with joy in his face,
Arrives with a timely supply,
He brings the glad tidings of peace
And that our releasement is nigh.
Since freedom to visit us deigns,
In raptures we open the mail—
Discordant we rattle our chains—
The music of Bangalore Jail.

A. J. CAMPBELL.

231. YEOMANRY CAVALRY GUIDONS. (vol. ix. 134.) In the article here referred to which appeared in No. 37 of *Journal*—July, 1930—mention was made of some guidons which it was thought had been presented to the Rutland Regiment of Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry in 1794, and a hope was expressed that readers of the *Journal* might be able to throw some light on one or two points on which doubt existed.

It is very gratifying to record that this request resulted in a most helpful correspondence with Mr. Percival Reynolds, of Nut Tree House, Bloxham, Banbury, as a result of which correspondence the following inferences emerge:—

(1.) The Royal arms painted on the guidons (illustrated on Page 136 of the *Journal*) are those adopted in 1802 with France omitted, and therefore (unless they were

* Applies to various coins of low value.

† "Mulligatawny". *Tamil*—Milagu tannir. Pepper-water, a soup made with pepper and capsicums. ‡ Water in which rice had been boiled.

** Stalls covered with thatched roof, without walls; the horses were kept in by bamboo poles. †† Whips.

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repainted which is improbable) the guidons must be of a date 1802 or later, and cannot have been presented in 1794.

(2). The white horse of Hanover usually appeared on the guidons of all cavalry regiments which had not a distinctive badge of their own, the horse appearing in the 1st and 4th corners with the head towards the staff. In guidon "A" (page 136) the horse is red, which is uncommon.

(3). When the Rutland Yeomanry were raised as " Lord Winchilsea's three Troops of Rutland Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry" in 1794, Sir Gilbert Heathcote was one of the Captains. By 1804 Sir Gilbert's name has dropped out of the list and George Fludyer who was next junior had become Major.

In the list of 1805 Sir Gilbert appears as a Major, commanding the "Lincoln Light Horse Rangers", with three Captains and therefore, presumably, three Troops. The uniform of that unit was dark blue faced buff with silver braid.

The rule was that the Regimental or King's guidon was crimson and those of the other Troops were of the colour of the Regimental facing, though this was not always strictly adhered to in Yeomanry units.

The inference, therefore, is that the three painted guidons are those of the Lincoln Light Horse Rangers, the initial L.R. (meaning Lincoln Rangers) repeating the colour of the facings. The arms of the City of Lincoln (a cross of St. George charged with a fleur de lys or), also fit in with this theory. Sir Gilbert Heathcote lived in Rutland near Empingham where the guidons were found, and moreover he was great-grandfather of the present Earl of Ancaster in whose possession they were.

It is good to know the apparently correct history of these guidons—but can any reader give further information regarding the Lincoln Light Horse Rangers?

G. R. CODRINGTON, Colonel.

QUESTIONS.

346. THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE REGIMENT. The collar badge now worn by the Northamptonshire Regiment in Service, Mess, and Full Dress, is a cross and a horseshoe in silver, surrounded by the words " Northamptonshire Regt.", surmounted by a crown, the whole surrounded by a laurel wreath.

It is assumed that this badge was introduced when the 48th (Northamptonshire) and the 58th (Rutlandshire) regiments were amalgamated in 1881. Is this assumption correct?

The tradition is that the cross in the badge is derived in some way from the arms of Northamptonshire or the town of Northampton, and the horseshoe from those of Oakham in Rutlandshire.

The latter appears to be correct, as Oakham uses as arms a black horseshoe with silver nails on a gold ground, the origin of this being that when Queen Elizabeth was riding through the town her horse cast a shoe. From this trifling incident the town acquired the right of claiming a horseshoe from any royal or noble personage who entered it.

The origin of the cross is obscure. Northamptonshire has no official arms, and the cross forms no part of the arms of Northampton. Why does it form part of the badge? JE VOIS.

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347. GUN PLATFORMS (USED AT SIEGES) AS PERQUISITES OF ENGINEER OFFICERS. The following paragraph, referring to the capture of Fort Paulgautcherry, Southern India, in 1791, is found in volumn ix. of *Madras Artillery Records* (1839), pp. 65-6:—

"The custom and usage of the Honorable Company's Service, as well as of all others, being that the platforms of batteries used in a siege, became, after such siege, the perquisite of the commanding Engineer, I beg leave to acquaint you, that eight gun platforms out of the twelve which were laid in the batteries at Paulgautcherry, were afterwards employed in the repairs of the Fort. I request you will lay before the Chief Engineer at the Presidency my claim to such, and to express my hope that I shall be allowed the sum of one hundred pagodas for each platform, afterwards appropriated to the service of the Fort of Paulgautcherry."

"Decision of the Military Board on the above claim.

"The opinion given on the above claim was, that the platforms used in sieges should be considered the perquisites of the commanding Engineer, when they cease to be useful to the public service, and as those laid in the batteries at Paulgautcherry and claimed by ——— were afterwards, from necessity, appropriated to the repair of that Fort, they conceive it would not be reasonable that the Company should be subjected to any further expense on that account."

Are other instances known of this 'custom and usage'? NEUX.

348. THE GRANADIER'S EXERCISE, i.e. DRILL. The illustration here given is one—reduced in size—of a set of 19 plates drawn by Bernard Lens and published in 1735—see 'D.N.B.'

It will be noticed that the right eye of the figure is closed, or half-closed. Is there any reason for this, from the drill point of view, or is it due to incorrect engraving?

Lens died in 1740. A second edition of the book was published by his son, Andrew Benjamin, in 1744, from the title page of which the illustration facing this page is reproduced. The book is described on the title-page as:—

THE GRANADIERS EXERCISE OF THE GRANADO, in his Majesty's first Regiment of FOOT-GUARDS, Commanded by His Highnefs ye Duke of Cumberland.

Publish'd According to Act of Parliament. Decr ye 10, 1744. To be had only of Andw Benjn Lens Limner, at his lodgings, at Mr. Mitchell's, a Peruke Makers, in Jermyn Street, St James's. Price 1 Guinea.

C. C. P. L.

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To His Royal Highness the

—DUKE—

Sir

Having etch'd Shades to the Outlines of the Granadiers exercise of the Granado, which my Father y^e late M^r Bernard Lens Limner to his Majesty, drew from y^e Life (etch'd and publish'd Oct^r 30. 1735. while he had y^e Honour of attending y^r Royal Highness as Drawing Master;) for y^r Royal Highness's Diversion. They naturally Fly to y^r Royal Highness's patronage; & are with y^e profoundest Respect & humility most humbly dedicated to y^r Royal Highness by

Sir

y^r Royal Highness's
Most Humble and
Most Obedient Servant.
And^w Benj^n Lens.

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349. THE MANUAL EXERCISE. This is defined in *The Oxford English Dictionary* as " exercise or drill in handling a musket or rifle ", with a quotation from the " New Manual Exercise " of 1760. "*A Plan of Discipline* [i.e. drill] composed for the use of the Militia of the County of Norfolk," published in 1759, contains--pp. 1 to 22—" The Manual exercise, with explanations ", which is fully illustrated by 40 plates of the several motions.

When was the ' manual exercise ' first introduced under this name? NEUX.

350. COLONEL EDWARD TAYLOR, or TAYLER. Information is asked for regarding this Officer.

It is known that he was born in 1611; that he was a member of the Charterhouse—nominated by Thomas Lindon for the King and sworn in at an Assembly of the Governors on 24 June, 1701; and that he was buried there in September, 1702.

There is a portrait of him at Gorhambury, St. Albans, in the collection of the Earl of Verulam, painted in 1700 by Sir Godfrey Kneller. MALEVUR.

351. A ROYAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF 1790. Information is asked for regarding a *Royal Encyclopædia* published in 1790.

I have eight pages of No. 109, Vol. II. The pages, which measure 9¼ by 15¼ inches, are unnumbered; the first is headed " Treatise on Military Affairs ", and the other seven " Military Affairs ".

The first page has " No. 109. Vol. II, 7 Y ", and the fifth page " No. 109, Vol. II, 7 Z ", printed at foot.

There are four full-page plates of figures to illustrate the text, " drawn from life," and engraved by W. Grainger, and " published as the Act directs, by C. Cooke, No. 17, Paternoster Row ", dated respectively May 28, July 2, September 3, and October 1, 1790.

Plates 1, 2, and 3 are headed "An exact representation of the Manual Exercise, according to modern Military Discipline. See Treatise on Military Affairs ". In 1790 "discipline" meant what is now called "drill".

Plate 4 is headed "An exact representation of the three Rank Firings, with Officers Fusee & Sword Salute, according to the last new regulation. See the Treatise on Military Affairs ".

There is no copy of this book in the British Museum Library, nor can the authorities there, after prolonged search, furnish any information about it. NEUX.

352. ROBERT HINDE. Information is desired as to the army service of Lieutenant Robert Hinde, of Preston Castle, Hitchin. He is shown in the Army List of 1766, p. 188, as being on half-pay, 21st Dragoons (Granby's), which was disbanded in 1763.

His name does not appear in the Army List of 1763.

In 1778 he published *The discipline of the Light Horse*, " By Captain Hinde of the Regiment of Foresters (Light Dragoons) ".

He died and was buried at Hitchin in 1788. R. L. H.

353. BALLOON-CAPTAIN. In June, 1784, thirty Lieutenants of the Bombay Army of the Hon. East India Company, were made Brevet-Captains.

" This occurred about the time when the rage for the newly-invented balloons was prevalent in England, and a variety of articles just then imported into Bombay by the ships of that season, were distinguished and recommended by that epithet, prefixed, We had balloon-buckles,* balloon-buttons, balloon-hats, &c., &c. It was almost a matter of course that the newly-made Captains should also share in the distinction, and they were accordingly denominated " balloon-captains "—an appellation which they retained for many years ". (*The East India Military Calendar*. 1826. vol. iii., p. 244.)

Are other instances known of the use of the term " balloon-captain"? NEUX.

354. A DUEL IN THE 95TH REGIMENT OF FOOT. In April, 1808, previous to embarkation at Harwich, Captain Brodie Grant was killed by 2nd Lieutenant Jonathan Layton in a duel on the sea-shore, 1st Lieutenants William Hallen and Anthony Coane acting as seconds.

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At Chelmsford Assizes in the following August, no real evidence being offered, the three surviving officers were acquitted, the judge commenting on the neglect of the county in not making sufficient enquiries into the case.

What were the services of these four officers, who all belonged to the 95th Rifles? Layton was apparently wounded at Quatre Bras, 1815. G. O. R.

REPLIES.

330. SALUTES FIRED FROM MUSKETS AND CANNON. (vol. vii. 138, 198; viii. 77.) In the Royal Library, at Windsor Castle, is the following order addressed

"To Mr. Edward Wise, Keeper of His Maties Stores in the Castle of Windsor.

By Command of His Highness.

(sd.) J. A. HAYES."

"These are to Require you forthwith to deliver out of the Stores of the said Castle of Windsor, in your custody, One and Thirty pounds of Gun-powder to the Gunner of the said Castle, for the discharging Thirteen great guns upon St. George's day now approaching: For which this shall be your Warrant. Given at Whitehall ye 20th day of April, 1670.

(sd.) RUPERT."

F.W.B.

"[At Bombay.] On the 4th of June, 1785, his Majesty King George the Third's birthday, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired in his honour. The following salutes were also fired on the same occasion: Her Majesty, twenty-one guns; the Prince of Wales and all the Royal Family, nineteen guns; the Honble [East India] Company, seventeen guns; Prosperity to Bombay, fifteen guns. The recipient of the fewest guns remains the only survivor". [*Crown and Company*. By Major Arthur Mainwaring. p. 190. Published in 1911.] NEUX.

331. THE PRINCE REGENT'S ALLOWANCE. (vol. i. 134, 184.) In the article in the 'D.N.B.' on General Isaac Gascoyne (1770-1841), who was gazetted ensign in the 20th Foot in 1779, it is stated that "To his representations, it is said, was chiefly due the granting of the allowance of £25 a company or troop to officer's messes, in lieu of the remission of wine duty, known as the 'Prince Regent's Allowance'."

Gascoyne was also jealous in looking after the interests of the army in other ways. He died in 1841, then being General, and Colonel of the 54th Foot, an appointment which he had held for 25 years. G. O. R.

332. OLD SONGS ABOUT SOLDIERS. (vol. vi. 249; vii. 69, 193, 250; viii. 143, 212; ix. 248.) In the summer of 1760, three battalions of Foot Guards embarked for Germany and joined the allied army on 25 August. They were commanded by Major-General Julius Cæsar, Coldstream Guards.

He died at Elferhausen in Germany, on 7 August, 1762, in consequence of a fall from his horse. (*Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards*, by Colonel Mackinnon. 1833. vol. i., pp. 407-8, and 421-2.)

The original of the Ballad here following belongs to the 'Bradshaw' Collection of English Ballads in the Cambridge University Library—Slip Songs. vol. i., No. 712, and is now reproduced with the kind permission of the Cambridge University Librarian, the heading and first verse being in facsimile.

The 'Bradshaw' Collection numbers, in all, 25 volumes, including 2 volumes of Irish ballads. It was formed by Sir Frederick Madden and bought by the University in 1886, from the executors of Henry Bradshaw, for £500.

CHARLES H. FIRTH.

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THE

GUARDS Reſolution on going Abroad under the Command of the brave General *CÆSAR.*

ADIEU to old England and once more Farewell,
To Molly and Nanny, Patty and Sall,
Unwilling I own from thoſe Ladies I part,
O was I but Richer, and felt leſs of the ſmart.

Dear Wives and Children, we now bid you adieu,
What tho' we muſt leave you to face the proud Foe,
Yet hoping kind Fortune will ſtill ſtand your Friends,
And when we come home Girls, we'll make you amends.

Our brave General Cæsar, says Boys, come let us go,
To fight for King George, and face the proud foe,
It ne'er ſhall be ſaid that the ſoup-meagre crew
Shall e'er conquer Britons or make us to rue.

Here's a health to brave Granby, and Prince Ferdinand,
They are as valiant Commanders as e'er took Sword in Hand,
And when in the Field with them we do come,
We ne'er will Flinch till we make the French Dogs to run.

Since fickle Fortune has ordered it ſo,
That we to the Wars as a venture muſt go,
Like Heroes moſt brave our misfortune we'll cope,
Till we Anchor at laſt in the Cape of Good Hope.

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THE DIARY AND LETTERS

OF

ARTHUR MOFFATT LANG,

1ST LIEUTENANT, BENGAL ENGINEERS. INDIA—1857 TO 1859.

[NOTE.—On page 140, *ante*, line 25, for "92nd" read "93rd".]

(*Continued from page* 142.)

SECTION III. 1857. NOVEMBER—DECEMBER.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

Evacuation of Lucknow	...	...	...	**22-26 November.**
2nd Battle of Cawnpore ...	...	...	...	6 December.

THE DIARY AND LETTERS—*Continued.*

Diary. 22 November, 1857. Sunday. Dilkusha Park, Lucknow.

I continued the 'demonstration' of making a bridge over the Goomti. 'Pandy' attacked Dilkusha, but a few showers of grape, etc., soon drove him off. In Lucknow our work, I fancy, was confined to destroying guns, &c., and bringing out what we wanted.

Diary. 23 November, 1857. Monday.

During the night all our people came out. Shaves (32) say that a Highlander woke up in the European Barracks at ten a.m. and saw 'Pandies' firing at a feather bonnet! he fled and escaped unseen!

We held across the river only Banks's house. I was ordered to make arrangements for taking Keen and his 100 men out. So my day was spent in making reconnaissance, &c. I decided on ladders up and down, to and from the debris of the broken Arch. Inspecting the place I was shown a way across the dam of the Martinière bridge and along the opposite bank. I went that way to Banks's bungalow. Keen greeted me, delighted at last to see an European in the place. The roar was as of many thousands in the city and the scoundrels were calling and tom-toming under the very walls. The Compound with its high walls and only one little hole of exit was a cul-de-sac, from which I was happy to be free, when at sunset we glided out one by one like ghosts and crossed the dam and got back all safe.

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32. See *Journal*, vol v. 42; ix. 208; and x. 67.

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Diary. 24 November, 1857. Tuesday. Alam Bagh.

Grant's Division and the Chief, with most of the sick 'families marched for Alam Bagh. I was sent to the River to destroy the boats and bring away planking, &c. I caught up the Column on the march and learned to my surprise that General Havelock had died that morning: how uncertain is human glory! he was on a very short road to the highest honours. I think we all felt the shame of marching away, as if beaten, from before Lucknow, but of course Sir Colin knows what he is doing. We encamped south of Alam Bagh, as before, but with ladies and children interspersed, in extraordinary fashion, amongst us. One lady got admission, as ill, in Stevenson's tent, and completely turned him out, and at daybreak she got her mother and sisters also installed.

Diary. 25 November, 1857. Wednesday. Alam Bagh.

General Outram's division marched in from Dilkusha and formed a second line behind us. A small force was sent to Bunnee bridge to repair it: with it a company of European and Madras Sappers. It is extraordinary to see how the ladies are 'gypsying' it, everywhere and anywhere about the Camp. Mrs. Barlow was living beneath a durree (33) spread about four feet from the ground.

Diary. 26 November, 1857. Thursday. Alam Bagh.

A quiet day of halt which I spent in writing. Innes, Crommelin, and Anderson took up their abode in my tent.

Diary. 27 November, 1857. Friday. Bunnee, near the river Sye (34).

Ordered to march at 7 a.m. We did not start till noon, and marching along slowly we did not reach our camping ground, two miles beyond the Bunnee bridge, until sunset. At the bridge we found 400 men of the 27th Madras Native Infantry and two guns of Madras European Artillery. Outram's division of about 2,500 men remained at Alam Bagh (in camp outside it). He has Madras Fusiliers, 78th, 84th, 5th, 90th, 75th; about 100 Cavalry and (204 European, 101 Native) Artillery and the "C" Company of Madras Sappers, so Scott, Burton, and Ogilvie have left us.

Diary. 28 November, 1857. Saturday. Near the river Ganges.

Started at 7 a.m.; marched all day, halting two or three hours, en route. We halted within two miles of the Ganges. Heard (as yesterday) guns at Cawnpore all day. A few sowars appeared on our flanks. We did not get in till night and got to rest about 12.

Diary. 29 November, 1857. Sunday. Banks of the Ganges.

At night, bitterly cold, out I had to go with Malcolm and Sappers to River bank to make a Battery for two 18 pounders, and one 8 inch howitzer, R.A.; four 24 pounders and one 8 inch howitzer of Peel's, who opened [fire] across the river. We found that the Gwalior and Fatehgarh

33. *Hindustani* —a carpet.
34. 12 miles from Alam Bagh, towards Cawnpore.

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ALAM BAGH, LUCKNOW—1858—showing Bara Dari in left background.

From a photograph in the possession of Captain J. A. Collins.

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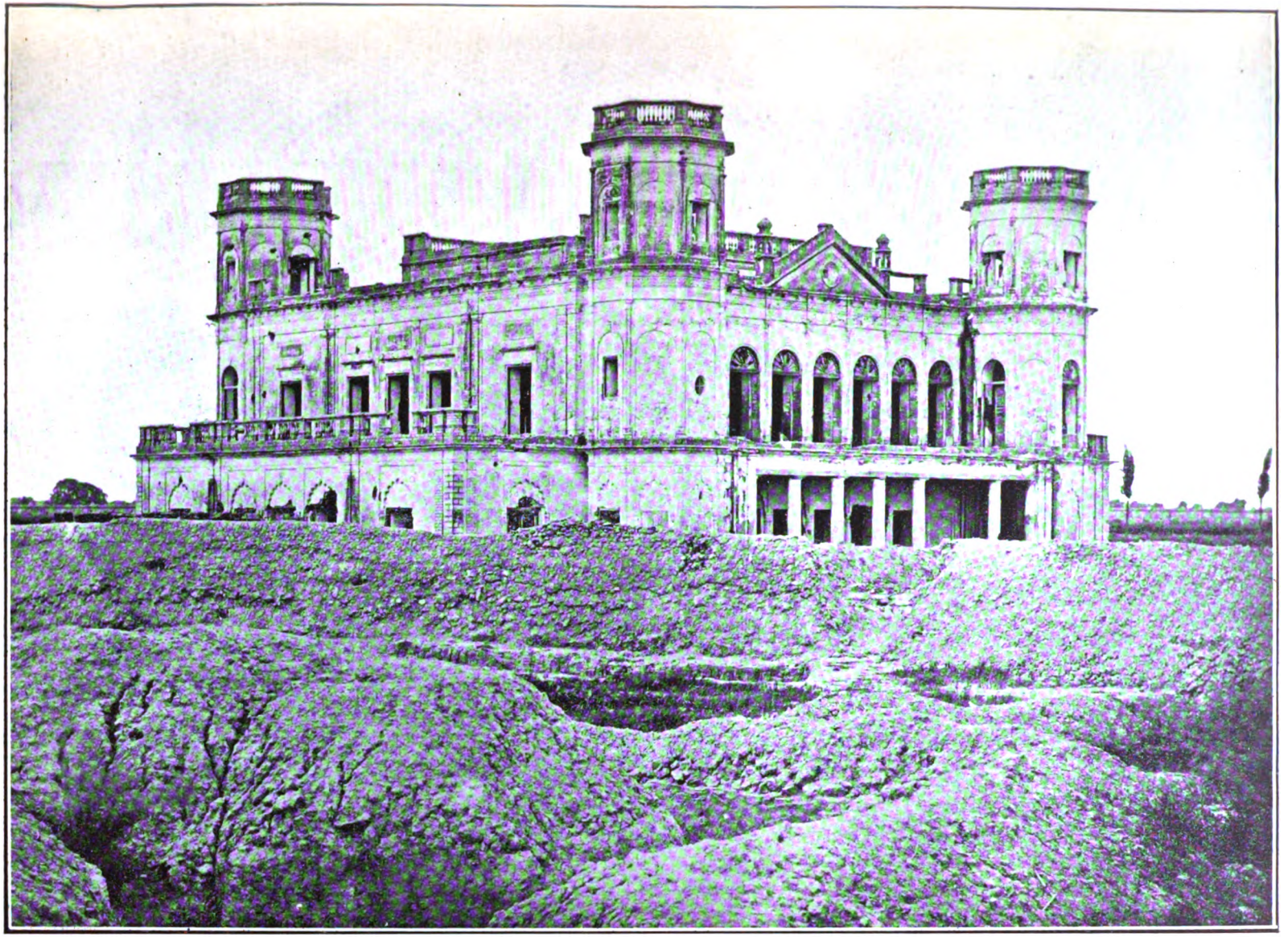

BARA DARI, ALAM BAGH—1858.

From a photograph in the possession of Captain J. A. Collins.

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[29 November, 1857.]
troops, with Nana Sahib and Mainpuri Rajah, were holding Cawnpore, and Windham with some two or three thousand men getting the worst of it. The 64th lost six officers killed! Colonel Wilson (35) among them.

A great part of our force crossed during the day and occupied the portion of Cantonments about the old Dragoon lines, and new Barracks. The Rifles got into the Hotel Compound but had to fall back. Forbes, Watson, and Stevenson crossed; our Camp (as much as did not cross) advanced to within a mile of the river. To that I returned.

Diary. 30 November, 1857. Monday. Cawnpore.

At dawn off we marched, all to cross the river. I managed to get across with difficulty, but the Sappers halted for hours on the bank, waiting for baggage to cross. I saw McLeod, Thomson, &c., in the Entrenchment. 'Pandy' was sending round shot into the place, and five mortars of ours were replying. Crommelin, Innes, and Anderson took up their quarters again in my tent. We did nothing all day.

Diary. 1 December, 1857. Tuesday. Cawnpore.

Muster at 7-0, a.m. Round shot and shrapnel came rattling into our camp in the most irritating manner, hitting tents, horses, and an occasional individual.

In the evening I had to go out with Colonel Harness (36), now Chief Engineer, Lennox, and Scratchley (37) to see where a heavy gun-battery was to be made. Just by the Canal bridge, where our advanced pickets are, the site was chosen. I was at work there till past 11, when a gun was brought down (naval).

I heard from an Officer on picket there more disgraceful details of the panic and losses of the regiments here, of how the 88th had refused to charge, and follow their Officers, etc., and so on.

A fine moonlight night and lots of noise we made, yet 'Pandy' did not disturb us; nor do I fancy the battery will be any use where it is.

Diary. 3 December, 1857. Thursday. Cawnpore.

On duty from 4 to 8 at the Fort, which is being put in a state of great strength.

In the evening I was sent to the Mogul Serai to see about a gun breast-work. Hyslop (38) with twenty of 93rd were the working party. These Highlanders are the most willing obedient soldiers in camp. A fine moonlight night, with 'Pandy' sentry pacing the opposite side of the bridge, 150 yards off, and yet we had not a shot at us.

The ladies, sick and wounded, under escort of 300 of 34th, two Madras Horse Artillery guns, and a Troop of Cavalry, started for Fatehpore [towards Allahabad].

35. Lieut.-Colonel (bt. Colonel) Nicholas Wilson, K.H. (Knight of the Hanoverian Order), created in 1836.
36. Henry Drury Harness, R.E.; afterwards K.C.B., and General. See 'D.N.B.'
37. 1st Lieut. Peter Henry Scratchley, R.E.; afterwards K.C.M.G., and Major-General. See 'D.N.B.'
38. Lieutenant Maxwell Wither Hyslop.

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Letter. 5 December, 1857. Saturday. Cawnpore.

A reinforcement of 900 men (half 42nd, half 38th) joined us; a Subaltern—Wynne (39)—and 25 men of Engineers came with them. That afternoon 'Pandy' attacked our left, and our Horse Artillery fought him and drove him back; we stood to our arms for some hours but did not turn out. Blunt's Troop got roughly handled before the 'Jungies' and two Madras guns came up to the rescue. By this time of course we were most impatient to be let loose on 'Pandy' and could see no possible reason why 'Pandy' should be allowed to bravado us any longer.

Letter. 6 December, 1857. Sunday. Cawnpore.

At 7 a.m. we were ordered to strike tents, and were marshalled in our respective places.

From the Fort, as furious a cannonade as possible was kept up so as to let it be supposed that we should attack in that quarter, the Church, Assembly rooms, &c. Meanwhile our light Artillery and Cavalry were going off to the west, and Hope's and Inglis's Brigades were also taking ground to the left, formed up near the new Barracks in long lines. Greathed's Brigade lay inactive about the south of the Canal, guarding those outlets for escape. I was in Hope's Brigade and could see beautifully the steady advance of those lines, marching as if on a Review Parade, no noise and no hurry, but as sure and as resistless as fate. On they marched, the round shot bounding like great cricket [balls] on the level plain and bounding (generally) over the long lines, and the Shrapnel Shell bursting overhead and showering bullets down. The casualties were very few, tho' of course occasionally a shot would pitch in, and on would go the Line leaving one or two bodies on the plain. 'Pandy' could not stand this advance, the bonnets and kilts of the 93rd and 42nd looked too formidable, and he bolted. We came on his Camp (where we are now encamped) full of cattle, horses, tents, gharis, &c. Here the 93rd and 53rd were led away to the right, and took another Camp of 'Pandy's' at the Subadar's Tank. But the most of us, and Cavalry and Horse Artillery, pursued up the Kalpi road. The Cavalry passed the 14th, and Infantry the 10th, milestone. All along the road we took gharis, cattle, and guns. Before we returned, at sunset, 'Pandy' retook a gun, and, with it and two more, opened on our troops here, on which the 38th charged and took the three guns. We took 16 guns (one 18 pounder, eight 9 pounders, two 24 pounder howitzers, three 8 inch mortars and two 5½ inch mortars). We returned here and bivouacked foodless and tentless.

Letter. 7 December, 1857. Monday. Camp near Cawnpore.

We remained here not knowing what orders would come; we had no food or baggage and existed on parched gram (40) and mithais (41) from 'Pandy's' camp.

At sunset our baggage came up and we encamped here. During the day the remainder of the enemy cleared out of Cawnpore.

39. Lieutenant Charles Edward Wynne, R.E. He died at Lucknow on 9 July, 1858.

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Letter. 8 December, 1857. Tuesday. Camp near Cawnpore.

We went into the City and about the whole place. A column went out in pursuit towards Bithour—Hope's Brigade, Lancers, 'Jungi' Troop, and a R.A. Battery. I did not go. I had sprained my ankle and was unable to march. They have not yet returned, but we hear that although they could not catch the long-legged 'Pandy' they took fifteen guns. So now we suppose that all the Gwalior contingent guns, excepting two 18 pounders at Kalpi, have fallen into our hands.

Our loss has been very slight, but I don't think we are half satisfied; after a long delay and the fact of 'Pandy' having kept us at bay for so long a time, and having been allowed to insult us with impunity, it is very unsatisfactory to see that he has escaped us with no good corporal punishment.

Letter. 13 December, 1857. Sunday. Camp near Cawnpore.

Here we still are and still ignorant of when we are to march. Our Division is being prepared for its up country march, and corps not belonging to it are being detached. Brigadier Carthew (42) is to hold Fatehpore, taking with him all the Madras Rifles, 17th N.I., two H. Artillery guns and European Foot Artillery. Longden's Heavy R.A. Battery (43) is to be stationed at Cawnpore: so are the 32nd, and Brigadier Inglis (44) is Brigadier of Cawnpore.

The 4th Company of Royal Engineers has joined us, and Major Nicholson (45) commanding it (a young fellow only regimentally a 2nd Captain) is Chief Engineer; he brings four subalterns to strengthen our roster—Scratchley, Wynne, Swetenham and Keith. Major Nicholson has evidently always done regimental duty and is more like a strict little Adjutant than an Engineer officer, fond of smart drills, pipeclay, *et hoc genus omne*. I fancy the 'Delhi' style of the Bengal and Punjab Sappers 'perplexes' him, our scorn of appearances and drill, our absolute sway over our men. I expect he will soon ask me to doff my peacock feather plume from my helmet! perhaps, too, he may ask me to doff also my loose khaki tunic and jack boots, and my black pouches and belts, &c., and request me to wear red and russia leather, and gold lace, and other pomps, a more glittering, but not one half so soldierly looking a set of harness. However, I hope he will let us 'gang our ain gait' and rub pipeclay into the Royals (46).

It will be a happy day for me when we march up country. I have had a fear of being sent to Benares, or of being kept at Cawnpore, as Ex. Engineer, to build Barracks, both hateful *in prospectu*, especially the latter. However, I trust I may get safe away with Grant's division; if I do not, I

40. A kind of vetch, or pulse, used as food for horses, etc.
41. *Hindustani*—sweet-meats.
42. Lieut.-Colonel Morden Carthew, 34th (or Chicacole) Madras Light Infantry.
43. Captain Charles Scudamore Longden, R.A., commanding No. 5 Company, 13th Battalion, R.A.—in 1931 the 66th Field Battery, R.A.
44. Colonel John Eardley Wilmot Inglis, 32nd Foot; afterwards Major-General, and K.C.B. See 'D.N.B.'
45. Lothian Nicholson; afterwards General, and K.C.B. See 'D.N.B.'
46. i.e. Royal Engineers.

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[13 December, 1857. Sunday.]
must try and submit patiently, tho' it will be a good lesson in self denial: in these days one ought to be ready to sacrifice 'self' in every possible way, *pro bono publico,* and be even glad to be called upon to make some sacrifices in the good cause.

Letter. 15 December, 1857. Tuesday. Camp near Cawnpore.

We have moved our camp about 1½ miles up the road to the 128th milestone (47) where the Station branch of the Trunk Road joins in; you will see I have marked our new position in the map.

The troops bound for Fatehpore and Benares are to start at 6 p.m. to-day and are to march 20 miles or more during the night.

Our division is, I believe, delayed for want of boots and shoes! so small a matter may influence important movements.

Most of our new (48) regiments are Crimean ones, and we hear that the 'Crimea was nothing to this', 'By Jove, this *is* fighting, this *is* service.' By my writing to you sober sense and true accounts of what happens and what we think, you have a true idea, perhaps, of what is going on, but we cease to be heroes; the unvarnished tale of our doings looks mild beside the usual style of narration of past battles and wars, yet I don't say that we are not fighting as hard a war, and distinguishing ourselves less than actors in those battles, but to compare our campaign with others, read the newspapers and historical accounts; but to know the truth of these and of Crimean, &c., accounts, believe mine.

Letter. 17 December, 1857. Thursday. Camp near Cawnpore.

We are still in *statu quo.* All our moves are kept very secret. A number of Highlanders (42nd) marched in to-day.

Yesterday we actually had a cricket match in Camp. The Artillery played the Lancers: and as I was in the Artillery Headquarters eleven at Meerut I was considered one of the Artillery. Traill (49) and Murray (50) of the 'Jungi' Troop (51), came over from Bithour to play. We only played one innings each, and the cricket, I must say, was very bad, but none of us had played since last January.

At Bithour they found Azim-Ullah's (52) correspondence—quantities of letters from his fair friends at home—some written by really well-educated, talented young ladies, most beautiful composition; praising their 'glorious Eastern Sun' and 'Indian Prince', such wonderful letters; if I wasn't writing against time I would give you some amusing extracts. This fiend, you know, could talk English beautifully, and had been to England and was the Nana's chief adviser.

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47. From Allahabad.
48. Regiments recently arrived from England.
49. 1st Lieutenant George Balfour Traill, Bengal Artillery.
50. 1st Lieutenant Henry Murray, Bengal Artillery.
51. 1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery. See footnote 17, *ante*, p. 140. In a letter, dated 15 November, 1857, Lang refers to the 'Jungis, who as the old Egypt Troop', etc., the nickname referring to the expeditionary force sent to Egypt from India in 1801, of which this Troop formed part. In 1931 it is represented by 'F' Battery, R.H.A.
52. Azimullah Khan.

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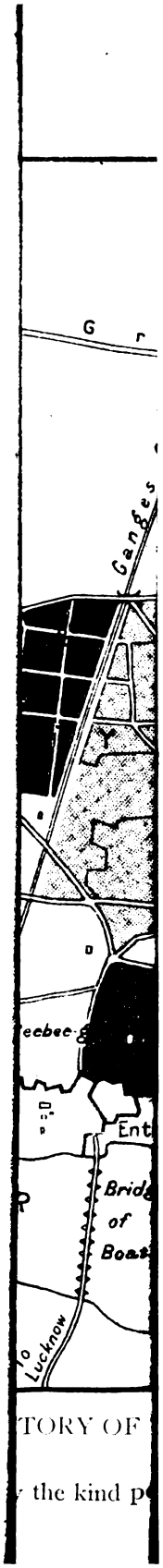

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Diary. 17 December, 1857. Thursday. Cawnpore.

Got orders to join Walpole's (53) brigade at nine next morning. Scratchley with 25 'Royals', and I with 25 'Bengals', were to be the Engineer part of the Force. The rest were:—

Three squadrons of [9th] Lancers.
Watson's Punjab Cavalry (300 sabres).
Bourchier's [Field] Battery.
Blunt's Troop [Bengal Horse Artillery].
38th Foot. 2nd and 3rd battalions, Rifle Brigade.

Diary. 18 December, 1857. Friday. Sakendee.

At 8-20 a.m. we fell in, but it was nearly eleven before we started off, and about 3 p.m. when we reached our halting place at Sakendee, about the 14th milestone on the Kalpi road. Blunt [H. Artillery] admitted Scratchley and me as honorary members of his 'Troop' mess, so we get on very comfortably.

Diary. 19 December, 1857. Saturday. Akherpore.

We were ready to march at 6 a.m., but some of the troops were not, and it was not until 7 a.m. that we were off, and it was past 1 p.m. when we reached the end of our 14½ mile march to Akherpore. We left the pucca Kalpi road at the 24th milestone (just half way from Cawnpore to Kalpi) and went by field roads to the right. This Akherpore boasts of some very handsome pucca Tanks and houses, and appears to have been once a large place.

Diary. 20 December, 1857. Sunday. Akherpore.

Halt. Bradford wants some grain collected (which has been stored for the Nana in neighbouring villages) that it may be sent into Cawnpore. Service for the men at morning parade, and Bourchier had service for officers at 3 p.m.

Diary. 21 December, 1857. Monday. Akherpore.

Halt again, to allow of a *daur* being made. Brig. Walpole, himself, and Smyth, 3rd Battn. Rifle Brigade, and Watson's Punjab Cavalry went out. They went to two different places and caught some sepoys and some of the Mainpuri Rajah's relatives; one sepoy was hung at his own village, but the rest brought to be hung here.

Diary. 22 December, 1857. Tuesday. Akherpore.

A party went out in the morning and brought in some sepoys, among them a Naick of the 6th Cavalry.

Diary. 23 December, 1857. Wednesday. Derapore.

First bugles were [sounded] soon after 4 a.m.; however, we were not off till six, the advanced guard being but little before the main body. We

53. Robert Walpole, unattached list. See 'D.N.B.

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went by country paths to Derapore, about ten miles, crossing the Seyngur river about 1½ miles from the end of our journey.

Diary. 24 December, 1857. Thursday. Sekundra.

Advanced guard as before. Off earlier, but half a mile from Camp the Sappers had to repair the road, up and down a ravine, which was impassable. However, we marched on fast and got into Sekundra at 10-15, an hour before the column, distance about ten or eleven miles.

Bourchier's and Blunt's messes dined together on Xmas Eve and we had a very merry evening.

Diary. 25 December, 1857. Friday. Sekundra.

After service (at 9) and breakfast, Cracklow and I went out on foot with a gun and rifle and horses led behind us. We were out till about 4 p.m. We had dinner again, all sociably together, in a big tent.

Diary. 26 December, 1857. Saturday. Oorayah.

Marched very early, as the first bugles sounded an hour too soon. A short march of about eight or nine miles to Oorayah.

Diary. 27 December, 1857. Sunday. Ajitmal.

We marched at six and got into Ajitmal (about 13 miles) at ten.

Diary. 28 December, 1857. Monday. Bakewa.

Marched at 6-15 and after some 12 miles reached Bakewa, a small unimportant place. Cracklow went out to shoot, but the number of armed men he saw about sent him back to camp again.

Diary. 29 December, 1857. Tuesday. Etawah.

We had orders as usual to march at six, but bugles woke us at one, and at a quarter to three we were tramping away by moonlight to surprise the enemy at Etawah. Soon after sunrise we were passing the city on our left and making for our Camp in Cantonments, near the Church, unopposed.

'Pandy' had bolted yesterday afternoon. Some dozen of the enemy took refuge in the Tahseel, and to turn them out two companies of Rifles, a gun and some sowars were sent. Scratchley and I went to see the fun. For about three hours they kept us at bay, in a little house and courtyard, and we tried rushing in, which ended each time in some of our men being wounded. At last Bourchier and Scratchley made a mine in the roof and brought it down on them. Some poor women and children were with them when they died, and they cut them with their tulwars.

Diary. 31 December, 1857. Thursday. Etawah.

I find five Rugbeian contemporaries in the Rifles—Glyn, Wilmot, Percival, Keene and Fryer (54). We had not a New Year's Eve dinner

54. Captains Henry Wilmot and Riversdale Richard Glyn; Lieutenant Lewis Percival; Ensigns Arthur Ruck Keene and Edward John Fryer.

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together. Wretched old 1857 died out quietly with us. Such a sad year I hope we shall never see again; to me individually it has been, in a point, a happy one, yet I don't fancy I shall recall it as a happy year; 1858 will bring happiness and peace to us all.

1858.

Diary. 1 January, 1858. Friday. Burhal (1).

The New Year came quietly in while all our Camp lay asleep at Etawah; we did not greet it till the bugles rang out at 3½ a.m. At 5 we were off for a sixteen mile march to Burhal. The moon shone brightly and as we had a most musical company of the Rifle Brigade on advance-guard with us, who sang songs together and whistled together as they marched, we went along very jollily till the 1st day of 1858 dawned on us. We were in at 10 and encamped beyond Burhal, 15½ miles from Mainpuri.

Diary. 2 January, 1858. Saturday. Mainpuri.

At 4½ a.m. we marched, bright moonlight. Charles Hunter (2) joined us to walk; he and I walked the whole distance, which was 15½, into Mainpuri, and a good two miles more to the Church, near to which we encamped.

Diary. 3 January, 1858. Sunday. Bewar.

Started at 4½ a.m.; marched eight miles to Bhowganj, and about seven to Bewar.

We had left the 38th, Watson's Cavalry, and Hare (3), with two of Bourchier's guns, at Mainpuri.

Diary. 4 January, 1858. Monday. Fategarh.

At 3½ a.m. Walpole's column marched, to be followed at 5½ a.m. by Seaton's column. We had a 24 mile march before us to Fategarh; after eleven miles we halted for 1½ hours and had breakfast on the road side.

In the afternoon we got into Fategarh and rejoined the Chief's Camp. Seaton's column only reached Mahomedabad, half way.

Diary. 5 January, 1858. Tuesday. Farukhabad.

Scratchley, Wynne, Keith, Forbes and I, with Royal and Bengal Sappers, were sent off to Farukhabad Palace to blow up a great portion of it. We marched five miles from camp, through the long wide main street of the city, which presents an animated appearance with its well-filled, quaint shops, and seems as if no war had disturbed it.

The Palace is built on a high cliff, which rises like a bluff headland above the level plain; the river, which now runs two miles off, must once have washed its base.

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1. From Etawah 16½ miles; from Mainpuri 15½ miles.
2. 1st Lieutenant, Bengal Artillery. He belonged to Blunt's Troop, H.A.
3. 2nd Lieutenant Richard Thomas Hare, Bengal Artillery.

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Diary. 6 January, 1858. Wednesday. Farukhabad.

Wynne, Keith, I, and Forbes, in turn, took four hours tour of duty at the mines. Five shafts on the Palace terrace and four galleries from below, two into each bastion, were to be made.

[7-8 January, 1858. At Farukhabad.]

Diary. 9 January, 1858. Saturday. Fategarh.

Left Farukhabad Palace soon after sunrise and walked the 4½ or 5 miles into Camp [at Fategarh]. Breakfasted with Taylor's Engineer mess and afterwards, with Nicholson and a lot more, rode to Fategarh Fort. We rode round it seeing how much of the village on the South should be destroyed, etc. It will require all the Sappers and 1,000 coolies for nearly a fortnight to put the place into anything like order. It is an old earthern fort, each front presenting four round bastions, excepting the Eastern, which is washed by the River. Inside are the gun-carriage Agency [i.e. factory], work-sheds, and a capital bungalow in South Eastern corner for Agent [i.e. Superintendent].

[From 10 January to 3 February, Lang remained at Fategarh. Marching thence on 4 February, he reached Cawnpore on Tuesday, 9 February, where he remained until the 12th.]

(*To be continued.*)

THE COLOURS OF THE BRITISH MARCHING REGIMENTS OF FOOT IN 1751.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

The Colours of the following thirteen Regiments have already appeared :—

The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment).	Vol. vii.	p. 1
The Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey).	do.	p. 119
The Buffs (East Kent Regiment).	do.	p. 204
The Royal Scots Fusiliers.	do.	p. 184
The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster).	Vol. viii.	p. 32
The Northumberland Fusiliers.	do.	p. 127
The Royal Warwickshire Regiment.	do.	p. 191
The Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment).	do.	p. 242
The King's Regiment (Liverpool).	Vol. ix.	p. 43
The Royal Irish Regiment†	do.	p. 97
The Royal Welch Fusiliers.	do.	p. 146
The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.	do.	p. 243
The Welch Regiment.	Vol. x.	p. 154

† Disbanded on 31 July, 1922.

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SECOND COLOUR

Of Regiments having White or Red facings.

SECOND COLOUR

Of Regiments having facings of a colour, other than white or red.

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The thirteen (13) regiments which bore 'distinguishing badges' on their second Colour are shown in this list. (See also vol. vii. pp. 2-4).

The illustrations facing this page show the second Colour of the remaining 36 regiments, being "the colour of the facing of the Regiment with the Union in the upper canton, except those regiments, which are faced with White or Red, whose Second Colour is to be the Red-Cross of St. George on a White Ground and the Union in the upper canton." (See vol. vii, p. 1.)

The upper illustration is that of the second Colour of the 33rd (red facing), and of the 17th, 32nd, 43rd, and 47th (white facing) regiments, in the centre of which was borne a wreath of roses and thistles, on the same stalk, with the number (i.e. rank) of the regiment in gold Roman figures, within the wreath.

The lower illustration is that of the second Colour of the 31 others, the colour of the field for the several regiments being :—

Facing.	Regiments.	Facing.	Regiments.
Yellow.	9th.	Green.	11th. Full green.
	10th. Deep yellow.		19th. Yellowish green.
	12th.		24th. Willow green.
	13th. Philemot yellow.*		36th.
	15th.		39th.
	16th.		45th. Deep green.
	20th.		49th. Full green.
	25th.		
	26th. Pale yellow.	Buff.	14th.
	28th. Bright yellow.		22nd.
	29th.		31st.
	30th. Pale yellow.		40th.
	34th. Bright yellow.		42nd.
	37th		48th.
	38th.		
	44th.		
	46th.	Orange.	35th.

ADVERTISEMENT.

It is proposed to publish the 28 Colours which have appeared in *Journal*, in pamphlet form, with explanatory letter-press, in order that there may be permanent record of them in one volume.

Only one actual specimen of these Colours is now known to exist.

Should any of the Regiments, whose Colours have appeared in *Journal*, wish to reproduce them for Regimental purposes—Christmas Cards, Programme headings, etc., —the Editor will be glad to arrange for their supply, for the cost of printing only, no charge being made for the use of the blocks.

* Or *Filemot*, a corruption of *Feuille morte*, meaning the colour of a dead or faded leaf, brownish yellow.

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THE RE-ORGANISATION OF THE INFANTRY OF THE LINE.

1 JULY, 1881.*

BY MAJOR M. L. FERRAR.

Of all the many important changes that have taken place in the organization of the Army probably the introduction of the two battalion system in the Infantry, 50 years ago, was by far the most unpopular. Before this time, regiments, as a rule, were known by their numbers, which had been in vogue since 1751, and which, besides being associated with many brilliant achievements, were interesting as showing the seniority of each regiment. In addition to this, various coloured facings were worn, dating from the year in which the regiment had been raised. But with the new scheme everything was changed, the numbers being ruthlessly abolished by a stroke of the pen and the facings of each regiment altered to another colour. County and City titles were substituted for the numbers, the idea being to have one special recruiting area for each regiment and to build up a local interest in each.

Before this time there were nine facings of different colours worn by the Infantry of the Line. These were reduced to four, viz., white for the English regiments, yellow for the Scotch, green for the Irish, and blue for all Royal regiments, but as the Irish, with the exception of the Connaught Rangers, were all 'Royal," it was the only regiment to wear green, various shades of which had been worn by some regiments for nearly 260 years.

The new scheme was to have two regular battalions to every regiment with the exception of the 60th Rifles and The Rifle Brigade, which had already four each, so that the home battalion could send drafts to the one abroad, when required. The first 25 regiments with the exception of that of the Royal Scots, had already two battalions each, the second formed at the time of the Indian mutiny, so that to make the new system practicable all the remaining 83 regiments from the 26th to the 109th had to be dovetailed into two battalion regiments with county or territorial titles for each.

One can imagine the confusion and dissatisfaction that was thus created. To make a happy combination of these single battalions who wanted nothing else except to remain as they were was a labour of Hercules; in fact, it seemed almost an impossibility. Regiments that had gained distinction in many campaigns had to change their designations and become 1st or 2nd Battalions of another with which they had no connection of any kind and no sympathy whatever. Each of these battalions had long-cherished customs and traditions of their own and strongly disapproved of the customs of the other. Feeling ran very high, and to such an extent that officers of some of these regiments would not condescend to dine together at their annual dinner, and it was not till the older officers disappeared that this feeling eventually died down and the new order accepted with resignation and hope for the future.

* Army Orders 41, 70, 128, 139 and 140 of 1881.

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Though territorial titles had been allotted as far back as 1782, for the purpose of associating regiments with various counties for recruiting purposes, this object never materialised and the Depôt companies of a regiment on foreign service scarcely ever entered their assigned county except by the merest chance, the home regiments continuing to pick up their recruits as they went from station to station.

There were many anomalies in this county scheme, as, for instance, Devonshire having three regiments assigned to it, viz., the 11th, the 20th and the 46th, whilst a big county like Lancashire had only one, the 47th. So with the new plan of 1881, all this had to be altered, every county having practically one regiment excepting the populous counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire, which were given five or six, a depôt being formed for each, in its own county.

It is true that since 1872 Brigade Depots had been created and single battalion regiments had been linked together for recruiting purposes, foreshadowing the 1881 re-organisation, but each of these regiments kept its own number, dress, and other distinctions, and had no real sympathy with each other. Officers from each battalion did a tour of duty at these depots, but it never entered their heads that in a few years they would all belong to the same regiment.

When the great change was announced there was little alteration in the above scheme as regards the English regiments. Amongst the few exceptions was the amalgamation of the 43rd with the 52nd in place of the 85th, the latter joining the 53rd, originally proposed as the 2nd Bn. of the 43rd; the 39th instead of being joined to the 75th as first suggested, combined with the 54th; and the 95th, originally linked with the 54th, became, with the 45th, the Sherwood Foresters (Nottinghamshire & Derbyshire Regt).

There was only one change amongst the linked Irish Regiments but the Scottish regiments seem to have given the authorities some trouble, and all their linking was changed when the new scheme came into force. The 42nd was at first intended to combine with the 79th, the 73rd with the 90th, the 71st with the 78th, and so on. All were altered, to the satisfaction of some perhaps, but not of others.

The first 25 regiments were not so disturbed by these changes as were others, because their 2nd battalions were bone of their own bone, raised by themselves with the history of their senior battalion to inspire them, and they had no heart-burnings in having strangers thrust on them. Another regiment, besides the 60th and Rifle Brigade, escaped—The Cameron Highlanders, which was allowed to wait till it settled the question itself by giving birth to the new battalion at Inverness in 1897.

If the loss of their historic numbers was felt to be almost a tragedy, that of having to part with their facings, which in some cases had been worn for even half a century longer than the numbers, was almost worse. Fancy The Buffs and The Green Howards having to put on white facings! and such facings! On the cuffs they had no point and were known as "jam pot sleeves." Some regiments did not rest till they recovered their old

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facings, and the following list gives those who were authorised to resume their old facings with the date of sanction.

Regiment.	Colour of Facings in 1931.	Date of Assent.
Buffs	Buff	19 August, 1890.
Northumberland Fusiliers	Gosling Green	15 July, 1899.
Norfolk	Yellow	24 March, 1905.
Devonshire	Lincoln Green	do.
Suffolk	Yellow	22 September, 1899.
West Yorkshire	Buff	— January, 1900.
Green Howards	Grass Green	15 July, 1899.
Cheshire	Buff	26 February, 1904.
South Wales Borderers	Grass Green	24 March, 1905.
Worcestershire	Grass Green	4 April, 1920.
Duke of Wellington's	Scarlet	24 March, 1905.
Border	Yellow	19 February, 1913.
Hampshire	Yellow	26 February, 1904.
Dorsetshire	Grass Green	do.
Sherwood Foresters	Lincoln Green	19 February, 1913.
Royal Berkshire	Blue*	30 July, 1885.
Middlesex	Lemon Yellow	9 April, 1902.
Wiltshire	Buff	24 March, 1905.
Durham Light Infantry	Dark Green	8 December, 1902.
Highland Light Infantry	Buff	17 November, 1899.
Seaforth Highlanders	Buff	29 March, 1899.

The first ten of these regiments resumed their old facings. The others, being amalgamated regiments, had to decide what colour they would adopt.

The restoration of the facings (which are now almost a dead letter) to the uniform dress of all ranks would be much appreciated. It would enhance the appearance of the somewhat dull-looking 'Khaki' material. It would stimulate recruiting, would increase an interest in the various regiments, and would cost little or nothing. In fact, the expense would willingly be borne by the regiments.

Time is a wonderful healer of wounded sentiment and outraged feelings, and few people looking ahead in 1881 could have realised how all these changes, heart-breaking as they were to many, would have had such a successful result, and this much-abused system to have worked so harmoniously for so many years.

The reorganisation certainly proved its value in 1914 when each of the new service battalions wearing the same uniform as their attached regiment and inspired by its traditions, fell into its place, with men ready to add still further stimulus to the regiment in which they had the honour to serve.

* On being made a Royal Regiment.

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THE GOODWOOD TROOP OF YEOMANRY ARTILLERY.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

This Troop was formed in 1817. The details here following are taken from a manuscript book (foolscap size) in my possession, entitled :—

"Memoranda for Serjeants of the Goodwood Troop of Yeomanry Artillery."

The book is, practically, a drill-book for Horse Artillery. It bears no date, but the paper is watermarked "W.D. Wells. 1822." It contains 15 leaves.

The following notification was published in *The London Gazette* (p.77) of Saturday, January 10, 1818.

Commissions signed by the Vice Lieutenant of the County of Sussex.

. . . . . .

Goodwood Troop of Sussex Volunteer Horse Artillery.

The Right Honourable Charles Earl of March and Darnley† to be Captain-Commandant. Dated October 19, 1817.

William Humphry, Gent. to be First Lieutenant. Dated December 17, 1817.

The Troop ceased to exist before 1825, and does not appear in the List of the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers of that year. It consisted of :—

1 Commanding Officer.	2 Trumpeters.
2 Lieutenants.	8 Serjeants.
1 Surgeon.	32 Gunners.

There were four detachments of 2 Serjeants and 8 Gunners each.

There were 4 guns, with two pairs of horses each. There were no Drivers.

The book is divided into 12 sections, and each section being illustrated by a coloured diagram. The sections are headed :—

1. Parade of detachments.
2. When even files are to work the guns.
3. Movements by threes.*
4. Formations made from columns of threes.
5. Wheeling by detachments.
6. To increase or diminish the front by detachments.

---

† Eldest son of Charles, 4th Duke of Richmond and Lennox, whom he succeeded as 5th Duke on 28 August, 1819.

* The drill formation of Cavalry in 1817 was 'threes', files being told off as 'Right, Centre, Left'; 'fours', as a formation, was introduced later.

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7. The advance in line.
8. Retiring in line.
9. The advance in echellon.
10. Retiring in echellon.
11. Advance by alternate detachments.
12. Retiring by alternate detachments.

Details of the drill for each Section are given on the left-hand pages of the book, with a diagram on the corresponding right-hand pages.

The drill, with diagrams—exact size—of the 1st and 2nd Sections are here reproduced.

SECTION 1st. PARADE OF DETACHMENTS.

1st. The Senior Serjeant will order the Detachment to fall in (he remaining in Front, facing the Detachment) when he will select the Two Tallest Men and place them in the Centre; the next Tallest to be placed on the Right, the next on the Left and so on.

2nd. The Serjeant will order the Detachment to number off from the Right, One, Two, Three, and so on and explain to the Gunners their proper Posts at the Gun; supposing the Detachment to consist of Eight Files, the Gun will be worked as follows

EVEN FILES.		ODD FILES.	
1st Serjeant.	Port Fire.	2nd Serjeant.	Port Fire.
No. 2	Vent.	No. 1	Vent.
4	Sponge.	3	Sponge.
6	Load.	5	Load.
8	Cartridge.	7	Cartridge.

The Detachment will then be told off by Threes and alternate Files (Right and Left). The Serjeant will then place himself in Front of the Centre, one Horse's length in advance from the Detachment, ready for any movement that may be ordered. Care must be taken to select a Steady Man and Horse for each Flank of the Detachment.

SECTION 2nd. WHEN EVEN FILES ARE TO WORK THE GUNS.

At the word "Prepare for Action", even Files rein back and dismount, lead their Horses up into Line, slip the Bridoon over his Horse's Head and give it to the Gunner on his Right on the off-side and proceed to the Gun. The Serjeant will give his Horse to the Serjeant conducting the Gun, or to the Left-hand Man of the detachment if Nine Files.

WHEN ODD FILES ARE TO WORK THE GUNS.

At the word "Prepare for Action", Odd Files rein back and dismount, lead their Horses up into Line, slip the Bridoon over his Head, and give

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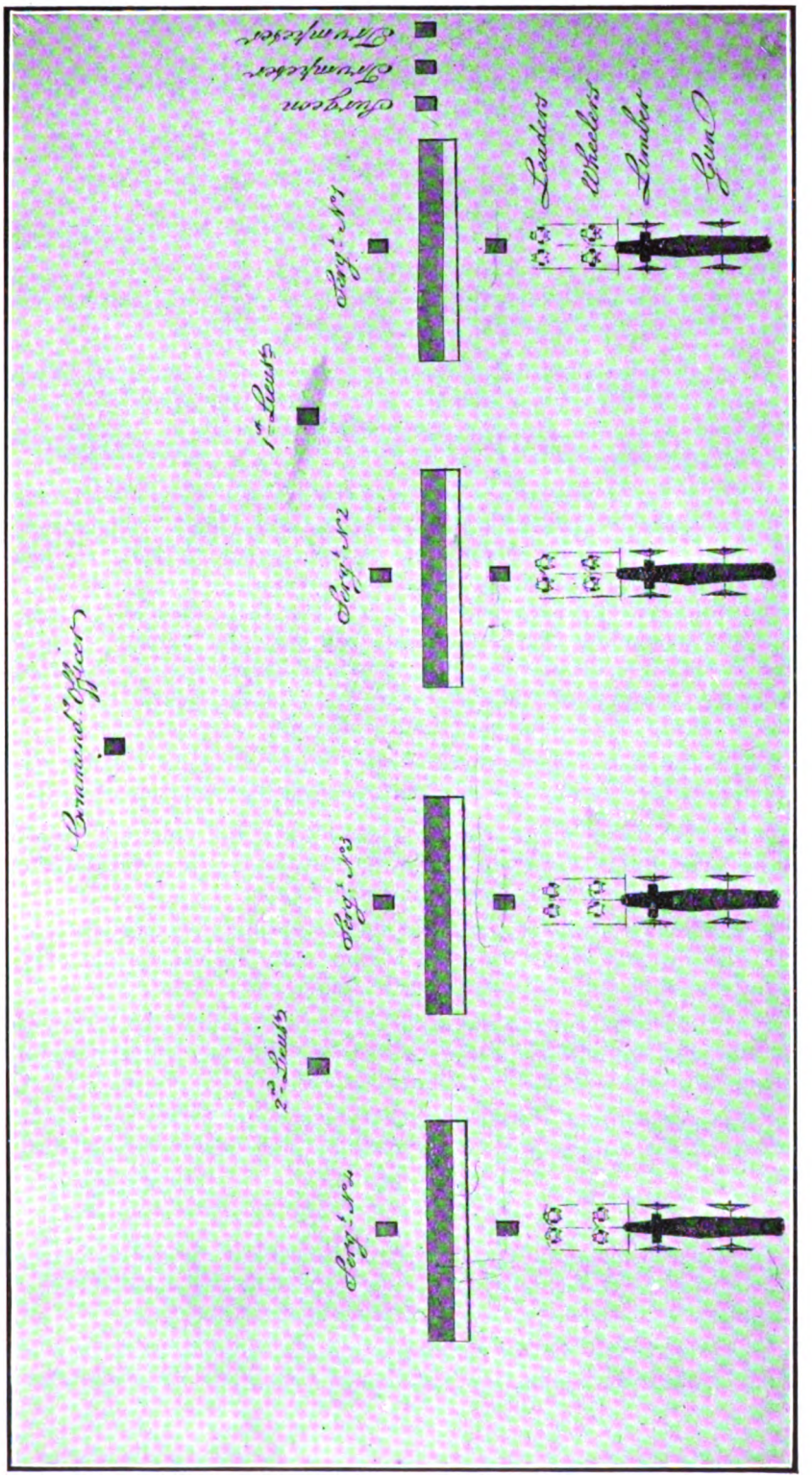

SECTION 1ST.—The Troop in Parade Order.

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it to the Gunner on the off side on his Left, and proceed to the Gun. The Serjeant to give his Horse as above.

On the last page of the book there is a "Memorandum for Serjeants conducting guns."

When in Parade Order, the Serjeant to be one Horses Length in rear of the Centre of the Detachment in front of the Leaders.

When dismounted to work the Guns, the Serjeant who has charge of the Limber will move the Limber in Rear of the Gun about 20 yards; the Detachment with Led Horses will follow & form up in Line in rear of the Limber.

When ordered to Limber up, the Serjeant will move the Limber to the proper place to receive the Gun, and the detachment will move to the front if in Line; if in column, on its own proper Flank; as soon as Limbered up, the dismounted Men will proceed to the Front of their Horses, take the Bridoon and place it over their Horses Heads: the Serjeant commanding the Detachment will give the Word "Prepare to Mount," when the dismounted Horses will be reined back & prepared for Mounting: at the Word "Mount" each Man springs sharply on his Horse & moves up into his proper place in Detachment.

When the Detachment wheels Threes Right the Gun will be wheeled to the Right; the Leaders' Heads in a Line with the Detachment Leader.

When the Detachment wheels Threes Left, the Gun will Wheel to the Left, the Leaders Heads in Line with the Leading three of Detachment, the Serjeant dressing with the Detachment Leader.

When the Detachment wheels to the Right the Gun will wheel to the Right; the Leaders Heads to be in a Line with the Detachment, and the Serjeant Dressing with the Detachment Leader.

When the Detachment wheels to the Left, the Gun will Wheel to the Left: the Leaders' Heads to be in a Line with the Detachment & the Serjeant Dressing with the Detachment Leader.

There are several Movements that may require the Gun to be on different Flanks, which will be directed by the Officer commanding the Troop.

The title 'Yeomanry Artillery' is of particular interest, as it disposes of the popular fallacy that the term 'Yeomanry' has always been synonymous with auxiliary troops of the Cavalry arm.

It may be noted that in 1820, although the establishment of a Troop of R.H.A. was only 2 guns, the 'Goodwood' Troop of Yeomanry Artillery had 4.

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Section 2nd.—When even Files are to work the guns.

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AN EARLY EXPERIMENT IN BAYONET FIGHTING.

BY MAJOR A. C. T. WHITE.

Until the end of the 18th century, there was no development or change in the method of bayonet fighting used in the British Army. The low quality of recruits precluded any advanced training, and therefore the drill handbook legislated for an advance in line, with the firelock and bayonet held in a set position. According to the "Manual" (editions 1804 and 1823), the infantry soldier came from the "shoulder" via the "port arms," to the position "charge bayonets," an attitude not differing in any essential from the present practice. The body was turned slightly to the right, the left foot leading: the right hand, grasping the small of the butt, rested on the right thigh, and the left hand grasped the firelock, which was inclined slightly upwards, at the swell.

There were two obvious defects in such a practice. Although the bayonet went home with the weight of the body behind it, the position of the right hand prevented free play at close quarters; but more important was the objection that, in the close order then adopted in battle, the remaining ranks were compelled to remain at the "slope," as the position least dangerous to the front rank. At the last moment, when parts of the front line had fallen, for the second line to come from the "slope" to the "charge," without catching their bayonets in the bulky impedimenta carried on the backs of the front rank, was a matter of some difficulty.

The Royal Marines, however, frequently called upon to board enemy ships or to repel boarders, had long been noted for the close attention they paid to bayonet exercises, and had developed by experiment a more individual style. The close interest with which the captive Napoleon watched their exercise on the "Bellerophon" is in itself a proof of their efficiency. It is natural to turn to their records in the hope of elucidating any changes.

According to the "Edinburgh Annual Register," 3 May, 1811 (1) "an experiment of an improved method of charging with the bayonet took place yesterday by a detachment of the Royal Marines, in the presence of the Lords of the Admiralty, and a committee of Marine officers. The plan contains many advantages over the present, particularly in enabling the rear rank men to use their muskets at the charge, . . . causing the men to stand in a stronger position, and enabling them to attack or defend both the front and the rear. The plan met with approbation . . ."

The following letter, addressed to Col. W. Butler, Lieut-Governor, Royal Military College, recently found amongst the records of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, obviously refers to this experiment:—

Southampton, 30 September,1817.

Dear Sir,

I return my best thanks for your letter of the 27th Instant; and hasten

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to comply with your wish that I should explain the nature of the new Bayonet Exercise. It consists of the principles of the Small Sword applied to the Bayonet; and is, in fact, fencing with the Firelock. In the first instance, the Soldier being without arms is instructed to go on guard, to Allonge, to recover, and to advance and retire on guard. . . . As soon as he has acquired some expertness and facility in these, the Firelock is put into his hands. Standing at attention, and with shouldered arms, he receives the word—*Prepare to Charge*—and immediately brings the piece across his body, continuing to hold the But in his left hand, and seizing the swell with his right. He then receives the word—*On Guard*—and throws himself into the fencing attitude, with his right side directly to the front; his left hand being placed upon his left thigh, whilst his right hand is advanced before his body. This is a position of great strength."

(Then follows a detailed exposition of the advantages of the position in fencing.)

"The advantages of the third position are still more conspicuous and decisive. The soldier, having gone on guard as already described, receives the word—*Allonge*—and throws his body forward, as if he were making a thrust with the Small Sword; while the left hand is brought up to the breast, and the right arm is extended. Thus while the whole weight, with the muscular action of the body, propels his weapon, he obtains such a length of point that he can pierce the front, and even hit the rear rank man, of an opposing line, without the possibility of being touched himself."

(The writer next points out in detail how in a congested space, such as the defence of a breach, the "feathered" position of the body allows the centre rank to consolidate gaps in the front rank with greater ease.)

"While a regiment instructed in the new exercise remains halted, it is physically impossible that its opponents should come sufficiently near to touch it; and until overpowered by mere fatigue, it would be enabled to repel the successive charges either of cavalry, or of infantry using the bayonet in the old way. . . ."

In the attack, ". . . should the enemy not be destroyed by the first charge, an advance is made with the fencing step, and the allonge repeated. Should there be successive bodies of the enemy to attack, the line recovers, advances again at double quick, and on arriving within reach springs to the allonge. In this manner a regiment may, without the possibility of being touched by the points of its opponents, proceed in the work of destruction until it sinks under the fatigue of its own exertions.

"The Commander-in-Chief . . . states that, though aware of its advantages in particular circumstances, His Royal Highness does not deem it expedient to adopt it generally in the Line. Lord Lynedoch, who has inspected it more frequently, and who has had more time to examine its principles, approves of it more decisively, and has obtained permission to introduce it into his regiment, (2) in order that it may be ascertained whether, when practised by a whole battalion, it would possess those advantages which it has demonstrated in the small detachments in which it has hitherto been exhibited.

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"I beg to conclude with a renewed expression of the respect and obligation (3) with which I remain,

My Dear Sir,
Your faithful and obedient servant,
ROBT. TORRENS."

The most marked difference between Torrens's experiment and the methods of bayonet training before and since lies in the footwork. The present system has been influenced by boxing, the methods of which it has copied in detail. But at the beginning of the 19th century, scientific boxing scarcely existed; the ordinary stance of the prize-ring was square to the front, a position adapted rather for heavy slogging across a "scratch" than for hitting combined with movement. Torrens therefore turned to the science of fencing, where the right foot led, and, ignoring the difference between one-handed and two-handed weapons, created a series of attitudes better fitted for the expert swordsman and athlete than for the average soldier. None the less, the principles of his scheme have remained in general use, only the footwork having altered.

How far Torrens was personally responsible for this experiment cannot be determined; but he was a man of such varied abilities that he could hardly fail to leave his mark on any branch of his work. Commissioned to the Royal Marines in 1797, he markedly distinguished himself in action in the Walcheren expedition, and was awarded a brevet majority. In the Peninsula, he commanded a Spanish legion. Later in life, his writings did much to clarify the economic thought of this country, and it is said that Peel's anti-Corn-Law activities originated from Torrens's ideas. Whilst still serving, he sat in the House of Commons for four years, and on his retirement in 1835, was appointed to preside over the "Colonial Emigration Commission," which, for the next ten years, supervised all attempts at directed emigration from Great Britain. *Nil tetigit quod non ornavit.*

MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE BOMBAY ARMY.

(*Continued from Page* 161.)

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

The details here following complete the List of Regiments, etc., on the Establishment of the Bombay Army on 1 July, 1789—see *ante*, pages 156 to 161.

1. As quoted (vol. ii. p. 8) in *Britain's Sea Soldiers*—A History of the Royal Marines, by Colonel C. Field, Royal Marine Light Infantry. Published (2 vols. 4to.) in 1924, by the Lyceum Press, Liverpool. With lavish illustrations.
2. The 90th Foot, who were at this time stationed at Plymouth Dock, where Torrens was a member of their mess.
3. The obligation was that Col. Butler had dealt not too heavily with Torrens's son, a cadet at Sandhurst who had been insubordinate towards a civilian teacher.

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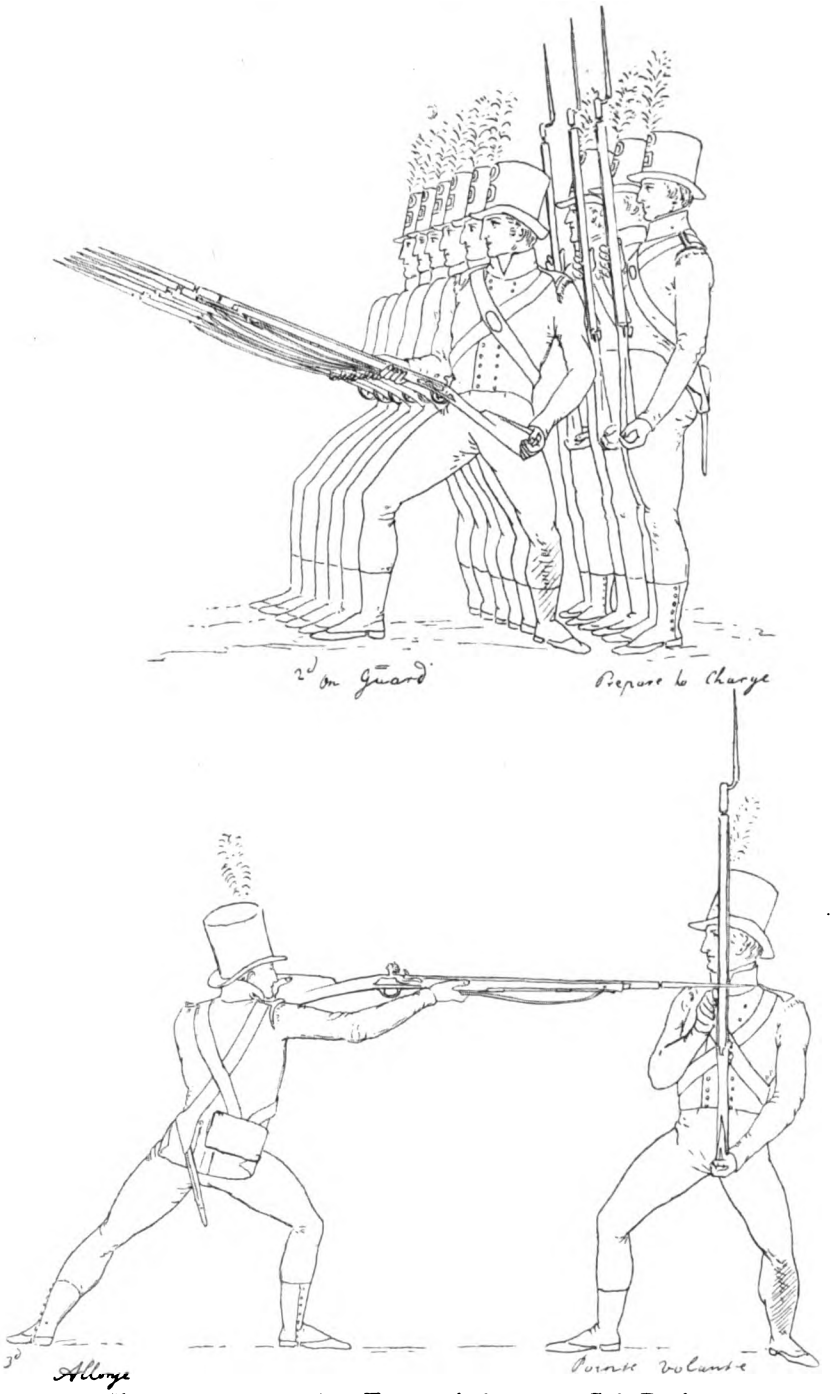

Sketch accompanying Torrens's letter to Col. Butler.
(By the kind permission of The Royal Military College Record.)

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BATTALION OF ARTILLERY.

Rank.	Names.	Dates of commissions.	Died.
Lieut.-Colonel	Gasper Degen	5 Jan. 1789.	
Major	John Nugent	12 April 1784.	23.10.92.
Captains	John Bellas (1)	21 Oct. 1778.	11. 2.08.
	Richard Jones (2)	13 Feb. 1779.	13. 2.35.
	George Augustus Lawman	21 Feb. 1782.	—.12.03.
	John Draper	2 Nov.	23. 6.94.
	Henry Long	24 May 1785.	17.10.03.
Lieutenants	George Knox	2 Nov. 1782.	13. 9.04.
	Galbraith Tredennick	do.	
	William Hall	do.	15. 9.91.
	Charles William West	24 May 1785.	9.10.94.
	George Forbes	do.	22.10.90.
	Robert Bell	26 April 1786.	
	John Hoy	18 May	23. 4.91.
	Thomas Walton	1 Mar. 1787.	
	Alexander Torriano	16 do.	18. 4.99.
	William Abernethy (3)	22 July	11.12.93.
Lieutenant-Fireworkers	William Piper	7 Nov. 1783.	10.10.96.
	William Ince	9 do.	28. 9.08.
	Samuel Carter	do.	21. 9.10.
	George Powell	28 Feb. 1784.	21. 6.14.
	George Manuel	18 May 1786.	
	Thomas Ireland	1 Mar. 1787.	6. 2.93.
	Robert Blackall	22 July	14. 3.55.
	Benjamin Randall Mason	9 Sept.	7. 3.08.
	Thomas Grant	20 Jan. 1789.	
	Charles McLean	27 April	14. 5.02.
Chaplain			
Adjutant	William Piper		
Qr. Master	John Hoy		
Surgeon	William Sandwirth		

1. Director of the Laboratory. 2. Lieut.-General, 25 April, 1808; K.C.B., 3 February, 1817. 3. Sub-Director of the Laboratory.

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ENGINEER CORPS.

Rank.	Names.	Dates of commissions.	Died.
Lieut-Colonel	Robert Nicholson (1)	6 Sept. 1788.	3. 7.31.
Major	John Conrad Sartorius	do.	10.12.01.
Captains	Paul Dacer	20 Feb. 1783.	
	Joseph Bland	28 Mar. 1785.	—.—.06.
Lieutenants	William Atkins (2)	28 Mar. 1785.	26. 7.22.
	Francis Stewart (3)	10 Nov.	14. 1.91.
	Valentine Munbee	6 Sept. 1788.	—.—.29.
	George Goddard	do.	5.7.97.
Ensigns	John Cliffe	19 Apr. 1782.	14. 4.21.
	William Brookes (4)	25 Oct.	30.10.38.
	John Johnson (5)	31 May 1785.	11. 2.46.
	John Farrant		

1. Lieut.-General, 9 January, 1805. 2. Major-General, 19 July, 1821.
3. Clerk of the Works. 4. Draughtsman. Major-General, 10 January, 1837.
5. C.B., 4 June, 1815.

SUPERNUMERARY OFFICERS—ARTILLERY.

On forming the Establishment—6 September, 1788.

Captains in Seconde.	Jacob Thompson	24 May 1785.	—. 3.43.
	Jeremiah Hawkes	16 Mar. 1787.	10. 3.00
	John Baillie	22 July	22. 9.26.

SUPERNUMERARY OFFICERS—ENGINEERS.

Captain	William Henry Blachford (1)	9 Oct. 1785.	8. 7.41
Cadet	Bryce Moncrieff (2)		10. 1.02.

1. Lieut.-General, 27 May, 1825. 2. Attached to the Engineer Corps. Ensign, 14 January, 1791.

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MARINE BATTALION OF SEPOYS.

Rank.	Names.	Dates of commissions.	Died.
Captain Commandant	Francis William Bellis (1)	21 July 1784.	
Lieutenants	John Burrows (2)	1 May 1780.	
	James Drummond (3)	11 Mar. 1781.	

1. Major of brigade to 2nd Native brigade. 2. Adjutant.
3. Fort Adjutant at Bombay.

INVALIDS.

Captains	Francis Fowell (1)	4 Nov. 1766.	
	William Hayes (1)	1 May 1780.	3. 5.98.
	William Goodwin (1)	26 Dec. 1781.	20. 2.00.
Lieutenant	Sir John Clarke (2)	11 Mar. 1781.	

1. Invalided, 7 June, 1787. 2. Baronet. Invalided, 6 November, 1787.

THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

DIARY OF FREDERICK MACKENZIE. Giving a daily narrative of his military service as an Officer of the Royal Welch Fusiliers during the years 1775—1781 in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New York. Harvard University Press. 1930. 2 vols. medium 8vo. pp. x. 312: vi. 313-738. *port. maps.*

It is natural, and indeed laudable, that Americans should treasure and commit to print all records belonging to either side that are concerned with their War of Independence. So here we have these two volumes, comprehending altogether nearly seven hundred pages, beautifully printed, beautifully laid out, and in every way a credit to the Press that produced them. They are enriched with photographic reproductions of some of the diarist's military sketches and of an occasional page or two of the diary itself, all of which is well. Lastly, the diary is printed without comment or editing of any kind, which, to me at least, seems most wise. When once editing begins it is extremely difficult in a case of this kind to say where it should end; and the text, like that of some of St. Paul's Epistles, might easily be smothered in notes. So far nothing but good is to be spoken of this book; but the Harvard University Press must pardon us for pointing out what we consider to be undoubted blemishes. First and foremost there is no heading of the year in the margin of each page, nor is there any marked indication of any year's beginning or end. This is simply maddening to the reader who has to be continually searching back-

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wards and forwards to find out at what point of time he stands. The omission is the more exasperating because there are gaps in the diary in 1775 and 1776, and no diary at all during the years 1779 and 1780, so that we run straight on from 1778 to 1781. Next, the reproduced sketches do not open clear of the text, while some of them are set at right angles to the text, which is irritating. Lastly, there are no general maps, an omission which might be excused by the plea that nothing except the actual work of the diarist is printed, but which is none the less trying to the reader.

As to the diary itself the diarist, a captain in the Royal Welch Fusiliers, was evidently a keen and intelligent officer who set down facts, as nearly as he could arrive at them, plainly and judicially with almost exasperating impartiality and with no sense of the ridiculous whatever. Once only he nearly loses control of himself when, as brigade-major, he ventures upon criticism of his brigadier, who seems to have been a brave, fat, slow, unreceptive and incompetent man of a type that was once very common in the army. Moreover Mackenzie was, by chance, little present at the most active centres of operations. At the outset he can tell us from personal knowledge all about the affair of Lexington and other matters at Boston up to the end of April, 1775. There is then a gap in the Journal until September, 1776, when he is engaged in Howe's operations in Long Island and about New York, and has something interesting to say. Then there is another gap from the end of 1776 to June, 1777, when we find him at Rhode Island, remote from the storm centre, where he remained until the end of 1778. Then in 1781 he was all the time at New York, which was indeed General Headquarters. The general result is that, except in Long Island in 1776, we have no narrative of actual work in the field.

To an English reader, therefore, there is nothing very new nor very interesting in this diary. One impression the diary does strengthen, namely, that all the contending parties were bored to death with the war, British, French, and, above all, the Americans. It was a tedious, almost a sordid business, in which we look in vain for anything of the heroic or the sublime. The whole movement was started by small, and in some cases, disreputable men, and by far the greatest man who had any share in it was Benjamin Franklin. Washington is of course placed on a pedestal, but he was at best a second-rate man—it would be absurb to class him with, for instance, Cromwell or Marlborough—and his eminence is due not a little to the fact that the other actors in the drama, British, French, or American, were of the third or fourth rank. As to the British, Mackenzie judged that Clinton at New York in 1781 had only two Generals, one English, one Hessian, whom he could entrust with the command of "a Corps of any consequence" —say five thousand men—"or depend on for the execution of any enterprize of importance." And these he could not employ—presumably because they were junior—without giving offence to all other General officers. "Our military system," he comments, "is undoubtedly a bad one when the King has it not in his power to bring forth into action the talents of those Generals he has at home, among whom there are certainly several men of genius and capacity. But this is an unpopular war, and men of ability do not chuse to risk their reputations by taking an active part in it." (ii. 551.)

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One gathers that Mackenzie did not think highly of the Hessian troops, taken as a body, and he gives a curious comment on the Hessian casualty-lists. The Landgrave of Hesse by the treaty for hiring of his troops was allowed so much for every man killed, and every three men wounded were reckoned as one man killed. The captain of each company was also allowed so much by the Landgrave for every man of that company wounded. Hence it was to the interest of both to swell the returns as much as possible, so they returned every man as wounded who had had blood drawn. On the other hand, he says, it was difficult to oblige a British soldier to allow proper care to be taken of a slight wound, which thus was frequently rendered serious.

There is an interesting note upon the injury to the health of the men through sending them out to America in the spring. The barracks at New York were built of wood with only half of the window glazed and the other half shuttered. The men had blankets only for bed-clothing which they could not bear during the hot weather. They consequently threw them off in the course of the night, became chilled by the cold air before dawn and succumbed by scores to fever and dysentery. Charles Napier told exactly the same story of his soldiers in Sind sixty years later.

This dearth of competent officers may have been one reason for the inactivity, of which Mackenzie more than once complains, of the generals in command at what may be called outlying stations, such as Rhode Island. But this was of a piece with the general policy with which the war was conducted—a mixture of sword and olive branch—and Mackenzie towards the close of the struggle opined that humanity had been carried too far and that the time had come for severity. The whole situation was to the last degree puzzling and embarrassing, for no one wanted to go on fighting, least of all the Americans. Hence the cynical observation at the time that, as the war lengthened and lengthened itself out, the combatant armies of the British and the Rebels were composed principally of each others' deserters. And there was a great deal of truth in it.

But if the military commanders were mediocre, the naval commanders were no better, and Mackenzie had many hard words to say of them all, and particularly of Arbuthnot. But the French naval commanders were no better than the English, and the French naval gunnery seems to have been infamous. Mackenzie mentions an occasion when the French fleet, engaging British shore batteries, fired over two thousand shot without drawing a drop of blood or damaging a single gun. Mackenzie gives much attention to naval matters, and we feel that this diary would be more valuable to a naval than to a military historian.

There is record of one delightful detail of discipline (i. 13, 16-7). The lieut.-colonel of the Fifth Foot had an altercation with one of his ensigns on parade, struck him, and drew his sword upon him. The ensign thereupon challenged the lieut.-colonel. A court-martial was held. The ensign was acquitted, and the lieut.-colonel (the C.O.) was sentenced to be suspended for three months, to ask the ensign's pardon at the head of the regiment, and to be publicly reprimanded in presence of the whole brigade under arms.

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GRENADIER COMPANIES IN THE BRITISH ARMY.

WITH TWO ORIGINAL LETTERS ON THE SUBJECT.

BY CAPTAIN C. T. ATKINSON.

To the vast majority of men, certainly of civilians, the phrase "the Grenadiers" has but one meaning, the regiment of the Household Brigade which takes the right of the line whatever other British infantry may be on parade with it. But the "First Guards" did not become the "Grenadiers" till they had been in existence for over 150 years, and yet there were British Grenadiers long before the title of the First Guards was changed to "First or Grenadier Regiment of Foot Guards" in commemoration of the regiment's defeat of the Grenadiers of Napoleon's Imperial Guard at Waterloo. Since then no doubt the name, as far as the British Army is concerned, has become so exclusively connected with the regiment that, when, in the winter of 1914-15, the revival of the hand grenade as a weapon led to those specially trained in its use being officially described as "Grenadiers," the regiment issued a protest against this employment of the word as a usurpation of its rights and privileges. This protest was eventually successful (1), but it serves to recall the original meaning and the history of the use of the name "Grenadiers."

The hand-grenade as a weapon, though invented in the XVIth century, does not seem to have come into general use till fairly late in the XVIIth. This is probably to be attributed mainly to the prevalance of sieges and their preponderance over battles in the open in the warfare of that period, but at any rate in the Netherlands wars of William III one hears a great deal of grenadiers and the practice grew up of organizing a special grenadier company in each battalion of foot. This was usually composed of picked men, selected for their height and strength in order that they might be able to throw their missiles further than the ordinary man could. The equipment of the original grenadiers usually included a hatchet for use in hewing down palisades when attacking fortified places, while the conical shaped caps peculiar to the grenadiers, of which two illustrations (belonging to George II's reign) are given here, were presumably adopted as allowing the men to sling their fusils more easily than they could when wearing broad brimmed hats (2).

The introduction of grenadier companies into the British Army dates from 1678, when James II ordered a company of grenadiers to be formed in each battalion (3) and in a very short time it would seem that this company, by reason of being composed of picked men and employed as a rule on specially dangerous and important services, such as storming a breach, came to be looked upon as the premier company in

1. *The Grenadier Guards in the Great War of* 1914-1918. By Lieut.-Colonel The Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick Ponsonby. 1920. vol. iii. pp. 230-3.
2. *History of the British Standing Army*, 1660 to 1700. pp. 250, 433, 437. By Colonel Clifford Walton. 1904. 3. ibid. p. 427.

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the battalion in every way. Before long the custom grew up of detaching these grenadier companies from their battalions and massing them together, at first for special occasions and then as a regular thing. There is some analogy between this practice and the German habit in the late war of setting aside certain units as "Storm troops," into the merits of which there is no need to go here, except that the grounds on which it was criticised were to some extent the same as those advanced against the corresponding practice with regard to grenadier companies. But what is interesting to notice, and what comes out clearly in the two letters reproduced here, is that up to the Austrian Succession War the practice of detaching the grenadiers from their corps and forming them into special battalions had not yet been adopted in the British Army, though it had become customary in most Continental armies. In the Austrian service indeed it was so well established that in Orders of Battle the grenadier companies are reckoned separately and in detailing the strength of a force one has so many grenadier companies, with an establishment of 100 men per company, enumerated as quite distinct from the battalions, whose establishment at this period was 600.

The two letters in question, which throw some light on the British attitude to this practice, were written while the so-called "Pragmatic Army" was on its way from the Netherlands up the Rhine to assist Maria Theresa, on the march that led to Dettingen, that triumph for the fire discipline of the British infantry. Stair, who was commanding the British contingent, had agreed with his Austrian colleague to push a force on ahead with all possible speed to Mayence, to be composed of 19 battalions with 34 companies of grenadiers. Seven British battalions were to be of the number with the grenadier companies of all the 15 British battalions present with the army, including it may be noticed one from the First Guards themselves. When this was reported to George II, that monarch caused Carteret, then Secretary of State and the minister mainly responsible for the conduct of the war, to write to Stair rebuking him for detaching the grenadier companies from their battalions.

Carteret's letter and Stair's reply are both of some interest, not only as indicating what the British practice was and wherein it differed from the Austrian, but for Stair's account of Marlborough's move from the Moselle to the Netherlands in the 1705 campaign. The concluding sentence of his letter is also notable as an indication of the want of harmony between general and ministers which contributed to Stair's being relieved of the command at the end of the campaign. It is possible that though the words are actually addressed to Carteret they may be aimed at George II himself, with whose management of the operations immediately leading up to Dettingen Stair had so much reason to be dissatisfied. It is interesting also to see George II taking up his stand so very much on the practice of the British Army and on the importance of maintaining "our method" as against that of Continental armies. Carteret's letter (4) runs as follows:

4. Carteret to Stair. 22 March, 1742/3 (O.S.). P.R.O. State Papers, Foreign. File 87. vol. xi.

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" . . . . . His Majesty does not approve of your separating the Grenadiers from their respective Corps, which has not formerly been practised amongst our troops, and His Majesty thinks may be attended with several ill-consequences : viz.,

Their not being in the same good order, when joyned again to their Corps, for want of having been under the proper inspection of their Field Officers.

The fatigue they must undergo by their frequent separation must occasion sickness, and when there happens to be real service there must be losses of killed and wounded which the company cannot support.

The use properly made of them in the field was to take possession of passes supported by a body of foot or horse; to sustain a retreat when thought proper and to be ready on all sudden calls when necessity required : on which account they never did any out-duty in the camp and were seldom separated from their corps 24 hours. At sieges, which is not the present case, they are indulged from all work in the trenches etc., being reserved to be ready on all necessary attacks with arms.

The Austrians have not the same method. They reckon their infantry of so many battalions and so many companies of Grenadiers, as if they were different corps, which we do not, and our method in H.M.'s opinion is preferable."

Stair's reply (5) makes a very effective point in answer to the second of the King's objections. His answer was :—

" In detaching the Grenadiers I followed the example of many and the instruction of several very great men of our trade, who have chose in most of their difficult operations to employ the Grenadiers. We have often seen lines of battle formed in the presence of the enemy under the protection of the fire of the Grenadiers disposed at the heads of the columns for that purpose. I shall not trouble Your Lordship with an infinity of examples in the offensive way, I shall give but one in the defensive way. When the Duke of Marlborough marched to the Moselle with an intention to besiege Thionville (6) he was prevented by the Marechal de Villars taking (7) the camp at Sirke (8); after some time very disagreeably spent in that barren country along the Moselle belonging to the Elector of Treves my Lord Marlborough found himself obliged to return; and upon that occasion 100 companies of Grenadiers and some chosen squadrons of horse were detached

5. Stair to Carteret. 8 April, 1743 (O.S.). Public Record Office. State Papers, Foreign. File 87. vol. xii.

6. In May, 1705.

7. i.e. " taking up."

8. The camp was at Sierck on the right bank of the Moselle, about twelve miles down stream from Thionville. This camp is described by Colonel Cranstoun of the Cameronians (cf. Portland MSS. (Historical MSS. Commission) vol. iv. pp. 186-7) as " prodigious strong," being covered on the left by the Moselle and on the right by dense woods which put a turning movement out of the question. Marlborough refused to be drawn into a frontal attack on so formidable a position, especially as several German contingents which had been promised to him had not joined his army and did not do so before he was called off to the Netherlands by Villeroi investing and taking Huy (June 10, N.S.) and besieging Liege, which caused great alarm in the United Provinces.

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to make the rear-guard (9), which they continued to do all the way between the Moselle and the Meuse. The French came several times in presence of the said rear-guard but never thought fit to attack the same. It is very certain that in operations of this kind greater numbers of grenadiers are exposed to be killed than would probably happen if the companies remained attached to their several regiments, but for my part I have used myself to have much more attention to the advantages of the whole than to the emoluments of particular parts."

There is no further reference to the subject in the correspondence between Stair and Carteret, though at Dettingen the grenadier companies fought as part of their battalions and were not massed separately. At Fontenoy, Rocoux, Lauffeldt and in the battles against the Highlanders during the "Forty Five" one finds no separate battalions of grenadiers. By the Seven Years' War, however, the British Army seems to have adopted the Continental practice. The appearance in Wolfe's force at Quebec of the "Louisbourg Grenadiers" has puzzled some writers not a little (10), just as the disastrous repulse of his attempt on July 31st to land near the Montmorenci river, due to the impetuous rashness of his massed grenadier companies, has been occasionally attributed to "the Grenadiers." Again in the Westphalian campaigns of the Seven Years' War, in which the British contingent under Granby did so much to win Ferdinand of Brunswick's victories, one has two battalions of British Grenadiers distinguishing themselves greatly, particularly in the hard fought battle of Kirchdenkern or Vellinghausen (July 1761), which is curiously unfamiliar even to many to whom Minden is well known. In that battle it may be noted one hears of "the Grenadiers of the Guards" as massed in a separate battalion in the Guards brigade.

In the American War the practice was general. Light companies had now been formed in every battalion and not only the grenadiers but the light companies were constantly detached and used as separate battalions. Howe's army at New York in 1776 contained four battalions of Grenadiers and three of Light Infantry, and the detaching of flank companies was so much the rule that one constantly meets references to the "battalion companies" of such and such a unit, meaning the eight companies left after the deduction of the "flankers." In the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars one finds the custom still prevalent, but under Wellington, as far as the grenadier companies go, it disappears. The Duke's masterly use (11) of his light companies was an essential feature of his tactical system, but one never finds him detaching them except in action or massing grenadiers, though the French continued

9. The special difficulty to be negociated was the Taveren defile, a few miles lower down the river: special precautions were successfully taken to secure that the army should effect the passage of this defile without Villars perceiving what was happening and profiting by it to attack.

10. The grenadier companies of the three battalions left in garrison at Louisbourg, the 22nd (Cheshire), 40th (1st Prince of Wales's Volunteers, South Lancashire) and 45th (1st Sherwood Foresters). See *Journal*, vol. vi. p. 39.

11. *Wellington's Army*. 1809-1814. By Sir Charles Oman. p. 82. 1912.

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Plate 13. Throw your Granado.
From *The Granadiers exercise of the Granado.* 1735.
See *ante* page 168.

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Plate 14. Throw your Granado, 2nd motion.
From *The Granadiers exercise of the Granado.* 1735.
See *ante* page 168.

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to do so and one meets "grenadiers réunis" in Junot's attacking force at Vimiero. In the 1806-1807 campaigns indeed Oudinot commanded a complete division formed of battalions of grenadier companies. But if Wellington had given up the practice it was not extinct in the British Army at the time of the Peninsula. There was a Grenadier battalion at Maida together with a Light Infantry battalion, and here one meets also the *reductio ad absurdum* of the practice of draining the battalions of their best men, a detachment of 120 picked sharpshooters, known as "flankers," from the battalion companies of the 35th Foot (12). In the British force which operated on the East Coast of the Peninsula in the campaigns of 1812-1814 and was so lamentably handled by a succession of commanders a Grenadier and a Light Infantry battalion also figure. The differentiation between the flank companies and the battalion companies was indeed to survive Waterloo by nearly fifty years: not till after the Crimea, where the "Light Bobs" are often mentioned for their special proficiency in skirmishing, and after the Indian Mutiny, did it disappear, the abolition of all such distinctions between companies being ordered in 1858.

THE INDIAN MUTINY. 1857-9.

THE INDIAN MUTINY IN PERSPECTIVE. By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn. G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. 1931. Demy 8vo. pp. xii. 276. *Ill. portraits. maps.*

Within considerably fewer than 300 pages, this work gives an admirable epitome of the Mutiny. It begins with a summary of the events precedent to the outbreak at Meerut on May 10th, 1857. It gives good reason for the view that—despite contemporary clamour—the circumstances of the case precluded the immediate pursuit of the mutineers in the direction of Delhi. He also shews that elsewhere the outcry against the military authorities was unreasonable, and that more than once, credit due to them was usurped by civilian satraps.

In regard to the siege and capture of Delhi it has always appeared to us that Archdale Wilson received less than his due, and that his difficulties were increased rather than diminished by Baird Smith and Nicholson, buzzing about him like bluebottles and undermining his authority. Nicholson seemed always anxious to do everybody's duty but his own and to take command of his seniors no less than of his juniors.

This book is quite inadequate for a thorough study of its subject, but as an introduction to such study it gives an excellent and comprehensive summary; not only in regard to the more conspicuous incidents at Cawnpore, Lucknow, and the march of Sir Hugh Rose through Central India, but also of minor events which had a definite bearing on the whole situation.

There are passages in which the narrative is hardly satisfying e.g., on the capture of Bareilly we are referred in the index to p. 246. On turning to this page we learn only that Sir Colin Campbell was held up

12. cf. Lieut.-General Sir William Bunbury's *Narrative of Military Transactions in the Mediterranean*, 1805-10. p. 51. Privately printed. 1851.

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at the southern approach to the town, and that he heard the guns of a force approaching from the north. The fact is that the latter force under command of Colonel Jones of the 60th, far inferior numerically to that of Sir Colin, but well handled, captured the city after a sharp engagement.

"Four great military lessons," concludes the author, "stand out from the Mutiny. First: the necessity for enhancing and preserving the authority of the regimental commanding officers. Secondly: the necessity for keeping officers with their corps and not allowing them to get better careers in civil services. Thirdly: to see that the men's class peculiarities which make them often peculiarly suitable soldiers are not rubbed off by the old promiscuous mingling in the ranks; and fourthly: that arsenals are kept in European hands."

In some comparatively minor points we think Sir George is open to criticism. The composition of his sentences is at times involved. Phrases such as "that magnificent supergesture of Sir H. Wheeler's" or "the equation of each man was unfamiliar one to another" savour rather of "la femme savante" than of the military writer. The impression conveyed by some of his pages is that they were written helter skelter and never even read over. The sketch maps of Oudh and Central India, although clear, are inadequate in scale. The 'hunterian' method of spelling, although no doubt accurate, is pedantic and very puzzling to the reader who is unacquainted with the pronunciation of Indian names.

These are, however, minor blemishes, but it does not appear to us necessary to have introduced a wholly untrue piece of bazar 'gup' on page 72, when describing the disarming of the native regiments at Meean Meer on 13 May, 1857. The author states 'that to this day the story is told in Lahore that the Officer Commanding one of the Troops of horse artillery, limbered up his guns and galloped forward to come into action among the piled and abandoned arms', etc.

Lieutenant A. Lang, Bengal Engineers, who was present at the disarming parade, records in a letter, written immediately after the parade, that after the regiments had grounded their arms, 'away they went unarmed, the clusters of bayonets glittering in the morning sun, marking where they had stood * * * . Then up came the carts and the arms were carried off.' (*Journal* of the Society for Army Historical Research. vol. ix. p. 16.)

A curious mistake as to date is made on page 201. Describing Sir Colin Campbell's movements prior to the second relief of Lucknow in November, 1857, we read that on 11 November 'he reviewed 3,400 men whom he was to lead to Lucknow on the Oudh [left] bank of the Ganges,' i.e. opposite to Cawnpore, whereas he had been in camp at Bantara since 9 November, 35 miles from the Ganges, towards Lucknow.

Other mistakes which should be noted are that "The Shekhawati Battalion"—p. 16—was not the contingent of a Native State, and that "The famous John Jacob of Sind"—p. 220—was not John Jacob at all, but his cousin, Colonel George le Grand Jacob.

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DRESS OF THE MADRAS LIGHT INFANTRY REGIMENTS.

BY THE LATE LIEUT.-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL, INDIAN ARMY.

In the year 1812 four battalions of sepoys in the Madras Army were converted into Light Infantry, with the territorial titles, respectively, of Palamcottah, Wallajahbad, Trichinopoly, and Chicacole. They wore green turbands, green facings to their red jackets, and black leather accoutrements; and instead of cross-belts worn by the Line battalions they had a shoulder-belt to carry the cartridge-box, and a waist-belt for the bayonet. They were armed with fusils, and bore the motto 'Now or Never.'

Their British officers were equipped like those of Rifle Corps, with black patent leather pouch-belt and waist-belt, with gilt ornaments; the sword was carried in a shoulder-belt by all other Infantry officers.

On the re-organisation of the Madras Army in 1824 these four battalions became the 3rd, 23rd, 31st, and 34th Regiments of Madras Light Infantry, retaining their Territorial titles.

I joined the 3rd Palamcottah Light Infantry in 1857 and was the first officer to wear a tunic, on joining. The other officers wore scarlet jackets with two-inch tails, euphoniously described as Light Infantry skirts. The Field officers wore epaulettes as in other regiments, but the company officers wore "wings" of gilt metal chain, edged with gold bullion lace: a captain had three rows of bullion, a subaltern only two. On the top of the wing was a silver boss with gilt bugle-horn badge on it. The cost of a pair of captain's wings was ten guineas: that of a subaltern's seven guineas; more than the cost of the coat on which they were worn.

On the black pouch-belt was a square breast-plate of gilt metal, almost covered by an eight-pointed silver star. The surface of the star was in its turn almost hidden beneath a gilt metal wreath of rose, thistle and shamrock intertwined, on top of which was a gilt Crown, and below a silver riband on the ends of which the battle-honours of the regiment were shewn in gilt lettering. Inside the wreath was a silver garter with the motto "Now or Never" on it in gilt letters; and finally within it was a silver bugle-horn enclosing the numeral 3 on a green velvet ground. On the belt above the breast-plate was a bugle-horn and encircling wreath of gilt metal, from which hung a double gilt chain attached to a whistle which was carried in a gilt metal case affixed to the belt below the breast-plate.

The flap of the pouch was covered by a Union wreath encircling a bugle horn, all in gilt metal.

The black waist-belt was fastened by an oblong gilt plate bearing a small replica of the badge on the breast-plate.

The Shako-plate was a large eight-pointed star, with the garter with motto and bugle horn with numeral in the centre of it, all in gilt metal.

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The waist-sash was of crimson silk, ending in long corded tassels, which were looped up to a button at the waist of the jacket.

The trouser stripes were of black mohair braid, as in Rifle Corps. There is a picture of a Madras Light Infantry officer in the Museum of the R.U.S.I. (*circa* 1840) which shows him with a broad scarlet stripe on his trousers, but in my time, and until 1875, black mohair braid stripes were worn. The Madras European regiments and the 37th Madras Native Grenadier Regiment wore broad scarlet stripes, instead of the piping worn by other regiments.

The sword-knot was of gold lace and crimson silk with a gold bullion tassel: in undress a black leather sword-knot with acorn end was worn.

The Native Officers of the Palamcottah L.I. wore the same accoutrements as the British officers. The accoutrements were procured from England, and were issued to the Native officers on payment, at a reduced rate, and, on death or retirement, were passed on to their successors.

The wings worn on the shoulders of the sepoys' jackets were white, as issued by the Clothing Board, but at some unknown date, black lambswool wings were provided for the rank and file by the British officers. The funds for this purpose were provided from the allowance of thirty rupees a month made to each company for repairs to arms and equipment. If this sum was insufficient, the British officers supplied the rest from their own pockets.

The black accoutrements looked particularly well on the white drill uniform worn in the hot weather, with which the officers wore trousers of black serge, or gambroon§, instead of the white "ducks" worn by other regiments.

The black accoutrements continued to be worn until 1875, in which year the 'rifle' Companies of the Madras Army were abolished. Eight regiments of Madras Native Infantry had a 'rifle' Company on their establishment, armed with the two-grooved Brunswick rifle and dressed in green with black facings.

When the 'rifle' Companies were abolished, on the armament of the whole of the infantry with rifles, the peculiar equipment and armament of the four Light Infantry regiments was also abolished.

The 34th Chicacole Light Infantry was disbanded in 1882, along with seven other Madras Infantry regiments—35th to 41st.

The Palamcottah and the Wallahjabad L.I. were disbanded in 1922-3.

The 31st Trichinopoly Light Infantry became the 91st Punjabis (L.I.) in 1904, and now appears in the Indian Army List as the 3rd Battalion, 8th Punjab Regiment of Indian Infantry.* without the 'Light Infantry' title. It retains the motto "Now or Never".

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§ A kind of twilled cloth for the linings of coats and dresses.

* Indian Quarterly Army List. July, 1931. p. 602.

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THE SOCIETY FOR ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

[See *ante*, vol. i. 1-5; x. 185.]

BY COLONEL CYRIL FIELD.

At the end of the tenth year of the Society's existence and in the final No. of the 10th volume of *Journal*, it appears timely to make record of how the Society was formed, or perhaps I should say "conceived."

I had been a Member of the Society for Nautical Research since its institution in 1910, and had found the antiquarian articles and Notes and Queries, which appeared in its Journal, *The Mariner's Mirror*, of considerable interest, and it occurred to me that a similar Society and Journal, dealing with Military traditions and antiquities, would have at least the same interest, and perhaps even a greater scope, both on account of the larger numbers to whom it might be expected to appeal and the many different branches, Corps and Regiments of the land service, each with its more or less separate relics, history and traditions.

In 1913 I talked the matter over with various friends, and wrote to others, and one day met at the Admiralty Recruiting Office in Deansgate, Manchester, the late Mr. D. Hastings Irwin, a collector of everything concerning the military costume of former days.

I was at that time Recruiting Officer for the Royal Navy and Marines for Liverpool and the N.W. District, my "opposite number" in Manchester being Lieut.-Colonel D. A. Hailes, Royal Marine Light Infantry, who was an enthusiastic searcher into the history and distribution of British War Medals—Naval and Military. He and Mr. Hastings Irwin agreed with my ideas as to the desirability of trying to form a Society having for its object Military Research, from an antiquarian point of view. After further correspondence a meeting was held in Manchester on 27 January, 1914, at which it was agreed that other persons, likely to be interested in the project, should be approached as to their willingness to become members of a "Provisional" Committee to take the matter in hand.

It was also agreed that I should in the meanwhile undertake the office of Secretary. In this capacity I wrote to those whose names had been suggested at the meeting. In every case I received a reply expressing readiness to serve on the proposed Committee.

A "Provisional" Committee was, therefore, formed, consisting of :—

The Rt. Hon. Viscount Dillon.
Major-General Sir Francis Lloyd, K.C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O.
Professor C. W. C. Oman, M.A.
Colonel C. Field, R.M.L.I.
„ A. H. Cowie, Royal Engineers.
„ H. E. Malet, 18th Hussars.
„ C. Clifford, V.D., Royal Field Artillery (T.).
Lieut.-Colonel N. Bannatyne, East Lancashire Regiment.
Major G. H. Lawrence, do.
Lieut.-Colonel D. A. Hailes, R.M.L.I.
Major J. H. Leslie, Royal Artillery. J. Prinsep Beadle, Esq.
D. Hastings Irwin, Esq. E. P. Collett, Esq.

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Correspondence, and enquiries as to cost of printing, &c., &c., followed, and on 3 March, 1914, I sent a letter to the members of the Committee, suggesting that a notice of the proposed Society and Journal should be printed, and sent by them to all likely subscribers.

A preliminary Notice was accordingly sent out* in April, which resulted in the enrolment of 138 Provisional Members, by July.

As this number seemed to the Committee to be insufficient to make the project a success, a second letter, dated 1 August, 1914, giving the names of those who had already joined, was printed for circulation with a view of procuring further recruits. This Circular, however, owing to the outbreak of War on 4 August, was never sent out.

The whole project remained in abeyance until 1919-20, when after further correspondence, and with my whole-hearted agreement, Colonel Leslie took the matter up and succeeded in at last launching the present Society.

Copies of the printed Circulars mentioned above (1914 and 1921) with contemporary Press notices which appeared in *The Times, The Morning Post, The Army and Navy Gazette, The Field, Notes and Queries, The Connoisseur,* (May-October, 1921) and other leading newspapers, will shortly be sent to The British Museum, as a permanent resting-place, where they can always be consulted.

THE BADGE OF THE SOCIETY.

* The Preliminary Notice was not dated, but the account for its printing is dated 31st March, and as it probably accompanied the packet of Circulars, that day may be assumed to be the date which should have appeared upon it.

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LIEUT.-GENERAL FRANCIS, BARON DE ROTTENBURG, K.C.H.
(From a miniature.)
By kind permission of Mrs. W. H. Paget, o.b.e.

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NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES TO QUESTIONS should be addressed to the EDITOR, 8 PALMERSTON ROAD, SHEFFIELD.

NOTES.

232. GORGETS WORN BY OFFICERS WHEN ON DUTY. It is often stated that the gorget was worn by Officers of the Army, when on duty, but the actual authority for the statement is never given.

The following paragraph is taken from *An Abridgment of the English Military Discipline*, Printed by Especial Command, For the Use of His Majesties Forces. London. 1686.

"General Directions . . . . . The Captains of Foot, Lieutenants and Ensigns are to wear their Gorgets whenever they are upon Duty, or appear in Arms with their Companies"—page 264. NEUX.

233. LIEUT.-GENERAL BARON, FRANCIS de ROTTENBURG. This officer was born on 4 November, 1757, at Dantzig in Poland. In 1782 he entered the service of France, in the regiment De la March; and, as A.D.C., accompanied Baron de Salis Marcelius in 1787 to Naples for the re-organization of the Neapolitan forces.

In 1791 he quitted the French service, with the character of being an officer "exact et intelligent" and joined Kosciusko, the Polish patriot, under whom he commanded a battalion of infantry. Kosciusko's revolt was, however, quelled by the Russian General Suvaroff, the Poles being decisively defeated on 10 October, 1794, on the outskirts of Warsaw, which was immediately captured.

De Rottenburg now joined Baron Carl von Hompesch's regiment in the British Army, and in 1797 helped to raise a regiment which was drafted into the British service as the 5th Battalion of the 60th Foot. It was armed with rifles, and thus became the first 'Rifle' battalion in the British Army. It did good service during the Irish Rebellion of 1798, after which it went to the West Indies, where it took part in the capture of Surinam.

In 1806 the battalion returned to England. Two years later Colonel de Rottenburg was appointed to the command of a Light Brigade, consisting of the 68th, 71st, and 85th regiments at Brabourne Lees, nr. Ashford, Kent. In 1809 the brigade formed part of Lord Chatham's army in the Walcheren expedition.

In 1811 De Rottenburg, now Major-General, was at first given command of the forces in Lower Canada; and was afterwards made President of Upper Canada. During the war of 1812-14 against the U.S.A. he commanded the left Division of the British Army and conducted successful operations in the field. After the treaty of peace, he returned to England.

He was appointed a Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Order (K.C.H.) in 1817, received the honour of Knighthood on 12 February, 1818, and was promoted to the rank of Lieut.-General on 12 August, 1819.

He died in 1832, and is buried at Portsmouth—outside the west end of the Royal Garrison Church. There is a mural tablet inside the Church—west end of S. aisle.

De Rottenberg wrote a book entitled *Regulations for the Exercise of Riflemen and Light Infantry, and Instructions for their conduct in the field*, which formed the basis of the training of Sir John Moore's Light Brigade. It was published by the War Office in 1799. L. B.

234. REGIMENTAL MARCHES. In a book published by James Aird, in Glasgow, without date, of which an illustration of the cover is here given, several Regimental (Infantry) Marches— Quick-steps— will be found.

The date of the book is certainly earlier than 1801, as the Union flag on the cover does not carry the Cross of St. Patrick.

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The book consists of 3 volumes, but the 3rd does not appear to be a continuation of the 1st and 2nd. Be that as it may, the airs of nearly fifty marches, as shown below, are given, the references being to the pages in each volume.

Regiment.	vol. i.	vol. ii.	vol. iii.	Regiment.	vol. i.	vol. ii.	vol. iii.
1st*	44	22	194	25th	1	9	
,, †	58	6, 14		26th		39	
2nd			178	30th	55, 57		208
3rd‡	6			32nd	67		
4th	31			33rd		28	
8th	14			37th	30		218
10th		33, 58	198	40th		30	
12th		39		42nd	44, 48		
13th		44		43rd	40		
15th	33, 49			44th		36	
17th	3			45th		19	
19th	59			48th		53	
21st	3			55th		42	
22nd	7			71st	6		
23rd		28		73rd		25	

* 1st battalion. † 2nd battalion. ‡ 'Old Buffs.

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Two other marches in vol. iii, not included in this list, are:—
3rd Dragoon Guards. p.210, and
"Dumbarton Drums beat bonny, O," which, no doubt, belongs to the Royal Scots (1st Foot).

235. LIGHT INFANTRY REGIMENTS.

Calendar showing dates on which certain Regiments of the Line, British Army, were constituted Light Infantry Regiments.

Regiment.	Date.	Title in 1931.
52nd	18 January, 1803.	The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire L.I.†
43rd	12 July, do.	do.*
68th	10 September, 1808.	The Durham L.I.*
85th	do.	The King's Shropshire L.I.†
71st	20 March, 1809.	The Highland L.I.*
51st	2 May, do.	The King's Own Yorkshire L.I.*
90th¶	1 May, 1815.	The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles).†
13th	25 December, 1822.	The Somerset L.I. (Prince Albert's).
2nd Madras European.‡	8 October, 1839.	The King's Own Yorkshire L.I.†
2nd Bombay European.§	16 December, 1839.	The Durham L.I.†
32nd	14 May, 1858.	The Duke of Cornwall's L.I.*

General Orders, Letters, etc., containing the authority for the formation of these regiments into Light Infantry.

THE OXFORDSHIRE AND BUCKINGHAMSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY,

(1st battalion).

Letter from the Adjutant-General of the Army to Major-General John Moore, Colonel of the 52nd, or Oxfordshire, Regiment of Foot.

Horse Guards. 18 January, 1803.

I have received the Commander in Chief's Directions to inform you that on the separation of the two Battalions of the 52nd Regiment, for the purpose of nominating the second Battalion the 96th Regiment, it is His Majesty's gracious pleasure that the first Battalion, which will then become the entire 52nd Regiment, shall be formed into a Corps of Light Infantry, retaining, however, its present Number and Distinction of Oxfordshire Regiment of Foot, and in every respect its Rank in the Service.

You will therefore be pleased immediately to select such men from the second Battalion as you may judge best adapted for the Light Infantry and replace them from Oxfordshire Regiment of Foot, and in every respect its Rank in the Service.

I shall hereafter have the honor to communicate to you His Majesty's Pleasure respecting the Clothing, Arms, Accoutrements and other Appointments of the 52nd Regiment.

[General Orders, Circular Letters, etc., etc. February, 1800, to December, 1806—page 190. Bound volume. War Office Library.]

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* 1st battalion. † 2nd battalion.
‡ East India Company's service. Became 105th (Madras L.I.) Foot in 1861.
§ East India Company's service. Became 106th (Bombay L.I.) Foot in 1861.
¶ Ceased to be Light Infantry, and became 'Rifles', 1 July, 1881.

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THE OXFORDSHIRE AND BUCKINGHAMSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY,

(2nd battalion).

Most Humbly Proposed to His Majesty.

That the 43rd Regiment of Foot be forthwith formed into a Light Infantry Battalion in all Respects upon the same system as that lately adopted in regard to the 52nd Regiment.

Approved by His Majesty.

(Signed) Frederick, Commander-in-Chief.

Horse Guards. 12 July, 1803.

[General Orders, Circular Letters, etc., etc. February, 1800, to December, 1806—page 236. Bound volume. War Office Library.]

THE DURHAM LIGHT INFANTRY,

(1st battalion).

THE KING'S SHROPSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY,

(2nd battalion).

Letter from the Commander-in-Chief (His Royal Highness, Frederick, Duke of York) to the Right Honorable The Secretary at War.

Horse Guards. 10 September, 1808.

Sir,

His Majesty having taken into His Consideration that the Proportion of Light Troops was much too small for the extended Scale of the British Army and that the utility of this Description of Force had been most eminently displayed on every occasion when they have been employed, and the whole of that Army being at this moment embarked or employed upon Foreign Service, I have to acquaint you that His Majesty has been pleased to command that two more Battalions of the Line should be formed into Light Troops with all practicable Dispatch, and that the 68th and 85th Regiments should be allotted for this purpose, and assimilated with regard to their Clothing, Arming, and Discipline to the 43rd and 52nd Regiments, and that in consequence thereof, an additional Lieutenant, Serjeant and Corporal per Company be borne on the Establishment of the 68th and 85th Regiments; You will therefore give the necessary Directions accordingly.

I am, Sir,
Yours,
Frederick, Commander-in-Chief.

[Public Record Office. W.O. Un-numbered papers. 1808 (B.). W.O. 40-29.]

THE HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY (City of Glasgow Regiment),

(1st battalion).

Most Humbly Proposed to His Majesty.

That the 71st Regiment be forthwith formed into a Light Infantry Corps, and that it be put under the same state with regard to Clothing, Arming and Discipline as the 43rd, 52nd, 68th, and 85th Regiments.

In consequence thereof it is most Humbly proposed to His Majesty that an additional Lieutenant, Serjeant and Corporal per Company be borne on the Establishment of the Corps.

Approved.

(sd.) G.R.

16 March, 1809.

[Bound volume of entries of Changes in Establishment, submitted for approval. October, 1808 to October, 1818—page 20. War Office Library.]

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THE KING'S OWN YORKSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY,
(1st battalion).

MEMORANDUM.

Horse Guards. 7 April, 1809.

Lieut.-General Morshead having requested at the particular solicitation of the Officers of the 51st Regiment, that, in the event of any addition being made to the Number of Light Battalions, the 51st might be included in that number, It is therefore humbly submitted for His Majesty's approbation that the 51st be placed on the establishment of His Majesty's Light Infantry Regiments

(sd.) Harry Calvert, Adjutant-General.

[General Orders, Circular Letters, etc., etc. January, 1807 to December, 1812—page 274. Bound volume. War Office Library.]

Letter addressed to Lieut.-General William Morshead, Colonel of the 51st Regiment. Horse Guards. 2 May, 1809.

Sir,

I have received the Commander-in-Chief's direction to acquaint you that His Majesty has been pleased to approve of the 51st Regiment being immediately formed into a Light Infantry Corps in all respects upon the same plan as the 43rd, 52nd, 68th, 71st and 85th Regiments.

I have accordingly made application to the Board of Ordnance in order that the 51st Regiment may be supplied with arms of the Light Infantry pattern.

I have the honour, etc.

(sd.) HARRY CALVERT, A.G.

[Public Record Office. W.O. 3/48, page 48.]

THE CAMERONIANS (Scottish Rifles),
(2nd battalion).

Most humbly submitted to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

That the 90th Regiment of Infantry, or Perthshire Volunteers, be forthwith formed into a Light Infantry Corps, and that the Clothing, Arming, and Drill of the Regiment, be the same in all respects as the 43rd, 51st, 52nd, 68th, 71st and 85th Regiments.

In the Name and on the Behalf of His Majesty.

Approved.

(sd.) George, P.R.†

Adjutant General's Office. 22 April, 1815.

[General Orders, Circular Letters, etc., etc. January, 1813, to December, 1820—page 262. Bound volume. War Office Library.]

THE SOMERSET LIGHT INFANTRY (Prince Albert's).

Most humbly submitted to His Majesty.

That the 13th Regiment be clothed, equipped and trained as a Light Infantry Regiment from 25th December next.

Approved.

(sd.) G. R.*

16 November, 1822.

[General Orders, Circular Letters, etc., etc. January, 1821, to December, 1829—page 108. Bound volume. War Office Library.]

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* George Rex. † Prince Regent.

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THE KING'S OWN YORKSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY.

(2nd battalion.)

The 2nd Madras European Regiment, which in 1931 is represented by the 2nd battalion of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, was formed in 1839, and was brought on to the establishment of the Madras Army of the Hon. East India Company, with effect from 8 October of that year.

[General Order No. 128, by the Government of Fort St. George (Madras), dated 16 August, 1839.]

It was raised as a Light Infantry Regiment, and is the only Regiment which has been L.I. from the date on which it was originally formed. All the others were 'conversions.'

General Order by the Commander-in-Chief, Madras, dated 15 October, 1839, gives further details:—

"Under the authority of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council, the Officer Commanding the Army in Chief directs the publication of the following orders for the information of the 2nd Madras European Regiment.

"The Regiment to be formed as Light Infantry—and to be armed with the double sighted Light Infantry Musket, with Buff Accoutrements.

"Clothing—red—Facings, pale buff—and Lace, white with black worm."

This 2nd Madras European Regiment must not be confused with an earlier one having the same title, which ceased to exist, as such, on 1 February, 1830, when it became the left Wing of the *Madras European Regiment.*

[*History of the Madras Army.* By Lieut.-Colonel J. W. Wilson. 1888. vol. iv. p. 427.]

THE DURHAM LIGHT INFANTRY.

(2nd battalion).

General Orders by Major Sir J[ohn] F[oster] FitzGerald, K.C.B.,
[Acting Commander-in-Chief, Bombay Army].
Bombay. 16 December, 1839.

* * * * * *

2. Under the authority of the Hon'ble the Governor in Council, the Commander of the Forces directs the publication of the following orders, for the formation of the 2nd Bombay European Regiment.

The Regiment to be formed as Light Infantry, and to be armed with the double-sighted Light Infantry Musket, with Buff Accoutrements.

Clothing, Red; Facings, Pale Buff; and Lace, white, with black worm.

General Order by The Honorable the Governor in Council.
Bombay Castle. 10 November, 1840.

No. 732 of 1840.—The Honorable the Governor in Council is pleased to publish the following Extract (para. 1) of a letter from the Honorable the Court of Directors, to the address of the Right Honorable the Governor General of India in Council, dated the 20th May, 1840, and to direct that the 2nd Bombay Regiment of European Infantry be formed into a Corps of Light Infantry.

* * * * * *

Para. 1. Having had under our consideration, communications made to us by the Governments of Madras and Bombay, of their correspondence with your Government, relative to the constitution of the 2nd European Regiment, we have resolved to convey to you our authority for forming one of the two European Regiments at each of the three Presidencies, into a Light Infantry Corps.

[This appears to be a covering Order only.]

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THE DUKE OF CORNWALL'S LIGHT INFANTRY.
(1st battalion).

Most Humbly submitted to Your Majesty
by His Royal Highness
The General Commanding in Chief,
George.

That, in consideration of the enduring fortitude and persevering gallantry displayed in the defence of the Residency of Lucknow, the Thirty-second be clothed, equipped, and trained as a Light Infantry Regiment.

Approved.
(sd.) Victoria, R.

Horse Guards. 22 February, 1858.

[General Orders, Circular Letters, etc., etc. January, 1858, to December, 1861—page 27. Bound volume. War Office Library.] NEUX.

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236. ORIGIN OF MILITARY WORDS. LEAGUER; COLOURS; ETC. Many words, technical and otherwise, have been at various times introduced into our language from foreign countries, as the outcome of war, to which we have become so accustomed as to entirely lose sight of the fact that they *are* foreign words.

It is not always easy to ascertain when a word actually appeared in a certain sense, for the first time. During the Great War, two outstanding words which grew up in the Army, and of which the use still continues, are " echelon "—meaning a body of troops, unit of vehicles, etc.—and " camouflage ", and there must be many others, whose history would be interesting. I do not include ' slang ' words.

The two mentioned at the head of this note, ' leaguer,' and ' colours,' are first found in a book with the following title :—

CERTAIN DISCOURSES, WRITTEN By Sir *John Smythe*, Knight: *Concerning the formes and effects of* divers sorts of weapons, and other verie important matters Militarie, greatlie mistaken by divers of our men of warre in these daies; and chiefly, of the *Mosquet*, the *Caliver*, and the *Long-bow*; As also, of the great sufficiencie, excellencie, and wonderful effects of *Archers*: With many notable examples and other particularities, by him presented to the Nobilitie of this Realme, & published for the benefite of this his native Countrie of *England*. AT LONDON, Printed by *Richard Johnes*, at the signe of The Rose and Crowne neere Holburne Bridge. 1. *Maij*. 1590.

The paragraph referred to (page 2) is as follows :—

" These are such men of warre before mentioned, in a manner, utterlie ignorant of all our auncient discipline* and proceedings in actions of Armes, have so affected† the *Wallons*, *Flemings*, and base *Almanes* discipline (as some of them terme it) that they have procured§ to innovate, or rather to subvert all our ancient proceedings in matters Militarie, and therefore have left nothing in a matter untouched, without seeking to alter and chaunge the same: as for example; They will not vouchsafe in

* i.e. Drill. † To assume the character of. § Have done their best.

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their speaches or writings to use our ancient termes belonging to matters of warre, but doo call a Campe by the Dutch name of *Legar*, nor will not afoord to say, that such a Towne, or such a Fort is besieged, but that it is *belegard*: Their Ensignes also they will not call by that name, but by the name of Colours, which terme is by them so fondly & ignorantly given, as if they should be apposed‡ as yong scholers in their accidens, and should (in stead of Ensignes) be asked how manie Colours of footmen there were in the Armie by *Remenen* under the *Count Boissu* against *Don Juan d'Austria*, they must then either answere, a hundred, or more or fewer, as white, black, blewe, greene, yellowe, russet, &c. or els forsake their new terme of Colours, and say so manie Ensignes, Bands, or Companies, which in troth is no direct answere to the question. The bodie of the Watch also or standing watch (as we were wont to terme it) they now call after the *French*, or *Wallons*, *Corps du gard*, with manie other such Wallon and Dutch termes, as though our English Nation, which hath been so famous in all actions Militarie many hundred yeres, were now but newlie crept into the world, or as though our language were so barren, that it were not able of it selfe, or by derivation to affoord convenient words to utter our minds in matters of that qualitie."

237. THE MINIÉ RIFLE. The surprising improvement of the Infantry arm produced by the adoption of a rifle which the ordinary soldier could use, and which fired an elongated bullet rendering it vastly superior in speed of fire and accuracy to arms hitherto used by the 60th and the Rifle Brigade, is worth a note.

The accuracy of the 1842 musket is summed up in a report on experiments carried out at Chatham in 1846 as follows:—

"Musketry fire should never be opened beyond 150 yards and certainly not exceeding 200 yards; at this distance half the number of shots missed the target 11ft. 6ins. It is only then under peculiar circumstances, such as when it may be necessary to bring a fire on field artillery when there is no other means of replying to it, that it ought ever to be thought of using the musket at such distances as 400 yards."

The probability of hitting a single man with a musket shot at 500 yards was stated at that time to be as one farthing to the amount of the National Debt. The bore of the musket was ·760" and that of the ball, which weighed 488 grs., only ·680"; this difference in area between bullet and bore of 21 per cent. allowed a large part of the gases from the powder to escape ineffectively. The extraordinary aberration of the musket-ball was mainly due (as shown in *New Principles of Gunnery*, 1742, by Benjamin Robins) to the rolling motion which it acquired before leaving the barrel, which caused it to deviate quite out of proportion to the distance traversed.

The English Minié rifle was adopted in 1851, and was to some extent used in the Crimea. It fired an elongated bullet weighing 680 grs., which the shock of the explosion expanded into the grooves of the rifling; the charge was 2½ drams, as against 4 drams with the musket, but the penetration was at least 2 to 3 times as great. It was sighted to 1,000 yards, and was ordinarily capable of hitting a man at 200 yards. Captain Minié's rifle, of which the English version was not too good an imitation, was reasonably accurate to a great distance; he is said to have claimed that he could hit a man three times in five shots at 1,420 yards; but Hans Busk (1860) puts the facts more accurately when he says that "in spite of talk, no rifles will hit a barn door six times consecutively at 1,500 yards." Yet at that distance they could no doubt produce some effect on large bodies of men.

The advent of the rifle revolutionized the relation of the Infantry arm to the field-gun, for the latter was now no longer superior in range. Trials in France in 1849 of the gun alongside the rifle showed that at 600 metres [656 yards] the former struck a target, 2 metres by 2 in size [6½ feet square] only six times in 100 shots, and at 1,100 metres [1,203 yards] failed to hit it, the balls usually deviating six to eight yards from it. Marshal Marmont at the time expressed the opinion that "in future wars our" (i.e. the English) "artillery would have to be careful to keep out of the way of the improved French weapon." Only after some years, when rifling and elongated shot had been successfully applied to cannon, did artillery recover its superiority in the field as regards range and accuracy. C.

‡ Examined; interrogated.

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238. THE 4th KING'S OWN ROYAL REGIMENT—COLOURS OF 1756-8. The illustrations here given (by the kind permission of The Editor of *The Lion and the Rose*) are of the First (or King's) and Second (or Regimental) Colours of the 2nd battalion of the 4th King's Own Royal Regiment, which was raised in 1756. It had only a short existence under this title, as in 1758 it became the 62nd Regiment. It's Colours, therefore, of the 4th Regiment, went into abeyance, and, as was the custom in those days, became the property of the Colonel of the Regiment, at that time Colonel Alexander Duroure.

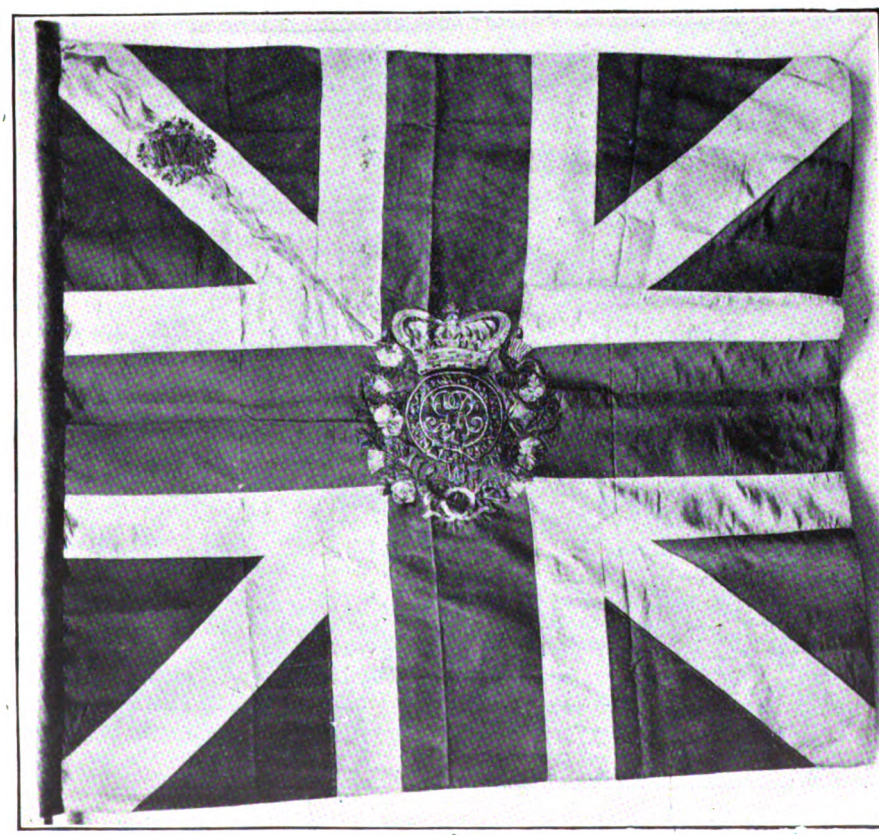
The Colours are in excellent state of preservation—almost as good as new. That they belonged to the 4th King's Own Royal Regiment is beyond doubt, in that they bear the number IV in Roman letters, as will be seen in the illustrations.

The field of the second Colour is dark blue, which has now become a dark slate hue.

That they are the Colours of the 2nd battalion is established by the presence of the 'flaming ray' on both, which starts from the upper corner of the Colour, next to the staff. By this distinction the Colours of a 2nd battalion are known. See *Journal*, vol vii. p. 8, last paragraph.

In the Royal Warrant of 19 December, 1768, dealing with Colours, Clothing, Facings, etc., of the Army [Public Record Office—W.O. 30/13] it is laid down that, as regards the First, or Royal Regiment, and the 60th Regiment, or Royal Americans,

THE FIRST (OR KING'S) COLOUR.



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the Colours of the Second Battalion are to be distinguished by 'a Flaming Ray of Gold, descending from the upper Corner of each Colour, towards the Centre'. In 1768 the 1st and 60th were the only regiments which had a second battalion.

Their descent (bequeathed by Will) from Colonel Alexander Duroure in 1758, to their present owner, is thus traced:—

1. Colonel Alexander Duroure. Died in 1765. Unmarried.
2. Francis Duroure, his nephew. Son of Colonel Scipio Duroure, whose Wife was Marguerite de Vignoles.
3. Rev. John Vignoles, 1st cousin and residuary legatee of No. 2.
4. Samuel Vignoles. Son of No. 3.
5. Louisa Carleton, *née* Vignoles. Daughter of No. 4.
6. Brig.-General Sir Godfrey Vignoles Thomas, *Bart.*, Royal Artillery. Great-grandson of No. 3. Died in 1919.
7. Sir Godfrey John Vignoles Thomas, *Bart.*, K.C.V.O., C.S.I. Son of No. 6, and present owner of the Colours.

These Colours are of especial interest, for, as far as is known, they are the only examples which now exist of Colours as regulated by the Royal Warrant of 1 July, 1751. [P.R.O. W.O. 26/21.] See *ante*, vol. viii. 32.

THE SECOND (OR REGIMENTAL) COLOUR.

C. W. GROVER, Lieut.-Colonel.

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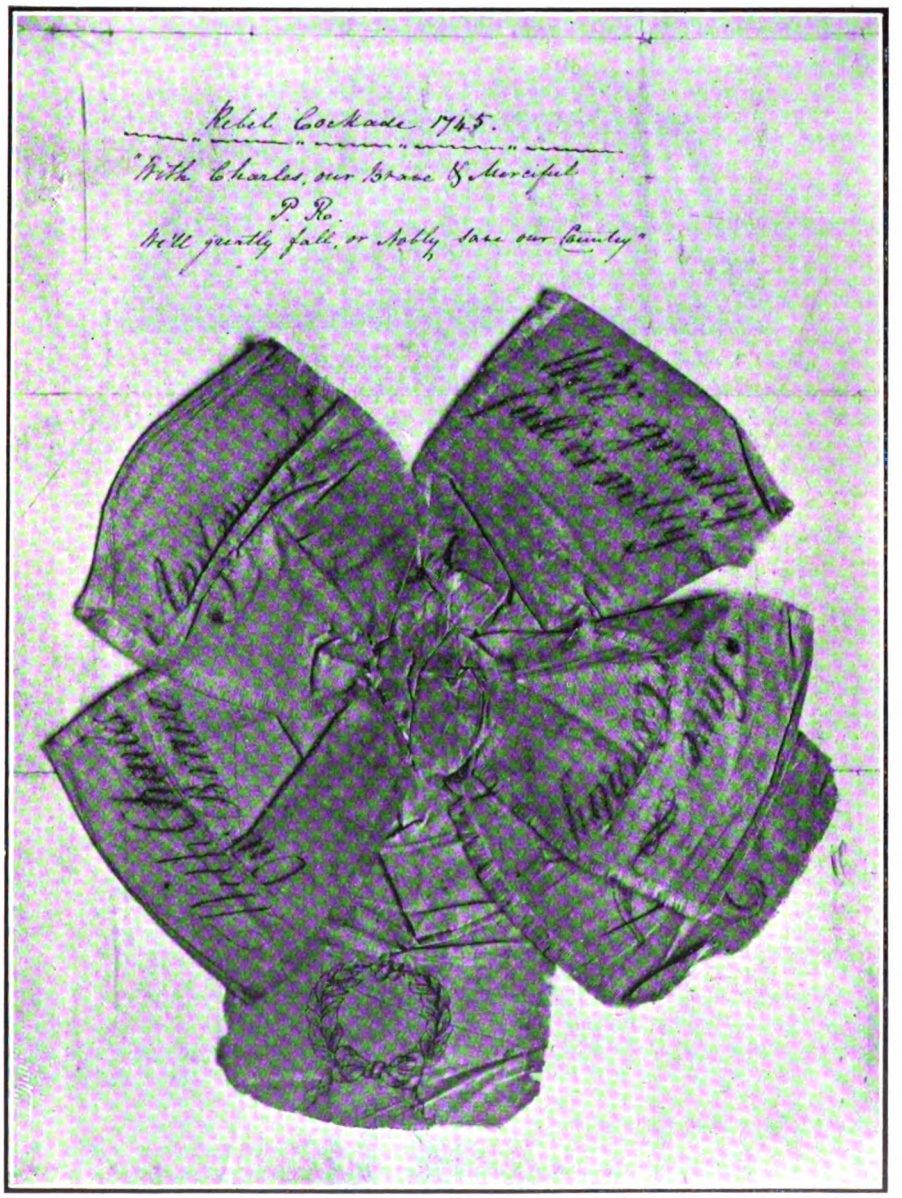
QUESTIONS.

355. COCKADE WORN BY THE PRETENDER'S SOLDIERS—1745. The cockade here illustrated—two-thirds of actual size—is made of white silk ribbon, and is preserved in the British Museum—Add. MSS. 35,889. "Hardwicke" papers—vol. 541. fo. 108.



The legend,

"With Charles, Our Brave And Merciful P.R., We'll greatly fall or nobly Save our Country" is written upon the ribbon in ink.

Are other specimens of this cockade known to exist? NEUX.

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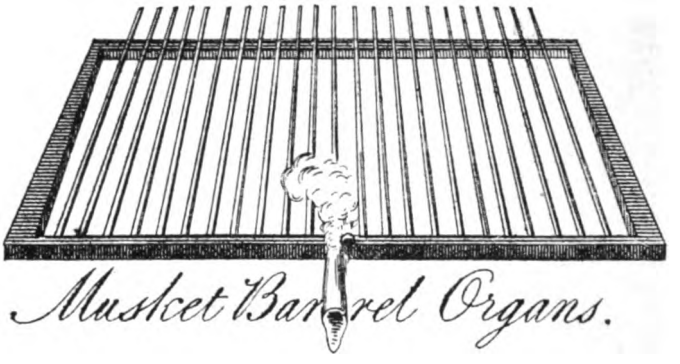
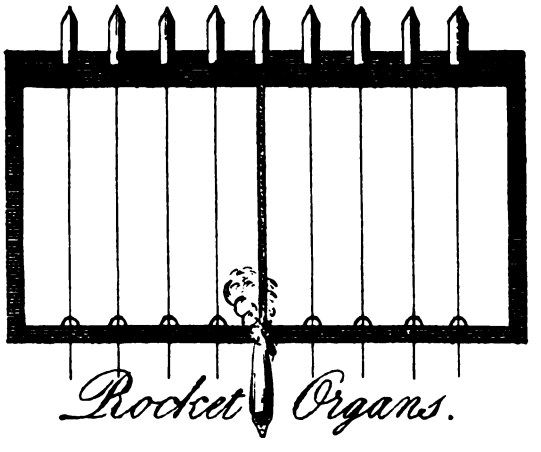
356. MUSKET-BARREL and ROCKET ORGANS. At the siege of Honore by Tippoo Sahib in May-October, 1784, "musket-barrel and rocket organs (the former discharging from 6 to 40 balls, and the latter from 5 to 10 rockets, by the pull of one trigger to each organ) were fired . . . . . See the accompanying plan, in which the barrel and rocket organs are accurately described". (*The East India Military Calendar*. 3 vols. London. 1824. vol. ii. pp. 156-7.)

Honore, or Hanavar, is on the coast, about 340 miles due S. from Bombay.

Are other instances known of the use of these so-called musket-barrel and rocket organs?

NEUX.





Organ, fix'd on a Post and swivel.

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357. FIRE RINGS. In a list of ammunition to be taken on an expedition in North America in 1781, "Rockets and Fire Rings" are mentioned. What were 'Fire rings'? (*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie*. 1930. Cambridge, Massachusetts. vol. ii. p. 611). NEUX.

358. ROYAL EAST INDIA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY. On page 56 of the official Monthly Army List of October, 1820, there appears for the first time under the heading of "Volunteer Regiments commissioned by His Majesty," the Royal East India Volunteer Infantry.

The Regiment consisted, apparently, of 10 Companies, and was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel William Astell. The commissions of the Officers are all dated 9 August, 1820. It appears for the last time in the Monthly Army List of February, 1833.

The regiment is not shown in the annual official Army Lists published by the War Office, at any time during its period of existence.

What is known of its history? NEUX.

359. REGIMENTAL RECORDS—BRITISH ARMY. In a book published in London in 1826 appears the following advertisement:—

> "Preparing for publication. REGIMENTAL RECORDS, or Services of Corps of the British Army. By Sir John Phillipart. . . . . The Editor returns his best thanks to those Commanding Officers who have already furnished him with Historical Accounts of the Services of their Corps."

Was this book ever published? If so by whom, and in what year? J. H. L.

360. ROYAL AMERICAN REFORMEES—1778. In a list of the Corps under the command of Sir Henry Clinton in New York in October, 1778, is shown the "Royal American Reformees." What was this corps? (*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie*. 1930. Cambridge, Massachusetts. vol. ii. p. 410.)

Is any other instance known of the use of the word "Reformee"?

It is not given in *The Oxford English Dictionary*. NEUX.

361. THE ROYAL WAGGON TRAIN—1799 to 1833. This corps was formed in 1799, with Lieut.-Colonel Digby Hamilton as its Commandant. At first it ranked as the lowest corps in the army, but in 1817 it was raised to a higher position, taking rank next to and preceding the Foot Guards.

It bore the battle-honours 'Peninsula' and 'Waterloo', and was disbanded in 1833.

Its uniform, as shown for the first time in the Army List of 1813, was blue with red facings and silver lace, but in 1817 this was altered to red, with blue facings.

This change may have been made owing to the description in the Army List being incorrect, or because the uniform actually was changed from 'blue' to 'red' in 1817.

What was the colour of its uniform dress, facings lace, etc., from 1799 to 1813?

Has any history of the Train ever been published? THE MAZE.

362. SALUTE BY OFFICERS WHEN CARRYING ARMS. In the 18th century how did Infantry Officers salute when 'marching past'?

a. When carrying swords?

b. When carrying fusils? BOMBER.

363. MILITARY MARCH MUSIC. At the annual ceremony of 'Trooping the Colour', as carried out by the Brigade of Guards in London, in celebration of the birthday of His Majesty the King, certain march tunes, both slow and quick, are played. Concerning three of these 'Slow' marches, information is asked for:—

a. 'The Duke of York's Slow March'.

[The first twenty bars (pianoforte score) are here reproduced.]

b. The Grenadier's March.

[The music of this will be published in the next number of *Journal*. This March must not be confused with the 'quick-step,' known as *The British Grenadiers*.]

c. The March from *Scipio*.

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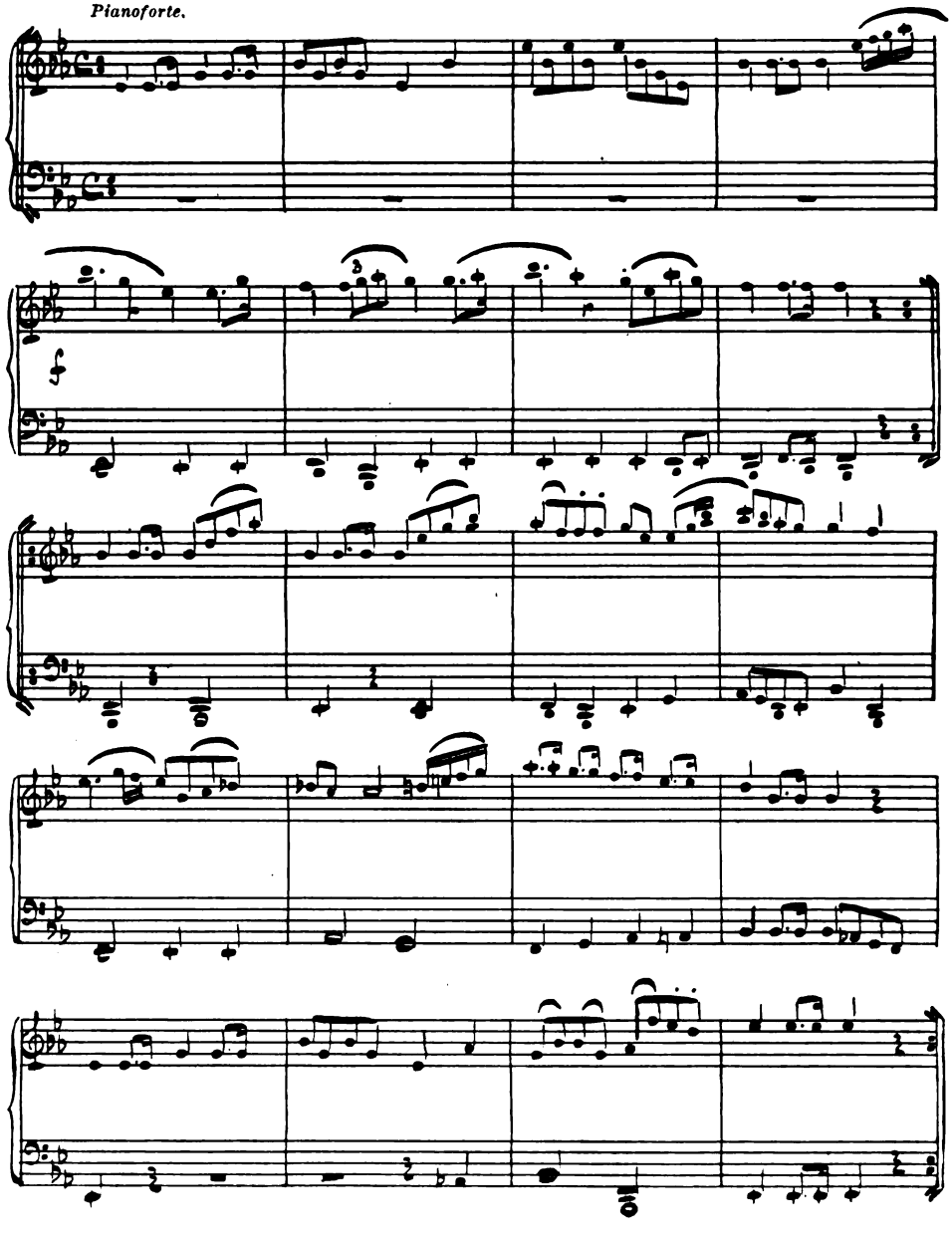
Who were these marches composed by?
What is the date of their composition?
When were they first played as 'Ceremonial' Marches?

THE DUKE OF YORK'S SLOW MARCH.

Pianoforte.

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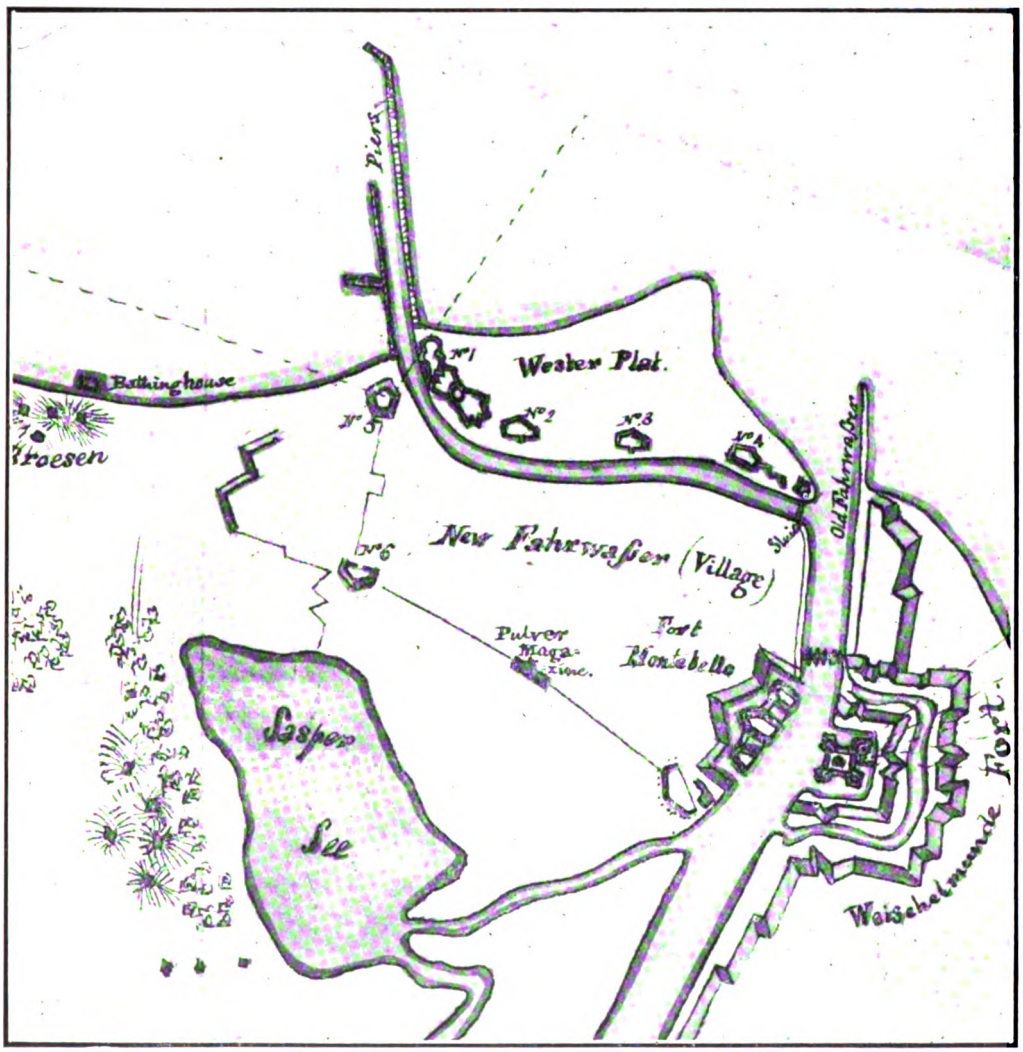
364. THE CAPTURE OF DANZIG FROM THE FRENCH IN 1813. Amongst the papers of Major Willoughby Montagu, Royal Artillery, who died in 1872, are some "dates of events" at the siege of Danzig, in 1813, at which he was present, then being 1st Lieutenant in a Company of the 3rd battalion, R.A., in the Muster Roll of which he is shown as on "Particular Service".

At that time Danzig was held by the French (Comte Rapp, Commander-in-Chief of the 10th Corps of the Grand Army, Governor of Danzig) and was besieged by the Prussians and Russians, under the command of the Duke of Wurtemberg.

It capitulated on 29 November, 1813.



PLAN OF DANZIG. Done by Montagu—25 August, 1813.
Scale about 30 inches to one mile.

August. 1813.

16 Armistice concluded.

17 Notification thereof received from the Imperial Head Quarters,

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18 And sent to General Rapp. It was agreed to give six days to the 24th.
29 Sortie made by the enemy through Düwelkau and Jäschkental.

September.

2 The attack and taking of Striess and Langfuhr with Schellmühle.
3 The enemy driven from the two blockhouses at the end of Langfuhr Entrenchments thrown up to the right on Johannisberg, etc., and to the left to Neu Schottland and Kleinhammer.
4 The attack of the Westerplatte and Fahrwasser by the Gun boats.
16 Second do., by three successive lines, and total failure.
17 Seven redoubts and batteries being constructed on the lines begun on the 3rd, which fired on the Holm, Olivaer Tor, Aschbude and Schellmühle; the enemy is driven from the two latter, and the allies begin to entrench themselves on that line. A battery was begun behind Schellmühle (Kilbitzberg) garden, but afterwards abandoned.
19 Batteries thrown up to the left of the house at Schellmühle and do. of Reihershof. The entrenchment finished, which passes from Aschbude across the Allee (Avenue), towards and on the hill on the right.
20 Batteries begun on the Johannisberg of 6 and 7 24 pounders, to fire on the redoubts in advance of the Hagelsberg. The 7 works made with gabions and fascines, and pallisaded, behind Schellmühle and Aschbude are now useless.

October.

8 A battery constructed to the left of Aschbude, with two Howitzers, threw some shells into the Town.
9 The attack on Schottenhäuser.
20 Batteries near Schottenhäuser begin to fire.
27 Redoubt begun on the Zigankenberg.
28 *Parlementaire* refused by the enemy.
Four deputies from Danzig to save the Town.
30 Two officers and 20 Prisoners taken by the French in Schidlitz.
The battery fires from Zigankenberg.

What part was Great Britain taking in the affair? R.J.L.O.

REPLIES.

333. MARINE REGIMENTS IN THE ARMY. (vol. x. 67, 125.) Between the years 1702 and 1715, ten Infantry Regiments of the line were appointed for "sea service" as "Marines".

These Regiments were:—

Name of Colonel.	Title in 1931.‡
William Seymour*	King's Own Royal (Lancaster) [4th].
Ventris Columbine	Royal Warwickshire [6th].
Thomas Erle	Green Howards [19th].
Gustavus, Viscount Boyne	Lancashire Fusiliers [20th].
Thomas Saunderson	East Lancashire, 1st Battalion [30th].
George Villiers	East Surrey, 1st Battalion [31st].
Edward Fox	Duke of Cornwall's L.I. [32nd].
Robert, Lord Lucas	Border [34th].
Arthur, Earl of Donegal	Royal Sussex [35th].
William, Viscount Charlemont	Worcestershire, 2nd Battalion [36th].

Two other regiments of 'Marines', raised in 1702, had a short existence, during this period—Colonel Henry Holt's and Colonel Viscount Shannon's (Richard Boyle). They were disbanded in 1713.

By 1715 all had reverted to the Line, and until 1739 there were no "Marine" regiments in the Army.

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*From 1702 to 1715, its title was 'The Queen's Marines'.

‡ The figures in square brackets denote the numerical titles by which the regiments were known between 1751 and 1881.

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At the outbreak of war with Spain in that year it was decided to raise Marine Regiments, apparently more as expeditionary troops than for nautical duties.

The nuclei of these regiments were "120 Corporals and Privates, good sober men, and qualified by their writing to be made Sergeants" drawn from the three Regiments of Foot Guards, and 300 men each, to be drafted from "all the old corps in Britain." Their badge was the "Brunswick" Star which was then worn by the Guards' Regiments.

In 1740, four more "Marine" Regiments were raised. All were disbanded in 1748.

Much information regarding the earlier of the Marine Regiments, 1702-5, will be found in the 2nd Volume of Col. Edye's "History of the Royal Marine Forces". This has never been published, but the rough MS. of it can be seen in the Admiralty Library. The fair copy is at the bottom of the Atlantic, thanks to a German submarine

The present Marine Corps was established in 1755. Two little works, written by Officers of the Corps in 1763 and 1766, throw much light upon the duties of Marines afloat and ashore.

As regards the status of the Marine Regiments in question in regard to the Navy, the first series, 1702-13, were under the special command of Prince George of Denmark, and it would appear that all questions referring to them had to be referred by the Naval authorities to him, or to his representatives. I fancy much the same system obtained in 1739-48, but in 1747 it was proposed that they should be altogether placed under the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and that their various facings should be changed to a uniform yellow, with the badge of an Anchor and Cable on their caps. It is doubtful if this was ever carried into effect, as the ten regiments were disbanded in 1748.

C. FIELD.

334. BLACKHEATH CAVALRY. (Vol. ix. 126.) This Regiment was, without doubt, the "Blackheath Volunteer Cavalry".

"In 1803 were formed two troops of Cavalry—the one at Woolwich, and the other at Greenwich—both being under the command of Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, and known as the *Blackheath Volunteer Cavalry.*"

The "Regulations" of the Corps were as here given:—

"The corps is established for the internal defence of the Hundreds of Blackheath, Little, and Lessness, to act in time of tumult and riot, under either the commander-in-Chief of the district, or the civil magistrate, as circumstances may require. In the event of invasion the corps is to be stationed within its proper limits, and act under the orders of the commanding officer of the district. Each troop shall be under the immediate command of its captain, lieutenant, and cornet, subject to Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, Bart., Major-Commandant of the corps.

"Uniform: a helmet with black bear-skin crest, leopard-skin turban, silver or plated bars or chains, silver tassel, and white hackle plume; black stock; blue jacket with Kentish grey collar and cuffs, laced with silver braid, and shoulder ornaments to pattern; white leather breeches and gloves; military boots and steel spurs; regulation-pouch, with leather cross-belt, white; waist sword-belt; cloak and cloak-bag. Undress—blue jacket and grey Fry's overalls.

"Candidates must be proposed by a member of the troop and elected by a majority of the same. Gentlemen being elected must provide themselves with uniform, and appointments within one month. Every gentleman to attend the drill and field-days, and in case of non-attendance to be subject to the following fines: Commissioned officers, 10s. 6d.; Serefile and non-commissioned ditto, 5s.; privates, including trumpeters and farriers, 2s. 6d. No excuse admitted except parochial duty or illness. Any gentleman absenting himself two days successively to be subject to double fines; and for three days, treble fines and to be expelled, and the constable of the parish to which he belongs shall be acquainted therewith.

"The Military Committee, consisting of six members of each troop, together with the commanding officers, are empowered to regulate the concerns of the troop to which they belong, and act in concert for the regulation of the corps at large. The committee to be elected every six months.

"The expenses of each troop to be separate and defrayed out of fines: any deficiency to be supplied by a contribution to be raised as follows: viz: 1. When there shall be a captain appointed to the Woolwich troop, then the major to contribute 6

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shares, to be equally divided between the two troops; but until that appointment takes place, the major to be considered with respect to the contribution as captain of the said troop, and to contribute his proportion accordingly, viz: Captains, 5 shares; Lieutenants, 4; cornets and serefile officers, 3; non-commissioned officers, 2; privates, 1.

"Gentlemen's hair to be worn short at the side, queue with rosette and powdered; queue to be ten inches long.

"No horse to be under fourteen hands and a half high, and to be kept neatly trimmed.

"Every gentleman must pay the strictest regard to cleanliness and appear properly accoutred, subject to a fine of 1s.

"All orders to be kept most secret, and every gentleman is requested to give particular instructions at home that all letters having B.V.C. wrote thereon may be delivered without loss of time. In case of being called upon for actual service, the trumpeters will sound "To horse," when the gentlemen of each troop will repair with the utmost expedition, fully accoutred, to the appointed rendezvous." (*The Records of the Woolwich District*, by W. T. Vincent. vol. ii., pp. 428-9. Published in 1890.

G. O. R.

335. THE MANUAL EXERCISE. (vol. x. 170.) There is a printed pamphlet—10 pages—entitled "The General Exercise ordered by His Highness the Prince of Orange, to be punctually observed of all the Infantry in Service of the States General of the United Provinces. Being a most Worthy Compendium, very useful for all persons concerned in that Noble Exercise of Arms. "Re-printed in the Year 1689."

On page 4 there is "The Manual of the Muskets"; on page 5 "The Manual of a Grenadier, beginning from a shoulder'd Firelock"; and on page 6 "The Manual of the Pike, beginning from the Advance."

Neither name of printer, nor place of publication are given, but as all words are correctly spelled, it is presumed that it was printed in England.

In most English books on "Exercise" or "Discipline," which in the 17th and 18th centuries meant what is now called "drill," signals, or warnings, are given by "beat" of drum, but in this pamphlet the phrase is "by tuck of drum," "tuck" meaning a blow, or tap.

The commencement of the first paragraph—p.3—runs:—

> "It must be understood that before the Exercise begin, the Officers at the first Advertisement by tuck of Drum advancing their Pikes, shall turn about to the right," etc.

"Advertisement," of course, means "warning."

In Humphrey Bland's *Treatise of Military Discipline*, 1st edition, 1727, "The Manual Exercise of the Foot, with an Explanation" is given on page 19, and for Cavalry on pp. 313 and 320.

A Royal license for the sole printing and publishing the said book was granted "By His Majesty's Command, Holles Newcastle," on 24 April, 1727.

This is the earliest instance of the expression "Manual Exercise" which has been traced.

NEUX.

336. OLD SONGS ABOUT SOLDIERS. (vol. vi. 249: vii. 69, 193, 250: viii. 143, 212: ix. 102, 248: x. 171.) A book containing some excellent songs is *War Songs of Britain*, selected by Harold E. Butler—published by Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. 1903. 8vo. pp.240.

NEUX.

337. ROBERT HINDE. (vol. x. p.170.) In the Army List of 1755 Robert Hinde is shown in the Second Troop of Horse Guards as a Sub-Brigadier, dated 27 August, 1754.

On 15 July, 1757, he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier & Lieutenant, and is so shown on the Army Lists of 1758 to 1763, inclusive.

No reference of any kind is made to his service in the Horse Guards in The Discipline of the Light Horse, mentioned in Question 352.

NEUX.

338. SERJEANTS' PIKES (vol. viii. 68). The Pike is really a development of the Spear, and as such it has been used from the earliest times. According to de

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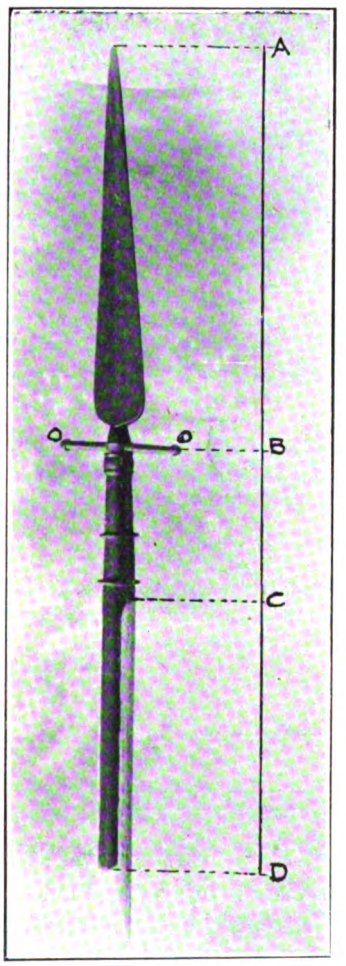
Bellay (Instructions for the Wars 1587) the Swiss finding their halberds inconvenient substituted the Pike at the Battle of Arebo in 1422. The 18 foot Pike was a most inconvenient weapon for it was very "whippy". Sutcliffe (*Practice, Proceedings and Lawes of Armes*, 1593) says that when the ranks were broken the Pikes were thrown away, and the Infantry had to take to their swords. It was also inconvenient for evolutions in close order. In the late XVIth and XVIIth centuries it was of use as affording cover for the Musketeer while reloading his piece, a lengthy process.

The Pike as a weapon was displaced by the plug, and later by the ring or socket bayonet.

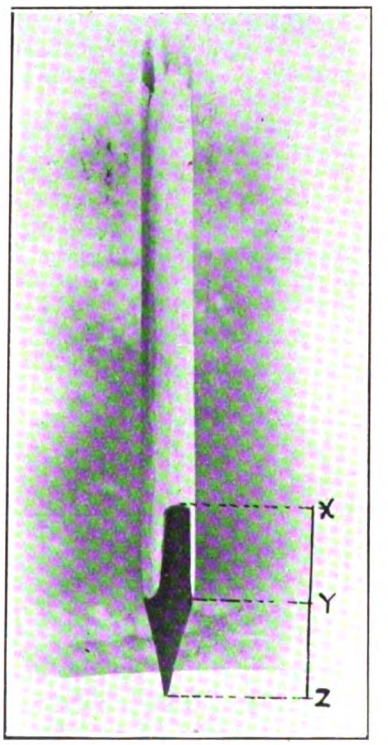


Pike-Head.

A B	=	$12\frac{3}{4}$	Inches.
B C	=	$4\frac{1}{2}$	
C D	=	9	
O O	=	$5\frac{1}{2}$	

Foot of Pike—shod with iron.

X Y	=	$2\frac{1}{4}$	Inches.
Y Z	=	$2\frac{3}{4}$	



The half-Pike was, however, retained by Serjeants for a short while, but from the middle of the XVIIth century it was superceded by the Halberd, as ordered by Royal Warrants from 1667 to 1684. In 1678 it was issued to the Grenadier Companies of "the Eight Oldest Regiments of Foot". The Royal Warrant of 1768* lays down that Serjeants of the Battalion Companies are to carry halberds, i.e. as opposed to the

* Public Record Office—W.O. 30/13.

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Serjeants of Grenadier Companies who carried fuzils. The Halberd was last carried in the Army by the Drum-Major of the Oxford University Volunteers, as late as 1876. It is preserved in the Head Quarters of the Oxford University Officers' Training Corps. In a General Order of 4 April, 1792, it was ordered that Serjeants of Battalion Companies were to cease to carry Halberds and that Pikes (or Spontoons) were to be issued instead, and by G.O. of 8 May, of the same year, this order included Serjeants of Grenadier and of Fusilier Companies, the Serjeants of Light Companies carrying a Fusil.

The Pike of 1792-1830, of which the upper and lower ends are here illustrated, is 9 feet in length; the wooden shaft has been painted white in order to show up the metal portions.

The spear head screws into the socket, and the cross piece is also made separately like the cross hilt of a modern claymore. The cross bar was obviously intended to prevent the point from penetrating too far, a similar cross bar or "toggle" being found on XVIth century boar spears.

By Horse Guards General Order No. 491, of 31 July, 1830, the Serjeant's Pike was abolished in the Infantry, although it was retained by the Artillery till 1845.

Spontoons, or Partizans, are still carried by the Gentlemen-at-Arms, by the Yeomen of the Guard, and in some towns by the Judges' Guard.

There are examples of all types of Long Pikes, Halberds, and Spontoons in the Tower Armouries, many of the latter being marked with Regimental and Battery titles. Similar weapons can be seen in the Royal United Service Institution Museum, London. Further information on the subject will be found in Colonel Clifford Walton's *History of the British Standing Army* (1894), and in Sir Sibbald Scott's *The British Army*, ii. 57.

C. J. ff.

339. STANDING ORDERS OF REGIMENTS. (vol. iv. 6, 137, 224; v. 144; vi. 58; viii. 208.) "The Standing Orders, of His Majesty's Fortieth Regiment. Bombay. Printed at the Price Current Press, Colaba. David Brown, Printer. 1835. 7¼ by 5¼ inches. pp. iv. 20."

The first section is headed "Divine Service". Paragraph 3 runs:—

"It is remarkable, that of the largest Congregations, scarcely a single individual ever quits a Place of Worship during the Service, except Soldiers: a proper attention must therefore be given by the Men, to obviate this irregularity."

AUT MORI.

ENDING OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

EDITOR TO MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY. GREETING.

I desire to place upon record my appreciation of the assistance which has been given by Members of the Society in regard to the *Journal*, and to express a hope that if I am still Editor at the completion of the Twentieth Volume, I shall be able to record the same generous help and advice—always welcome. I thank.

To Captain H. M. McCance a special "mention" must be recorded, for he has done a vast amount of most uninteresting hack-work, in compiling the Indexes of Regiments—no easy task, but of untold value. *Majora canamus.*

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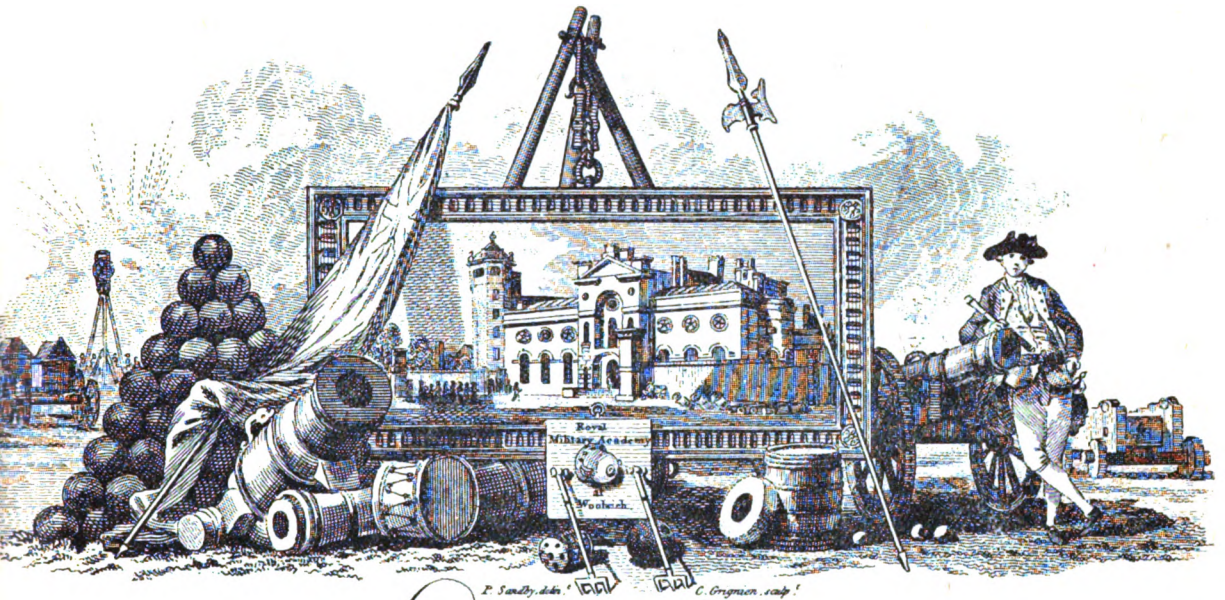

London

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ERRATA IN VOLUME X.

Page 1. In footnote 1, line 7, for "Moodkee" read "Sobraon".
,, 140. In line 3 of 2nd paragraph, for "92nd", read "93rd".
,, 171. Reply No. 332. In line 2, after "ix", insert "102".

END OF VOLUME TEN.

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